Dr. D.N. Shastri FELICITATION VOLUME

INDOLOGICAL STUDIES

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DR. D. N. SHASTRI FELICITATION VOLUME

INDOLOGICAL STUDIES

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DR. D. N. SHASTRI FELICITATION VOLUME

INDOLOGICAL STUDIES

PRESENTED TO
DR. DHARMENDRA NATH SHASTRI
IN 85TH YEAR OF HIS LIFE
BY HIS STUDENTS, ADMIRERS AND FRIENDS

CHIEF EDITOR
KESHAV RAM PAL
M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

VIMAL PRAKASHAN
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PREFACE

The services of Dr. Dharmendra Nath Shastri to the cause of Sanskrit and other Indological studies are numerous. He worked as Professor and Head of the department of Sanskrit at Meerut College, Meerut for a period of 34 years. After his retirement in 1958 he set up Institute of Indology at Delhi for promoting Indological studies. In 1961 he was appointed Professor and Head of Sanskrit department and Director of the Institute of Indic studies at the University of Kurukshetra for a period of three years. He organized Indological studies and researches there. At his initiative the University of Kurukshetra undertook the onerous task of publishing the Digest of Indological Studies (Prāci-jyoti),a venture of great importance, the plan of which he had already drawn up at the Institute of Indology in Delhi. The Digest, first published under his editorship in 1963, is still being published by the University of Kurukshetra. On account of his distinguished services in the field of Sanskrit Dr. Shastri was honoured by the U.P. Govt. with a special prize of Rs. 15,000/- in 1977.

During the long period of academic activities Dr. Shastri has produced a large number of students, of whom a good number is working in Colleges and Universities in India and abroad, and also holding important posts. Many have been inspired by him to engage themselves devotedly in research in Sanskrit and allied Indological subjects. His academic contribution is valuable in several respects. He has earned a name as a distinguished scholar of Indian philosophy by his book *Critique of Indian Realism*. His other works also, particularly his books written professedly to teach Sanskrit in a simple and scientific way, have renowned him. (The details of his works, academic activities, and other intellectual pursuits have been given in the articles of the introductory portion of the Felicitation Volume).

On account of his significant role in the field of Sanskrit and allied Indological studies it was being felt by his students, admirers and friends for the last so many years that he should be honoured by presenting a felicitation volume. In October 1978 Dr. Dharmendra Nath Shastri Abhinandana Samiti was formed for the purpose, its membership subscription being Rs. 101/-. Some persons gave donations also to the Samiti. A scheme was prepared with a view to presenting the Felicitation Volume to Dr. D. N. Shastri on his 83rd birthday, i.e., on November 4, 1979. An appeal for inviting articles and research papers was issued to the scholars in India and abroad. Though the response of many scholars was quite encouraging, the articles and research papers for the Felicitation Volume could be obtained very slowly, and it could not be possible to prepare the Volume to be presented in 1979. However, the work of the Felicitation Volume was continued and pursued assiduously.

In October, 1979 the scheme of presenting a felicitation volume to Dr. D. N. Shastri was discussed by us with the enterprising Indological publisher Mr. Vimal Prakash, proprietor of Vimal Prakashan, Ghaziabad. He readily agreed to undertake the publication of the proposed volume partly with our assistance. We are really very grateful to him for his co-operation in bringing out the Felicitation Volume. He has been bearing the strains of delay because of the progress of printing being very slow.

The introductory portion of the Felicitation Volume relates to Dr. Dharmendra Nath Shastri. It contains four articles on him. The first article, *Life and Works of Dr. Dharmendra Nath Shastri*, by Pramod Kumar, gives in brief various particulars regarding his life and activities. The second article *Dr. Shastri's Magnum Opus*, by B. S. Tyagi, gives the background and the nature of the research work of Dr. Dharmendra Nath Shastri, which has given him worldwide recognition as a distinguished scholar of Indian philosophy. The third article, *Dr. Dharmendra Nath Shastri*, is from his friend Prof. Ved Vyas, who has had a very long association with him since 1925. The fourth article, by me in Hindi, is entitled 'शास्त्री जी के व्यक्तित्व एवं कृतित्व से सम्बन्धित कतिपय उल्लेखनीय तथ्य'. I had to add this article because I felt that certain aspects of the personality and activities of Dr. Shastri were not presented or properly elaborated in the previous three articles. I still feel that much remains to be said about Dr. Shastri. For example, his role in the freedom movement needs proper mention, particularly in view of the fact that his wife, late Mrs. Urmila Shastri, was a reputed leader of Indian National Congress of Meerut, who had taken very active part in the freedom movement, in her life-time, and who is said to have edited a daily, namely, *Janmabhūmi*, for some months in thirties. At the end of the introductory portion of the Volume a list of articles of Dr. Shastri is given, which is likely to remain incomplete, because only those articles, which I have been able to find out, have been mentioned there, though he is said to have written a large number of articles.

The main body of the Felicitation Volume contains forty-six articles and research papers on various Indological topics contributed by Indian as well as foreign scholars. They have been divided in six sections, i.e., Section I—Vedic Studies Section II—Grammar and Linguistics; Section III—Literature and Rhetorics; Section IV—Religion and Philosophy; Section V—Ancient Indian History, Culture and Art; Section VI—Miscellaneous. At the end a list, of authors of articles, entitled "Contributors to the Volume", is given with their qualifications and addresses.

In regard to the editing of the articles I have to mention that I have tried my best to see that they are published in the best possible manner. In many articles. I discovered a good number of mistakes in the texts of articles, particularly in the quotations and references etc. I have tried to correct them as far as I could. Wherever I had a doubt in regard to a quotation or a reference I compared it with the original text of the books concerned and corrected accordingly. For this purpose I had to procure the relevant books from several libraries. I have also tried to maintain uniformity in giving references etc. I am thankful to the members of the Advisory Editorial Board, i. e., Dr. Pramod Kumar, Dr. M. C. Bharatiya, and Dr. Naresh Kumar for valuable suggestions and advice given by them.

Owing to the difficulty of the press it was not feasible to send the proofs to the authors of the articles. Therefore, I myself had to go through them. It has been my endeavour to see that the Volume is printed correctly. All possible efforts have been made to read the proofs carefully. In this task,for a few months, I was assisted by my son Satyendra Kumar LL.M., but later when he was posted out of Meerut, I had to do this work single-handedly. Although the proofs have been corrected several times and I even had to rush to the press for this purpose so many times, yet some mistakes have occurred. I have noted that at certain places the mistakes, which were corrected in proofs, have crept in. I am really constrained to see them.

The Volume has been in the press for about an year and a half. I express my thanks to Shri Mahesh Tyagi, proprietor of the Nav Prabhat Printing Press of Shahadara for his co-operation in spite of his difficulties in getting back the proofs and in procuring relevant types with diacritical marks.

Sincere thanks are due to the members of Dr. Dharmendra Nath Shastri Abhinandana Samiti and donors, particularly Mr. Mahendra Nath, Dr. Pramod Kumar, Mr. Ashok Kumar and Mr. Sharat Kumar who have donated Rs. 2000/- each. It is with their good wishes and generous co-operation that it has been possible to bring out this Felicitation Volume.

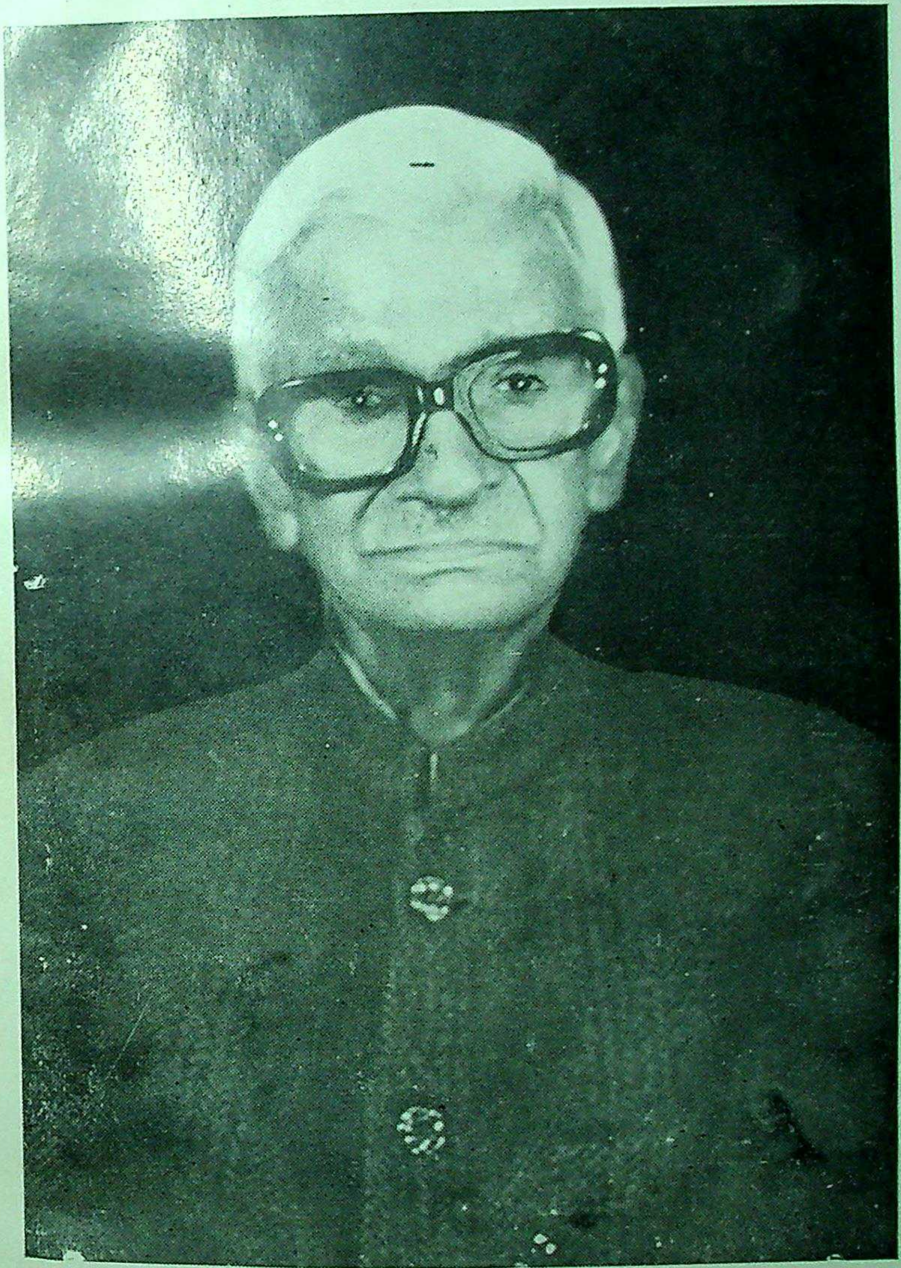
It is sad to contemplate that during the long time that has elapsed since we undertook the scheme of the Felicitation Volume several well-wishers of our scheme have left us for ever. Late Shri Suraj Bhan (formerly Vice-Chancellor of the Universities of Kurukshetra and Punjab), who was a member of the Abhinandana Samiti also, is no more with us. It may be recalled that he himself had desired to send a tribute for incorporation in the Felicitation Volume. Late Dr. V. Raghavan, eminent Sanskrit scholar of our country, had welcomed our scheme and wanted to be a member of the Abhinandana Samiti. Late Dr. Ludwick Sternbach, the Polish Indologist, had contributed a paper, which is published in the Volume.

On behalf of Dr. Dharmendra Nath Shastri Abhinandana Samiti I am sincerely grateful to the scholars who have enriched this Volume by their valuable contributions.

It is as a mark of appreciation and affection for Dr. Dharmendra Nath Shastri for his services in the field of Sanskrit and Indology for well over half a century that this Volume of Indological Studies is being presented to him, to felicitate him in his 85th year of life, by his students, admirers and friends. May he live long to inspire the younger generation of scholars engaged in research and serving the cause of Sanskrit and other Indological studies.

May 10, 1982

KESHAV RAM PAL
Chief Editor; and Secretary,
Dr. D. N. Shastri Abhinandana Samiti



DR. DHARMENDRA NATH SHASTRI
M.A., M.O.L., D. Litt.

Born on 4th November, 1897

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LIFE AND WORKS OF DR. DHARMENDRA NATH SHASTRI

PRAMOD KUMAR

Dr. Dharmendra Nath Shastri was born on 4th Nov. 1897 in the village Ater-Chendi of Aonla Tehsil of Bareilly District. He was the eldest son of Dr. Kedar Nath,* a private medical practitioner, who devoted most of his time, with deep devotion for the public work, particularly the propagation of the mission of the Āryasamāja.

His father was always anxious to give moral training to his son. In his view, the greatest moral virtue of a person was his fearlessness. He inquired of his son as to what was the source and nature of the greatest fear in his life. The son promptly replied that the greatest fear in his life was that of spirits which lived in the land of the dead, i.e., the cremation ground, especially during the night. The father told the son that it would be understood if he feared wolves or tigers, but it is funny if a person fears spirits of the dead because these spirits are nothing except the imaginary beings of one's own mind. He asked his son to visit the cremation ground and find out if there was any creature which could be the source of his fear, and to see carefully as to what was the nature or image of that creature. After getting this advice from his father, the young son who was just seven years old went to the cremation ground. He was surprised to find out that there was absolutely no creature which could be the cause of his fear. Although a young boy of seven years, he realised that his fear was quite unfounded, without any cause whatsoever.

---

* Besides Dr. Shastri, Dr. Kedar Nath had two sons, Mr. Satyendra Nath and Mr. Mahendra Nath. Mr. Mahendra Nath, Chairman of E. M. C. group of companies has founded Dr. K. Nath Public Trust, which is running educational, technological and research institutions in different parts of India.

The most interesting drama of Dr. D. N. Shastri's life was acted in 1905 when his father, Dr. Kedar Nath, decided to send him to the Gurukul. His mother was determined not to allow this at any cost. The father wanted to keep his son away from his mother, and the mother tried just the opposite. This drama of 'hide and seek' went on for two or three months when the father succeeded in getting his son admitted in Gurukul Sikandarabad. But the mother could not be left behind. She managed to reach the Gurukul to meet her son there. It was settled between the mother and the son that the latter would come to the mother at 5 o' clock in the morning next day, and then she would take him from the Gurukul. When, however, the next morning the son reached his mother at the fixed time, it appears some divine urge came upon the mother, and instead of taking her son from the Gurukul, she asked him to stay and study there. With those words, and with constantly flowing tears in her eyes, the mother left her son at the Gurukul.

Dr. D. N. Shastri holds that the Gurukul was the basic source of all his knowledge. At Sikandarabad Gurukul, men like late Dr. Mangal Deva Shastri, who later on became the Vice-Chancellor of the Sanskrit University, Varanasi and Shri Uday Vir Shastri, a distinguished Sanskrit scholar (at present working at Ghaziabad) were Dr. Shastri's Gurukul mates. Gurukul Sikandarabad was later on shifted to Farrukhabad, and still later to Vrindavan. From Vrindavan Gurukul, in 1918, at the age of 21 years, he obtained the Tarkaśiromaṇi degree in the first class with first position.

He was appointed as Acharya at the Gurukul Vṛindavan in 1919. After sometime he shifted to Agra as the editor of the most important Āryasamāja Weekly *Ārya-mitra*.

In 1928 Dr. Shastri married Urmila Ji who gave birth to both of Dr. Shastri's sons, Ashok Kumar and Sharat Kumar. By mutual understanding with Dr. Shastri, Mrs. Urmila Shastri devoted her life in the agitation of freedom against the British Raj. Mrs. Urmila Shastri went to jail in 1930. She became seriously ill in the jail and after leaving it after some time she died in Lahore.

During her jail period Mrs. Urmila Shastri wrote a book named "KĀRĀGĀRA" to which a preface was added by Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi. The second edition of the book was published by Atma Ram & Sons of Delhi in 1980.

Mrs. Urmila Shastri is still affectionately remembered by the people of Meerut. The road in front of Dr. Shastri's kothi is named as 'URMILA SHASTRI ROAD'. A school for the training of girls in sewing, embroidery. knitting etc. was founded by Mrs. Urmila Shastri, which is now named as "URMILA DASTKARI SCHOOL". This institution is rendering a great service to the needy women and girls of Meerut.

In 1943 Dr. Shastri married Pushpa Mala Ji. After marriage, she managed the household so systematically that Dr. Shastri got ample opportunities for his academic and social work. She died in 1977.

Academic Qualifications

(i) Tarkaśiromaṇi from Gurukul Vrindavan, *I Class First*, in 1918.
(ii) M. A. in Sanskrit from Punjab University, *I Class First*, in 1923.
(iii) M. A. in Hindi from Calcutta University, *I Class First*, in 1942.
(iv) D. Litt. in Sanskrit from Agra University in 1956.
(v) Vidyāmārtaṇḍa (honorary) from Gurukul Kangri University, Haridwar in 1957.

Experience

(i) Worked as Professor and Head of Sanskrit Deptt. at Meerut College, Meerut, for 34 years, from 1924 to 1958.
(ii) Acted as Dean of Faculty of Arts, Agra University, for two years, 1955 and 1956.
(iii) Worked as Professor and Head of Sanskrit Deptt. at Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra, for 3 years, from 1961 to 1964.
(iv) Acted as Director of Institute of Indic Studies, Kurukshetra University, for 3 years, from 1961 to 1964.
(v) He also worked as Emeritus Professor of U. G. C. for 2 years.
(vi) He also acted as Director of Institute of Indology, Delhi, for twenty one years, from 1958 to 1979.

Guidance of Research Work

A large number of candidates, working under him at the Meerut College, Kurukshetra University and the Institute of Indology, Delhi, have been awarded Ph. D. and D. Litt. degrees of different Universities. Some of his students are occupying high positions in the Universities and the academic world.

Authorship

He is author of several valuable works :

1. **Critique of Indian Realism** (A study of the conflict between the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and the Buddhist Dignāga school), a large volume covering more than 500 pages, published with a foreword by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, formerly President of India. The first edition of the book was published by the Agra University, Agra in 1964 and the second edition of the book was published by Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, 1, U.B. Bungalow Road, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi in 1976 under the title "*The Philosophy of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and its conflict with the Buddhist Dignāga School*" (*Critique of Indian Realism*).

2. **संस्कृत-शिक्षण की नवीन योजना**. This is Dr. Shastri's another voluminous work in Hindi covering more than 400 pages. It gives a new synthesis of ancient method of grammar and modern scientific method of comparative philology. U.P. Government gave, on this work, a prize Rs. 1000/-, which Dr. Shastri donated for the uplift of depressed classes. The book was published by Sahitya Bhandar, Subhash Bazar, Meerut in 1968.

3. **न्याय-सिद्धान्त-मुक्तावली**, a well-known Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika work with a detailed commentary in Hindi. Its first edition was published by Moti Lal Banarasidas, Nepali-Khapara, Banaras, in 1953 and second edition of the book was published by Motilal Banarasidas, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi, in 1971.

4. **भारतीय-दर्शन**. On the basis of this book and book No. 3 he was awarded Harjimal Dalmia prize of Rupees eleven hundred, which is given for the best work on Indian Philosophy. The book was published by Motilal Banarasidas, Nepali Khapara, Banaras, in 1953.

5. **संस्कृत-व्याकरण का मानचित्र** (Sanskrit Grammar at a Glance), hailed by eminent scholars as a new approach on scientific lines to the study of Sanskrit. The first edition of the book was published by Motilal Banarasidas, Nepali Khapara, Banaras, in 1950 and the second edition of the book was published by Motilal Banarasidas, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi, in 1957.

6. **Sanskrit in 30 Lectures** : Intended especially to teach Sanskrit to the highly educated Indians and foreigners, besides University scholars. The book was published by the Institute of Indology, Daryaganj, Delhi, in 1975.

7. Dr. D. N. Shastri published the 'Chronology' of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru in revised and enlarged form under the title '*A Chronology of World History*' (8 sheets). In 1960 Dr. Shastri wrote to Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru to send him a

copy of the *Chronology af World History*, which he had prepared for his *Glimpses of World History*. But as Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru was unable to find any printed copy of the Chronology he sent his manuscript copy with the remark that the tabular form of Chronology was prepared by him in prison with very limited material with him. He desired that it should be checked and improved. As it ended in early thirties Pt. Nehru advised Dr. Shastri to make it upto-date. Hence Dr. Shastri published the Chronology in a revised form making it upto-date (i.e.. upto 1975).

8. सदाचार-सन्ध्या, published by Shri Satyendra Nath for Prabhat Pustak Bhandar, Meerut, in 1926. This is one of the earliest works of Dr.Shastri. In this work he gave his views regarding character-building. The book is now out of print.

9. दिव्य-दर्शन, with a foreword by Shri Nārāyāṇa Svāmī, was published by Shri Satyendra Nath for Prabhat Pustak Bhandar, Meerut, in 1926. This is also one of his earliest works. In this work basic ideas of Yoga and Upaniṣadic works have been given and it has ben pointed out that they are the glimpses of divine life. This book also is now out of print.

10. मुक्तधारा, Hindi translation of drama of Ravindra Nath Tagore, published in 1926.

11. पथ-प्रदीप, Hindi translation of *Torch-Bearer* of T. L. Vaswani, published in 1925.

He read a large number of research papers in oriental conferences and such other functions. A number of his papers were published in various research journals.

Other Academic Work and Distinctions

(i) He has been associated with a number of Universities including Agra, B. H. U., Sanskrit University Varanasi, Lucknow, Punjab and Kurukshetra Universities.

(ii) He was the founder-editor of the "Prāci-Jyoti" (Digest of Indological Studies), a magazine of international significance, published by the Kurukshetra University from December, 1963.

(iii) Some years ago, he was selected to preside over the section of "Philosophical Trends vs. History of Sciences of India" which was organised as a part of symposium on Sciences of India, at Delhi.

(iv) He was invited to a seminar in Delhi University on the Buddhist Studies, as Chairman of one of the Sections of the Seminar. He delivered in the Seminar an address on "Influence of Buddhist Philosophy on Orthodox Systems."

(v) In December, 1967, he was invited to preside over a Buddhist seminar organised by the Sanskrit University, Varanasi, where he delivered his presidential address in Sanskrit as freely as in English and Hindi.

vi) In 1956, he visited U. S. S. R. as a member of a delegation, where he delivered lectures on Kālidāsa.

(vii) In June 1977, he was invited to III World Sanskrit Conference at Paris, where he delivered a lecture on "Ṛgvedic Conception of a Brother is based on that of a Sister."

Institutions

(i) He is the founder of the 'Institute of Indology', Delhi, a research centre recognized by many Indian Universities for conducting research work in Sanskrit and allied Indological studies for Ph.D. and D.Litt. degrees. He is now the Advisor of the Institute. The Institute, which was formerly situated at 47-A, Friends Colony (where stock of books is still kept), has now shifted to the premises of Lajpat Rai College, Sahibabad, Ghaziabad.

(ii) He is also one of the principal founders of Lajpat Rai College, Sahibabad (Ghaziabad), which was founded in 1967.

(iii) He also founded the Buddhist Research Institute in 1978 in his own Kothi named "Kapilavastu", 301, Urmila Shastri Road, Meerut Cantt.

Social Work for the Down-trodden : Although a distinguished Sanskrit scholar, his principal interest has been in working for the down-trodden classes. He donated for that work Rs. 1000/- which he received as prize from the U. P. Government for his work on Sanskrit.

Political Work : During the British Raj, he took part in the agitation against it, for which he suffered, in many ways.

Special Prize of Rs. 15,000/- by the U. P. Govt. : On 19th August, 1977, U. P. Government gave him a special prize of Rs. 15,000/-for his services to Sanskrit. In the note presented to him on that occasion all important work done by him in the field of Sanskrit was mentioned.

DR. SHASTRI'S MAGNUM OPUS

B.S. TYAGI

The *magnum opus* of Dr. Dharmendra Nath Shastri, which has given him world-wide recognition as a distinguished scholar of Indian Philosophy, is his *Critique of Indian Realism* (A study of the conflict between the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and the Buddhist Dignāga School), published by the Agra University in 1964 with a foreword by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the then President of India.* The U. G. C. gave necessary grant to the Agra University for the publication of the book. The second edition of the book was published in 1976 by the Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan of Delhi under the title"*The Philosophy of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and its conflict with the Buddhist Dignāga School*" (*Critique of Indian Realism*).

The book embodies the research work of Dr. Dharmendra Nath Shastri which he carried on for about 11 years when he was Head of Sanskrit Department at the Meerut College, Meerut. His thesis bore the title "A Study of the conflict between the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Realism and the Buddhist Dignāga School", on which he was awarded the Degree of D. Litt. in Sanskrit by the Agra University in 1956. It is worth-while to know the background and the nature of his research work from his own accounts.

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*A smaller volume comprising first five chapters of the main work, i.e., *Critique of Indian Realism*, was published in 1964 by the Institute of Indology, Delhi, under the title *An Outline of Critique of Indian Realism*—A study of the conflict between the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and the Buddhist Dignāga School. This was intended to serve as an introduction to the study of Indian Philosophy in general. The first chapter of the main book was also separately published by the Institute of Indology under the title "*Problems of the Conflict between the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and the Buddhist Dignāga school*".

Dr. Shastri planned his research work in 1944-45 when he stayed for over a year at Banaras. When he set upon his task of studying the conflict between the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and the Buddhist Dignāga School, which lasted for six long centuries (from 5th to 11th), he discussed his plan of work with some scholars of Banaras. Dr. S.Radhakrishnan, who was then Vice-Chancellor of Banaras Hindu University, not only gave his blessings for the proposed work, but also gave valuable suggestions which proved immensely helpful in his study. He consulted MM. Gopi Nath Kaviraj, a well-known savant of encyclopaedic learning, who continued to give his guidance whenever needed. His friend Dr. T . R. V. Murti of Banaras Hindu University was also always available for discussion on a number of crucial points.

When Dr. Shastri wanted to study the relevant Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika texts with the help of pandits of orthodox traditional learning he was very much disappointed to find that the orthodox pandits could not make headway in the interpretation of those portions of the texts which were concerned with the exposition and refutation of Buddhist theories. He then thought of studying the theories of the Dignāga School first, but even after trying a number of expositions of Buddhist philosophy, especially those of Dignāga School,he could not succeed in assimilating the theories of that system. At this juncture he came across Stcherbatsky's *Buddhist Logic* in two volumes.This book was not easily available in 1944. It was with a great difficulty that he could procure a copy of the first volume from one library and that of the second volume from another. The discovery of Stcherbatsky proved a red-letter day in his study of Indian Philosophy. After studying the *Buddhist Logic*, 2 Vols., and other works, i.e., *The Central Conception of Buddhism*, and *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, etc., of Stcherbatsky, he realized that orthodox Indian Philosophy could not be properly understood without the background of Buddhist Philosophy. The works of Stcherbatsky not only helped him in grasping the theories of Dignāga School, but also paved his way for interpreting the difficult passages of the texts of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika works. In his view the study of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika was meaningless without the understanding of the Dignāga School. He has unreservedly acknowledged his indebtedness to Stcherbatsky. He feels that without his pioneer work his study of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system could not have been undertaken. He has expressed his unhappiness over the fact that the great work of Stcherbatsky, i. e., *Buddhist Logic* has not received the attention it deserves from the students of Indian philosophy. Dr. Shastri was so much impressed by the scholarship of Professor Stcherbatsky of Leningrad that he wrote an article on *Stcherbatsky's Contribution to Indian Philosophy*, which was published in the *Modern Review* (Calcutta) of Feb. 1953, and in which a detailed account of Stcherbatsky's work on Buddhist philosophy was given.

Dr. Shastri has mentioned the subject-matter of his book and its division into various chapters as follows :

"The work is divided into thirteen chapters. The first chapter is in the form of an introduction giving the nature and scope of the work. The second and third chapters deal respectively with the problems of realism in general and its treatment in other Indian schools. The fourth chapter gives a brief historical survey of the literature of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school including a brief notice of the thinkers of the opposite camp of Dignāga school. The fifth chapter deals with the general problem of the nature of reality. The first five chapters may thus be regarded as of an introductory character.The conflict between the two schools has been presented in the order of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika categories. The sixth chapter deals with the defence of the substance, and the seventh with the theory of causation. The next four chapters, from the eighth to eleventh,deal with the problems associated with the remaining Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika categories. The twelfth chapter deals with some epistemological problems which have a bearing on the theory of realism.The thirteenth and concluding chapter entitled 'Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Theories in a New Perspective' gives a resume of this work. A glossary of technical terms is also given at the end which will prove useful especially to lay readers"

It is noteworthy that Dr. Shastri has dedicated his book to the three sages, the three path-makers of yore (पूर्वेभ्यः पथिकृद्भ्यः), i.e., the Buddhist scholar Dignāga,the great commentator Vācaspatimiśra and Russian savant Stcherbatsky in the following verses—

स्वलक्षणस्य सामान्यलक्षणस्य च भेदकम् ।
तत्त्वं साक्षात्कृतं येन दिग्नागो बौद्धदेशिकः ॥1॥

श्रीवाचस्पतिमिश्रेण सर्वशास्त्रार्थदर्शिना ।
टीकादीपैः समस्ताऽपि द्योतिता तर्कभारती ॥2॥

पुनरप्युद्धृतं येन लुप्तं दिग्नागदर्शनम् ।
श्चेर्बात्स्की रूसदेशीयो बौद्धशास्त्रविचक्षणः ॥3॥

मुनित्रयमिदं नत्वा तद्ग्रन्थान् परिभाव्य च ।
न्यायबौद्धीयसिद्धान्तनिबन्धोऽयं विरच्यते ॥4॥

त्रिरत्नं भारतीयस्य दर्शनस्य विशेषकम् ।
तस्मै समर्पितो ग्रन्थः श्रद्धाऽऽवर्जितचेतसा ॥5॥

Extracts from opinions

Extracts from opinions of some distinguished scholars are being given here to enable the readers to have an idea about the significant contribution of Dr. Shastri to Indian philosophy.

Dr. S. RADHAKRISHNAN, formerly President of India, from his foreword to the book :

"In his *Critique of Indian Realism*, Dr. Dharmendra Nath Shastri makes a refreshingly new approach to the age-old problems of Indian Philosophy. The book is best described as a full and persuasive account of the inside story of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Realism. Instead of giving an exposition exclusively from its own sources, Dr. Shastri presents this important system of Indian thought from a new perspective, from its long encounter with the Buddhist school of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti … . One of the chief merits of the persent work is that Dr. Shastri shows, with a wealth of detail and sound reasoning, the nature of the changes made and why the changes were made.

With his immense and accurate scholarship not only of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika but also of Buddhism and Mīmāṁsā, Dr. Shastri has thrown new light on the understanding of their epistemological problems.

I have pleasure in commending Dr. Shastri's scholarly work as a significant contribution towards our understanding of an important phase of Indian thought."

MM. DR. GOPINATH KAVIRAJ, formerly Principal, Govt. Sanskrit College, Banaras :

"The thesis is well-written, its style of composition elegant, fluent and free from verbosity and its marshalling of topics is marked by logical coherence. A careful study of the entire work can not fail to impress upon the reader the writer's capacity for critical examination and sound judgement.

There is ample evidence to show that in many ways it is a fresh approach towards the correct interpretation of old philosophical concepts. And it is a valuable contribution to the study of the history of progress in thought within the domain of philosophy."

DR. T. R. V. MURTI, formerly Professor of Philosophy, Banaras Hindu University :

"The treatment of the subject is historical and analytical. Comparison with cognate modes of thought, Indian as well as European, has been made to bring out the special standpoint of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. The writer has read widely and deeply and has consulted all the original texts and modern expositions connected with the subject. Shri Shastri's analysis of the problems and their implications is acute and illuminating.

In my considered opinion, Shastri's thesis is an original and outstanding contribution to an important facet of Indian thought. His work is comparable, in a fairly large measure, to Stcherbatsky's *Buddhist Logic.* The style is remarkably clear and expressive of subtle distinctions."

(LATE) MAHAPANDIT RAHUL SANKRITYAYAN, formerly Professor of Philosophy, Leningrad University, U.S.S.R., and Vidyalankar University, Ceylon :

"In this thesis, the author gives evidence of his deep and comparative study of the Buddhist and Brahmanic epistemology and philosophy. It is an extensive work, quite unique of its kind, comparable to the *Buddhist Logic* of Professor Stcherbatsky. He has always kept impartial and scientific point of view before him.

Epistemology is an important branch of Indian philosophy, which has not received adequate attention of our modern researchers. There is no doubt that his thesis will prove a remarkable contribution in that direction. The thesis clearly demonstrates the unique contribution of Dignāga and Dharmakirti to Indian philosophy which can not be overlooked. Every page bears the imprint of author's deep study and clarity of thought. As a result of this work, quite a number of wrong ideas have been removed . . . I am sure, this work will have a permanent place in our philosophical literature."

KARL H. POTTER. University of Minnesota, U. S. A., from his review published in *East and West*, Vol. XVI, No. 1-2, January-April, 1966 :

"This is an outstanding book on several counts. First it fulfills the need, which scholars have felt more and more acutely in recent years, for a substantial philosophical study of the relations between Buddhist and Nyāya theories on metaphysics and epistemology. Second, its author shows a genuine feeling for philosophical issues. He sees through the formations of the classical writers, at which too many scholars stop, to the real problems, and he does not hesitate to worry out a problem to a point where he can offer an evaluation based on sound arguments. And that is a third count-he offers evaluations. This book is not merely another dry review of the arguments found in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika writings, though Shastri's opinions, are always related to the literature. Without always agreeiug with Shastri's opinions, one may still be enthusiastically in favour of his having them. In this book philosophers live again, and their issues spring to life in the mind of the reader".

CULTURAL FORUM, published by the Ministry of Education, Govt. of India, March-April, 1966 :

"The most important contribution made by the author is that he has illumined, with profuse documentation and critical interpretation, the development of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school in all its stages.

As a final comment on this fine piece of scholarship it may be mentioned that the author has performed a much needed service, by bringing out the true value of the work of Stcherbatsky, the Russian scholar, who was the first to grasp the tremendous importance of Dignāga in modern times."

TIMES OF INDIA, Bombay, January 30, 1966 :

"For the clear and sustained exposition of Buddhist logic itself he is heavily indebted to Stcherbatsky's monumental work on the subject and that has been gratefully acknowledged in the dedication to three 'sages' where the Russian joins the company of Dignāga and Vācaspatimiśra, a rather moving attestation of the barrierless internationalism of Indological research. Dr. Shastri has also been able to show that the orthodox tradition is scarcely reliable when it reports and comments on Buddhist views."

AMRIT BAZAR PATRIKA, Calcutta, July 10, 1966 :

"The volume under review reveals a deep insight of the author into Buddhist and Brahmanic epistemology and philosophy, and aims at presenting Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems of thought from the angle of criticism by Dignāga, the founder of Buddhist logic and epistemology, who dominated and revolutionised Indian philosohical thought for about 600 years. No wonder, the Tibetans regarded him as an 'Ornament of Jambudvīpa'.

Appropriately enough, the work has been dedicated to the memory of Dignāga, Śrī Vācaspatimiśra, and the Russian savant Stcherbatsky, who restored from oblivion, the school of Dignāga."

DR. DHARMENDRA NATH SHASTRI

VED VYAS

Dr. Dharmendra Nath Shastri—'Shastriji' as he is affectionately called by his friends and admirers—has been an elder brother to me since 1925. He secured first class first in M. A. (Sanskrit) from Panjab University, Lahore, in 1923. He had already a distinguished record as a reputed Sanskrit scholar and a leading Arya-Samajist. Since then, we have joined hands in many public enterprises and have always been very close associates.

In early thirties, Shastriji started a Hindi Daily from Lahore—a bold venture of exceptional difficulty at that time, which cost him crushing load of work, worry and money. As Head of the Department of Sanskrit in one of the largest Colleges of India, he always enjoyed high prestige in academic life of the country. As an outstanding scholar of Indian philosophy, especially Buddhist philosophy, he has achieved highest international reputation.

When Shastriji retired from the Meerut College, after a meritorious tenure of 34 years, his colleagues very kindly invited me to the Farewell Function organised in his honour. I distinctly recollect having told our friends at that Function that though Shastriji had formally retired as Head of the Sanskrit Department of the College, we expected him to guide us as a Director of the Institute (i. e., Institute of Indology, just started at Delhi) for another 30 years. By grace of God, Shastriji has been able to give his invaluable guidance to this Institute for over 20 years.

As Director of Institute of Indic studies at Kurukshetra University, I suggested to him and to our esteemed friend, late Shri Suraj Bhan Vice-Chancellor, that a Digest of Indological studies,if taken up by the University,would be a most useful contribution to the study of Indology. Shastriji, with his usual vigour and determination, readily accepted this challenge, and within incredibly short time organised a team of scholars for the purpose and produced an excellent half-yearly Journal of Indological Studies—PRĀCHĪ-JYOTI—giving concise summary of varied work being carried on in the entire field of Indology throughout the world. This most useful work has been continued successfully, after his retirement, by his talented successor, Dr. G. M. Bhattacharya, though, on account of press difficulties, the publication is in arrear for some years.

In 1966, Shastriji and his friend, Principal S. R. Tyagi, decided to start a Degree College at Sahibabad (Ghaziabad) and asked me to join them in this project. I was most reluctant to do so, but it was impossible for me to say 'no' to an elder brother. Since then we have been most closely associated with the development of Lajpat Rai College, Sahibabad, with generous donations by Shastriji's younger brother Shri Mahendra Nath and his organisations, Shri Kapil Mohan of Messrs Mohan Meakin and other friends.

In May 1976, Shastriji and I represented the Institute of Indology in Third World Sanskrit Conference held at Paris.

Shastriji is, indeed, an eminent scholar of Sanskrit highly respected in international circles. What is more, he has been a man of unimpeachable integrity throughout his life—a Ṛṣi in the true sense of the word and a dedicated devotee of Sarasvatī and an ideal Āchārya.

It is my earnest prayer that the Almighty may give him many more years of healthy and useful life so that he may continue to give us guidance and inspiration. I pay him my affectionate and respectful homage.

शास्त्री जी के व्यक्तित्व एवं कृतित्व से सम्बन्धित कतिपय उल्लेखनीय तथ्य

केशवराम पाल

श्रद्धेय डा० धर्मेन्द्र नाथ शास्त्री अपने जीवन में शैक्षिक तथा अन्य विविध गतिविधियों में बड़े सक्रिय रहे हैं। पूर्ववर्ती लेखों में उनके व्यक्तित्व एवं कृतित्व से सम्बन्धित पर्याप्त सामग्री आई है, तथापि कुछ बातें ऐसी हैं जो या तो पिछले लेखों में नहीं आ पाई हैं या जिनका विशद उल्लेख अपेक्षित है। अतः शास्त्री जी के व्यक्तित्व एवं कृतित्व से सम्बधित कुछ तथ्यों को यहां प्रस्तुत किया जा रहा है।

आर्य-समाज से सम्बन्ध

आर्य-समाज से सम्बन्ध के विषय में शास्त्री जी का कहना है कि वे आर्य-समाज की मिट्टी से बने और आर्य-समाज की गोद में पले हैं। १९०६ में वे आर्य-समाज के गुरुकुल सिकन्दराबाद में प्रविष्ट हुये और उन्होंने १९१८ में गुरुकुल वृन्दावन से तर्कशिरोमणि की उपाधि प्राप्त की। १९१९ में शास्त्री जी गुरुकुल वृन्दावन में आचार्य नियुक्त हुये। कुछ समय तक उन्होंने **'आर्यमित्र'** नाम के आर्य-समाज के साप्ताहिक पत्र के सम्पादक के रूप में कार्य किया। अपनी विश्वविद्यालयीय शिक्षा भी शास्त्री जी ने आर्य-समाज की संस्था डी०ए०वी० कालेज, लाहौर में प्राप्त की, जहां से उन्होंने १९२३ में संस्कृत में पंजाब विश्वविद्यालय की एम० ए० परीक्षा प्रथम श्रेणी में प्रथम स्थान प्राप्त करते हुये उत्तीर्ण की (यहीं पर शास्त्री जी प्रसिद्ध जर्मन विद्वान् ए० सी० वुलनर के सम्पर्क में आये, जो उन दिनों पंजाब विश्वविद्यालय में संस्कृत के प्रोफेसर थे)।

ज्येष्ठ कृष्णा चतुर्थी वि० १९८१ को मवाना नगर (ज़िला मेरठ) में जो द्वितीय युक्त-प्रान्तीय आर्यकुमार-सम्मेलन हुआ था वह शास्त्री जी के सभापतित्व में हुआ था। उन दिनों शास्त्री जी गुरुकुल वृन्दावन में आचार्य थे। उस सम्मेलन में उन्होंने जो **'सदाचार-निर्माण-रहस्य'** शीर्षक वाला अपना सभापति-भाषण पढ़ा था, उसकी बड़ी सराहना की गई थी। इसे मन्त्री, स्वागतकारिणी आ० कु० स०, मवाना नगर द्वारा छपवाया गया था। श्री नाहर सिंह महाराजा शाहपुरा द्वारा उस भाषण

की सौ प्रतियां प्राप्त करने की इच्छा प्रकट किये जाने पर शास्त्री जी ने बाद में दिसम्बर, १९२६ में, जब वे मेरठ कालेज में प्राध्यापक थे, उस भाषण में व्यक्त किये गये विचारों को व्यवस्थित करके **'सदाचार-सन्ध्या** अथवा **सदाचार-निर्माण-रहस्य'** शीर्षक से पुस्तक के रूप में छपवाया था।

मेरठ कालेज में शास्त्री जी की नियुक्ति संस्कृत विभाग में प्राध्यापक के रूप में १९२४ में हुई थी। उन दिनों वे आर्य-समाज के क्षेत्र में अत्यधिक सक्रिय थे। उनकी गिनती आर्य-समाज के अत्यन्त ओजस्वी एवं प्रभावशाली वक्ताओं में की जाती थी। शास्त्री जी ने मेरठ कालेज में भी आर्यकुमार-सभा को स्थापित किया था और उसका संचालन किया था। उन्होंने 'शक्ति आश्रम' भी खोला था, जिसमें विभिन्न विषयों पर व्याख्यान आदि आयोजित किये जाते थे।

फरवरी, १९२५ में आर्यसमाज द्वारा मथुरा में दयानन्द-शताब्दी मनाई गई थी। शास्त्री जी शताब्दी कमेटी के प्रचार-विभाग के मन्त्री थे। शास्त्री जी तथा आर्य-समाज के कुछ अन्य नेताओं ने श्री टी० एल० वास्वानी से आग्रह किया था कि वे स्वामी जी के विषय में अपने विचार प्रकाशित करें। उनके आग्रह पर ऋषि दयानन्द और आर्य आदर्श के विषय में अपने विचारों को प्रकट करते हुये श्री टी० एल० वास्वानी ने Torch-Bearer नाम की एक पुस्तक अंग्रेज़ी में लिखी थी, जो जनवरी, १९२५ में करांची से प्रकाशित हुई थी। इस पुस्तक के हिन्दी अनुवाद को करने और छपवाने का काम शास्त्री जी ने दस दिन के भीतर निद्रा-रहित रातें बिताकर किया था, क्योंकि यह पुस्तक शताब्दी-समारोह में प्रस्तुत की जानी थी। हिन्दी में अनूदित यह पुस्तक **'पथ-प्रदीप'** के नाम से फरवरी, १९२५ में मेरठ से प्रकाशित हुई थी। श्री वास्वानी ने अपनी पुस्तक को अर्वाचीन भारत के अत्यन्त विशुद्ध उच्चतम पुत्र की पवित्र स्मृति में अपने 'शताब्दी उपहार' के रूप में प्रस्तुत किया था।

दयानन्द-जन्म-शताब्दी के अवसर पर शास्त्री जी ने आर्य-परिषद् में एक निबन्ध पढ़ा था, जिसका शीर्षक था—**"व्यक्तिगत जीवन व समाज-संगठन की महती समस्या का समाधान वैदिक वर्णाश्रम-व्यवस्था"**। यह निबन्ध बाद में अक्तूबर १९२६ में इसी शीर्षक से ३२ पृष्ठों की पुस्तिका के रूप में छपा था।

यह उल्लेखनीय है कि स्वामी दयानन्द के प्रति असीम श्रद्धा के कारण शास्त्री जी ने उनकी जन्मभूमि 'टंकारा' ग्राम (गुजरात) की भी यात्रा की थी, जहाँ उनकी भेंट स्वामी जी के पारिवारिक घर में उन दिनों रह रहे एक मुस्लिम परिवार के वृद्ध से हुई थी, जिसने स्वामी जी के विषय में उन्हें बहुत सी बातें बतलाई थीं।

गुरुकुल वृन्दावन के मुख्याधिष्ठाता श्री नारायण स्वामी के निकट सम्पर्क में रहने के कारण शास्त्री जी ने उनसे जीवन के महान् आदर्शों की शिक्षा प्राप्त की थी। आर्यसमाज के दो महान् नेताओं स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द (महात्मा मुंशीराम) और महात्मा हंसराज जी से साक्षात् सम्बन्ध होने का भी शास्त्री जी को गौरव प्राप्त है। शास्त्री जी गंगा-पार के कांगड़ी ग्राम की भूमि पर अवस्थित गुरुकुल में जब महात्मा मुंशीराम जी के दर्शन के लिये पहुंचे थे तो उन्होंने उस समय अपने हृदय में जागृत हुई भावना के विषय में लिखा है—"क्या वह महान् पुरुष गंगा से भी अधिक पवित्र न था। उनके चरणों में सिर

झुक गया। उनकी छाप सारे जीवन मेरे ऊपर रही, उनके बलिदान के अन्तिम दिन तक उनसे मेरा सम्पर्क होता रहा।" महात्मा हंसराज जी के हृदय की सरलता और महान् व्यक्तित्व से भी शास्त्री जी अत्यधिक प्रभावित रहे हैं।

शास्त्री जी ने यह अनुभव किया है कि १९३० के लगभग तक आर्यसमाज में ऋषि दयानन्द द्वारा बताये गये आदर्शों को जीवन में चरितार्थ करने पर बल रहा, किन्तु बाद में उनके प्रति ऐसी अन्धभक्ति और श्रद्धा दिखलाई जाने लगी जैसी कि किसी को महान् गुरु या पैगम्बर मानने पर, जिससे कभी कोई गलती हो ही नहीं सकती, दिखाई जाती है। इसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि आर्यसमाज से ऐसे लोगों को, जो ऋषि दयानन्द की कोई भी त्रुटि बतलाते हों, निकालने की योजना बनाई जाने लगी अथवा ऐसे लोग स्वयं ही आर्य-समाज से अलग होने लगे। आर्य-समाज के १९३४ में दिल्ली में हुये उस सम्मेलन में शास्त्रीजी ने भाग लिया था, जिसमें आर्यसमाज के नेताओं ने वेदों के महान् विद्वान् आचार्य विश्वबन्धु जी को आर्यसमाज से निकालने की योजना बनाई थी। इस सम्मेलन में शास्त्री जी ने आर्य-समाज के इन नेताओं के विरुद्ध एक लेख बटवाया था, जिसका शीर्षक था 'विश्वबन्धु'। उस लेख में शास्त्री जी ने यही बतलाया था कि " आर्यसमाज जिसका प्रवर्तक दयानन्द हो, जिसके जीवन का श्वास ही सत्य था, जिसने सत्य और केवल सत्य को ही अपने जीवन का ध्येय बनाया, वहां पर सत्य के एक पुजारी को इस प्रकार सताया जाना आश्चर्य की बात है।" शास्त्री जी के इस लेख को पढ़कर आर्यसमाज के नेता बौखला उठे थे। पंजाब की गुरुकुल पार्टी के सबसे बड़े नेता महाशय कृष्ण जी ने उस सभा में कहा था कि अदालत में अपराधी से भी अधिक सजा दी जाती है अपराध के उकसाने वाले को, इसलिये श्री विश्वबन्धु से भी अधिक सजा धर्मेन्द्रनाथ शास्त्री को मिलनी चाहिए। किन्तु इस सम्मेलन में अधिकांश संस्कृत के ज्ञाता विद्वान् आचार्य विश्वबन्धु जी के साथ थे। इसलिये उन्हें आर्यसमाज से निकाला नहीं जा सका था। उसी सम्मेलन में प्रो० वेदव्यास जी ने, जो उन दिनों पंजाब विश्वविद्यालय में संस्कृत के प्राध्यापक थे, कहा था कि हमारा सबसे बड़ा अपराध तो यही है कि हमने संस्कृत पढ़ी है, यदि न पढ़ी होती तो हम भी आर्य-समाज के अन्य नेताओं के साथ-साथ विश्वबन्धु जी का विरोध करते।

आर्य-समाज के बहुत बड़े वर्ग की जो बात शास्त्री जी को अखरती रही है वह है ऋषि दयानन्द के प्रति 'गुरुडम' वाली अन्धश्रद्धा और ऋषि के लेखों के विषय में जो जरा भी शंका करे उसे अपराधी मानने की प्रवृत्ति। आर्य-समाज की इसी प्रकार की संकुचित नीति और कार्य-प्रणाली के कारण शास्त्री जी आर्य-समाज से दूर होते गये हैं। किन्तु वे आर्य-समाज से जितने दूर होते गये हैं, उतनी ही ऋषि दयानन्द के प्रति उनकी श्रद्धा बढ़ती गई है। वे यह मानते हैं—"१९वीं और २०वीं शती में हमारे देश में महान् विचारक और क्रान्तिकारी नेता उत्पन्न हुये हैं, जिनकी लम्बी पंक्ति है। उन सारे विचारकों में ऋषि दयानन्द का सर्वोपरि स्थान है।" कुछ वर्ष पूर्व शास्त्री जी ने 'ऋषि दयानन्द और आर्यसमाज' शीर्षक से एक लेख प्रकाशित किया था, जिसमें उन्होंने आर्य-समाज और ऋषि दयानन्द के सम्बन्ध में अपने विचार प्रकट किये थे। शास्त्री जी के जीवन का एक बहुत बड़ा भाग, ३०-३५ वर्षों का समय, आर्य-समाज में बीता है।

यह उल्लेखनीय है कि शास्त्री जी के पिता जी डॉ० केदारनाथ जी भी आर्यसमाज के कार्यों के

लिए निष्ठापूर्वक समर्पित थे। उन्होंने अपना वानप्रस्थ-जीवन अल्मोड़ा में बिताया था, जहाँ उन्होंने एक अनाथालय भी स्थापित किया था। अपनी सामाजिक सेवाओं के कारण वे वहाँ बड़े लोकप्रिय हुए थे।

जाति-व्यवस्था का विरोध और दलितों में सामाजिक क्रान्ति का प्रयत्न

शास्त्री जी हिन्दु समाज की जाति-व्यवस्था के कट्टर विरोधी रहे हैं। उन्होंने यह अनुभव किया है कि आर्य-समाज तथा अन्य संस्थाओं द्वारा प्रयत्न किये जाने पर भी हिन्दु समाज में जात-पांत की भावना नहीं मिटी है। आर्य-समाज में भी गुण-कर्म की वर्ण-व्यवस्था का केवल ढकोसला ही रहा है।

जाति के आधार पर किसी को ऊंचा और किसी को नीचा माना जाने की हिन्दु समाज की संकीर्णताओं को दूर करने के उद्देश्य से शास्त्री जी ने मेरठ में जात-पाँत-तोड़क मण्डल की भी स्थापना की थी, जिसने काफ़ी सक्रिय रूप में कार्य किया था।

जात-पाँत की मान्यताओं के सर्वथा विरोधी होने के कारण शास्त्री जी ने अपने व्यक्तिगत जीवन में तथा सामाजिक सम्बन्धों के निर्वाह में जाति की दृष्टि से कभी विचार नहीं किया। उनके परिवार में विवाह भी जाति-विशेष का विचार किये बिना हुए हैं। इसीलिए उनके सम्बन्धी विभिन्न जातियों और विभिन्न प्रदेशों के हैं।

समाज के जो वर्ग हज़ारों वर्षों से आर्थिक और सामाजिक दृष्टि से पिछड़े और दलित रहे हैं उनके प्रति शास्त्री जी की न केवल गहरी सहानुभूति रही है, प्रत्युत उन्होंने सक्रिय रूप से यह प्रयत्न किया है कि वे वर्ग संगठित हों और उनमें क्रान्ति आये।

दलितों के उत्थान के उद्देश्य से शास्त्री जी ने १९७० में **'वर्ण-विध्वंसक-समाज'** नाम की संस्था की स्थापना की थी, जिसे दिल्ली में पंजीकृत कराया था और जिसका शाखा-कार्यालय उनके निवास-स्थान पर मेरठ में था। इसके सम्बन्ध में कहा गया है—"जात-पाँत या वर्ण-व्यवस्था ही हिन्दु धर्म का सबसे बड़ा अभिशाप है। शोषण और सामाजिक जुल्म का ऐसा भयानक औज़ार सारी दुनिया के इतिहास में नहीं पाया जाता। केवल दलित वर्ग के लोग, जो जात-पाँत के शिकार हुए हैं या वे लोग जो व्यवहार में जात-पाँत मिटा चुके हों, वर्ण-व्यवस्था के मिटाने का काम कर सकते हैं, इस दृष्टि से 'वर्ण-विध्वंसक-समाज' की स्थापना की गई है।" शास्त्री जी ने नवयुवक विकास समिति अमरौली उर्फ़ बड़ा गांव (जिला मेरठ) द्वारा दिनांक ११ अक्तूबर, १९७० को आयोजित कान्फ्रेंस में अध्यक्ष के रूप में अपना एक महत्त्वपूर्ण अभिभाषण दिया था जिसे उन्होंने 'वर्ण-विध्वंसक-समाज' दिल्ली की ओर से १२ पृष्ठों की पुस्तिका के रूप में छपवाया था। पिछले सौ सवा सौ वर्षों में दलितों की अवस्था को सुधारने के प्रयत्न होने पर भी समस्या का हल न होने के कारण उनमें सामाजिक क्रान्ति की आवश्यकता पर बल देते हुए शास्त्री जी ने 'दलितों द्वारा सामाजिक क्रान्ति की घोषणा' नामक अपने एक लेख में, जिसे 'वर्ण-विध्वंसक-समाज' मेरठ द्वारा प्रकाशित किया गया था, लिखा है—"पिछले सौ सवा सौ वर्षों के बाद भी और यहाँ तक कि भारत को स्वाधीनता मिलने के बाद भी दलितों की दुर्गति पहिले से भी अधिक हो रही है। देश के सारे दलित दरिद्रता के शिकार तो बने ही हुए हैं पर साथ ही उन पर जो सामाजिक

जुल्म हो रहा है उसको मिटाने के लिए आज तक कोई मजबूत कदम नहीं उठाया गया। ज़रूरत एक जबर्दस्त क्रान्ति की है, जिसे दलितों को स्वयं ही खड़ा करना होगा।" शास्त्री जी की यह मान्यता है कि जात-पाँत ही दलितों पर सामाजिक अत्याचार का सबसे बड़ा हथियार है, अत: दलितों की क्रान्ति का असली रूप जात-पाँत को मिटाना होना चाहिए।

शास्त्री जी की भगवान् बुद्ध के प्रति अगाध आस्था है। उनके प्रति श्रद्धा-भावना से प्रेरित होकर ही उन्होंने अपनी कोठी का नाम 'कपिलवस्तु' रक्खा था। वे मानते हैं कि भगवान् बुद्ध ने ईश्वर और देवताओं के पाखण्ड से मानवता का उद्धार किया था। डॉ० अम्बेडकर को वे बोधिसत्त्व के तुल्य मानते हैं, जिन्होंने कोटि-कोटि दलित जनता को मानवता का अधिकार दिलाया। वे मानते हैं कि यदि भगवान् बुद्ध के बाद किसी ने दलितों के दर्द को पहचाना है तो वे डॉ० भीमराव अम्बेडकर ही थे। डॉ० अम्बेडकर के समान शास्त्री जी भी यह मानते हैं कि दलितों के लिए अब एक ही रास्ता है—वह है बौद्ध धर्म को स्वीकार करना, क्योंकि हिन्दु धर्म के साथ चिपटे रहकर दलितों की समस्या का हल नहीं हो सकता। हिन्दु धर्म का आधार ही जात-पाँत और जन्म से ही ऊंच-नीच मानना है। शास्त्री जी ने २६ नवम्बर, १९७२ को सारनाथ में विशाल बौद्ध-दीक्षा के अवसर पर अध्यक्षीय भाषण दिया था, जो "समस्या का हल बौद्ध-धर्म" शीर्षक से भारतीय बौद्ध-महासभा वाराणसी द्वारा आठ पृष्ठों की पुस्तिका के रूप में प्रकाशित कराया गया था।

साम्यवादी विचारधारा का प्रभाव

निर्धनों एवं मज़दूरों का समाज में जो शोषण होता रहा है उसे देखकर शास्त्री जी की उनके प्रति गहरी सहानुभूति रही है। इसी कारण वे साम्यवादी विचारधारा से प्रभावित रहे हैं। अपने विचारों को वे लेखों आदि के माध्यम से प्रकट करते रहे हैं। शास्त्री जी ने "सौरभ" पत्रिका के भाग २, संख्या १९ में 'धन का अत्याचार' शीर्षक से एक लेख लिखा था, जिसमें उन्होंने दिखाया था कि किस प्रकार इंग्लैण्ड में धन के बढ़ने पर भी वहाँ के साधारण लोगों और विशेषकर मजदूरों की दशा गिरती गई है।

११ नवम्बर, १९५९ को मेरठ में भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की नेशनल कौंसिल का अधिवेशन हुआ था, जिसमें कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के सभी प्रमुख नेता उपस्थित थे। इस अधिवेशन की स्वागत-समिति की अध्यक्षता शास्त्री जी ने की थी। अपने स्वागत-भाषण में शास्त्री जी ने मार्क्सवाद के प्रति ज्वलन्त श्रद्धा तो व्यक्त की ही थी, साथ ही मार्क्सवाद को अन्धविश्वास और उसके कारण होने वाले शोषण के विरुद्ध एक शक्तिशाली हथियार बतलाया था। उस स्वागत-भाषण में आया उनका यह विचार उल्लेखनीय है—"श्रमजीवी जनता ही तो भारत देश है, न कि गिने-चुने शोषक-वर्ग के लोग। श्रमजीवी विरुद्ध एक शक्तिशाली जनता के प्रति वफादारी ही सच्चे अर्थों में देश-भक्ति है।"

शिक्षकों के गौरव का प्रतिपादन

शास्त्री जी १९५६ में विश्व शान्ति मिशन के प्रतिनिधि-मण्डल के सदस्य के रूप में रूस देश की यात्रा पर गये थे। वहाँ उन्हें यह जानकर आश्चर्य हुआ कि रूस में अध्यापकों का वेतन जजों, मिनिस्टरों आदि से भी अधिक है। उन्होंने यह अनुभव किया कि ज्ञान-विज्ञान के क्षेत्र में रूस की असाधारण

उन्नति का एक बड़ा रहस्य यह है कि वहाँ अध्यापकों का इतना अधिक सम्मान है। शास्त्री जी ने अपने वहाँ के अनुभवों और उनसे उद्गत विचारों को एक लेख में प्रकट किया था जो "लाजपतराय कालेज, साहिबाबाद : उसका मुख्य आदर्श-अध्यापक का गौरव' शीर्षक से लाजपतराय कालेज, साहिबाबाद की पत्रिका 'तरुण' के अप्रैल १६६६ के अंक में प्रकाशित हुआ था। शास्त्री जी का यह लेख लाजपतराय कालेज, साहिबाबाद की पत्रिका 'अभिव्यंजना' के १६७१ के अङ्क में, तथा वहाँ के दशक-समारोह (३०-३१ जनवरी, १६७८) की स्मारिका में भी कुछ सामान्य परिवर्तनों के साथ प्रकाशित हुआ था। रूस की तुलना में अपने देश की तत्कालीन स्थिति का उल्लेख करते हुए शास्त्री जी ने लिखा था—"जिस देश में अध्यापकों को पूँजीपतियों की और ब्लैक मार्केट के दुकानदारों की गुलामी करनी पड़े वहाँ उनका गौरव क्या हो सकता है। सारी शिक्षा-संस्थाओं के संचालक उसी प्रकार के आदमी हैं जिनकी कृपा से गरीब अध्यापक को किसी शिक्षा-संस्था में जगह मिलती है। सरकारी शिक्षा-संस्थाओं की बागडोर भी उन बड़े अफसरों के हाथ में है जो अध्यापक को हिकारत की नज़र से देखते हैं।" उन्होंने उपर्युक्त लेख में लाजपतराय कालेज (साहिबाबाद) के सन्दर्भ में लिखा था—"कालेज के मैनेजमैण्ट का मुख्य लक्ष्य है अध्यापकों के गौरव को स्थापित करना, क्योंकि यह स्पष्ट है कि अध्यापकों के गौरवशाली होने पर ही शिक्षा का उद्देश्य सफल हो सकता है। लाजपतराय कालेज के अध्यापक यह अनुभव कर सकते हैं कि कालेज उनका है, वे ही कालेज के मालिक हैं और सर्वेसर्वा हैं। इसीलिए कालेज की सर्वतोमुखी उन्नति करने की योजना वनाना उन्हीं का काम है।"

शिक्षक के आदर्श के विषय में शास्त्री जी का अपना निजी दृष्टकोण है। इसका पता चलता है उस श्लोकार्द्ध से जो शास्त्री जी के निर्देश पर लाजपतराय कालेज, साहिबाबाद के प्राचार्य ने अपने कार्यालय में फ्रेम में जड़वाकर दीवार पर लगा रक्खा है। मालविकाग्निमित्र (१.१७) का यह श्लोकार्द्ध है—**यस्यागमः केवलजीविकायै तं ज्ञानपण्यं वणिजं वदन्ति,** जिसका अर्थ है—"जिसका शास्त्र-ज्ञान केवल जीविका के लिए है उसे ज्ञान बेचने वाला वणिक् कहते हैं।" शास्त्री जी यह मानने हैं कि शिक्षक का व्यवसाय केवल जीविकोपार्जन के लिए नहीं अपनाया जाना चाहिए, प्रत्युत उसे तो निष्ठापूर्वक ज्ञान की साधना और उसके समुचित वितरण में लगना चाहिए। शिक्षा-संस्थाओं में तदनुकूल परिस्थितियाँ उत्पन्न की जानी चाहियें, जिससे कि शिक्षक राष्ट्र की सर्वांगीण उन्नति में अधिकाधिक योगदान कर सके।

संस्कृत-शिक्षण को सरल बनाने की आकांक्षा

शास्त्री जी की दीर्घकाल से यह आकांक्षा रही है कि संस्कृत के शिक्षण को सरल बनाया जाये। वे अपने अध्यापक-जीवन में यह अनुभव करते रहे हैं कि बहुत से छात्र संस्कृत-व्याकरण की क्लिष्टता के कारण संस्कृत विषय को लेने से कतराते हैं। छात्र संस्कृत के व्यावहारिक व्याकरण को सरलता से समझ सकें इस उद्देश्य से शास्त्री जी ने १६५३ में **'संस्कृत-व्याकरण का मानचित्र'** नामक एक पुस्तक लिखी थी। इस पुस्तक के विषय में बनारस हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय के तत्कालीन कुलपति आचार्य नरेन्द्रदेव जी ने लिखा था, "You have certainly simplified the study of Sanskrit grammar". बनारस विश्वविद्यालय के ही प्रोफेसर डा० वासुदेव शरण अग्रवाल ने अपना यह मत

व्यक्त किया था—"संस्कृत व्याकरण के मानचित्र में आपने संस्कृत के मौलिक गठन को अति सरलता से प्रत्यक्ष दिखाया है। इस मानचित्र के द्वारा बुद्धिमान् छात्र शिक्षक की सहायता से सुखपूर्वक संस्कृत का ज्ञान अत्यन्त स्वल्प समय में कर सकेगा। मैं स्वयं इसका उपयोग अपने बच्चों को संस्कृत सिखाने के लिये करना चाहता हूं।"

अवकाश प्राप्त करने के पश्चात् शास्त्री जी संस्कृत-शिक्षण को सरल बनाने के प्रयास में और अधिक तत्परता से लगे, जिसके परिणामस्वरूप उनकी दो पुस्तकें प्रकाशित हुईं—१९६८ में "**संस्कृत-शिक्षण की नवीन योजना**" और १९७५ में "Sanskrit in 30 Lectures." प्रस्तुत लेखक ने, जिसे इन दोनों पुस्तकों को तैयार करने में शास्त्री जी के साथ सहयोग करने का अवसर मिला है, यह अनुभव किया है कि वे इस बात के लिये निरन्तर प्रयत्नशील रहे हैं कि संस्कृत के शिक्षण को अधिकाधिक सरल बनाय जाये।

संस्कृत के प्रति अनुराग मानो शास्त्री जी के रोम-रोम में व्याप्त है। वे इसके सौन्दर्य पर मुग्ध रहे हैं। उन्होंने लिखा है— "संसार की भाषाओं में गौरवपूर्ण स्थान होने के अतिरिक्त संस्कृत में एक ऐसा सौन्दर्य है जो कि प्रत्येक व्यक्ति विशेषकर भारतीय पर गहरा प्रभाव डालने वाला है। वर्तमान लेखक संस्कृत भाषा और उसके साहित्य के अलौकिक सौन्दर्य पर बहुधा मुग्ध होता रहा है। संस्कृत की बहुमुखी क्षमता, असाधारण अभिव्यक्ति, असीम व्यंजना-शक्ति, उसमें विद्यमान परिहास-विनोद और सूक्ष्म वैदग्ध्य तथा सबसे बढ़कर उसकी उच्च नैतिक भावना प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को प्रभावित करती है, जिसमें सौन्दर्यानुभूति की क्षमता है" (संस्कृत-शिक्षण की नवीन योजना, पृष्ठ १२)।

शास्त्री जी की यह आकांक्षा रही है कि प्रत्येक भारतीय संस्कृत पढ़े। उनका कथन है —"प्रत्येक भारतीय का, न केवल हिन्दुओं का, प्रत्युत मुसलमानों, ईसाइयों तथा अन्य सभी धर्मावलम्बियों का संस्कृत एक महान् उत्तराधिकार है और उस उत्तराधिकार को उन्हें प्राप्त कराना वर्तमान लेखक के जीवन की एक प्रबल आकांक्षा बनी रही है। संस्कृत के अध्ययन की वैज्ञानिक प्रणाली की खोज वह लगातार करता रहा है"(वही, पृष्ठ १३)। "Sanskrit in 30 Lectures" को शास्त्री जी ने मुख्य रूप से ऐसे उच्च-शिक्षित व्यक्तियों तथा विदेशियों के लिये लिखा है जो संस्कृत सीखना तो चाहते हैं, किन्तु इसके लिये अधिक समय नहीं दे सकते। शास्त्री जी ने अपनी इस पुस्तक के व्याख्यानों के आधार पर १९७४ में भारतीय विद्या संस्थान, दिल्ली में कुछ समय तक संस्कृत सिखाने की कक्षा को भी चलाया था, जिसमें उच्च पदों पर कार्यरत काफी लोगों ने संस्कृत सीखी थी।

स्पष्टता

शास्त्रीजी की लेखन-शैली की जो एक विशेषता सबको प्रभावित करती रही है, वह है—'स्पष्टता'। वे गूढ से गूढ विषय को भी सरलतम रूप में प्रस्तुत करने के लिये प्रयत्नशील रहे हैं। उनके भारतीय-दर्शन-विषयक ग्रन्थों में भी यह विशेषता पाई गयी है, जिसका समीक्षकों ने उल्लेख किया है। व्याकरण-विषयक ग्रन्थों में भी उन्होंने इस बात का पूरा ध्यान रक्खा है। 'संस्कृत-शिक्षण की नवीन योजना' नामक पुस्तक के प्राक्कथन (पृष्ठ १८) में शास्त्री जी लिखते हैं—"स्पष्टता वर्तमान लेखक का मुख्य

लक्ष्य रहा है। प्रत्येक बात को पूरे तौर से स्पष्ट करके समझाया गया है और अनेक बातों के विषय में फैली भ्रान्ति को दूर किया गया है"। किसी भी विषय को व्यवस्थित, वैज्ञानिक एवं स्पष्ट रूप में प्रस्तुत करने की उन जैसी प्रवृत्ति बहुत कम लोगों में देखी जाती है।

समय-पालन और स्वास्थ्य के प्रति सावधानता

शास्त्री जी के व्यक्तिगत जीवन की दो बातें विशेष रूप से उल्लेखनीय हैं—एक तो उनकी समय-पालन की प्रवृत्ति और दूसरी स्वास्थ्य के प्रति सावधानता। शास्त्री जी समय के सदुपयोग और निर्धारित समय के पालन का बहुत ध्यान रखते हैं। किसी कार्यक्रम में जाने पर जब वह निर्धारित समय पर प्रारम्भ नहीं होता है तो यह बात उन्हें बहुत अखरती है। इस सन्दर्भ में उनके वि० १९८१ में द्वितीय युक्तप्रान्तीय आर्यकुमार-सम्मेलन के सभापति के रूप में दिये गये भाषण की ये पंक्तियां उल्लेखनीय हैं– "एक बुराई हम लोगों में प्रचलित है कि हम व्यर्थ की बातों में अपना समय- नाश किया करते हैं। समय-हत्या गोहत्या से भी बड़ा पाप है। यह स्मरण रखना चाहिये कि प्रत्येक मिनट हमारे जीवन की रक्त-बिन्दु के समान है। हमें प्रत्येक समय कोई न कोई उपयोगी काम करते रहना चाहिये।" वस्तुतः लगभग ५८ वर्ष पहिले उन्होंने अपने भाषण में जो उपदेश युवकों को दिया था उसे अपने जीवन में भी चरितार्थ किया है।

शास्त्री जी अपने स्वास्थ्य के प्रति भी सावधानता रखते रहे हैं। व्यायाम, मालिश आदि करना उनका नित्य का क्रम रहा है। सम्भवतः इसीलिये वे अपने जीवन के ८५ वें वर्ष में भी सक्रिय हैं। उपर्युक्त भाषण में युवकों को सम्बोधित करते हुये उन्होंने कहा था—"युवकों के लिये एक बड़ी आवश्यक बात प्रतिदिन व्यायाम करना है। व्यायाम को सन्ध्या, स्नानादि के साथ नैत्यिक कर्म का अंग समझ लेना चाहिये। कम से कम १५ या २० मिनट व्यायाम करने से हम एक प्रकार से सारे रोगों के विरुद्ध कवच धारण कर लेते हैं, व्यायाम में गया समय हमें कई गुने रूप में वापिस मिल जाता है, क्योंकि व्यायाम से आयु की वृद्धि, मन और शरीर स्वच्छ तथा अधिक कार्यक्षम रहते हैं और बीमारी आदि से कभी समय नष्ट नहीं होता।" शास्त्री जी के स्वास्थ्य का यही रहस्य प्रतीत होता है कि लगभग ५८ वर्ष पूर्व युवकों को दिये गये उपदेश का वे स्वयं भी पालन करते रहे हैं।

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लेख (हिन्दी में)

१. **अहिंसा का स्वरूप** (कृष्ण और गांधी—आलोचनात्मक विचार), 'सुधा' (वर्ष १ खण्ड १, सितम्बर, १९२७) में प्रकाशित।

२. **धन का अत्याचार**, 'सौरभ' (भाग २ संख्या १९) में प्रकाशित।

३. **भक्तिमार्ग**, 'मेरठ कालेज मैगज़ीन' वार्षिकांक १९३४ में प्रकाशित।

४. **नवयुग का अधिनायक रूस**, 'विशाल भारत' (पूस१९९६) में प्रकाशित।

५. **भारतीय दर्शन-शास्त्र को रूसी विद्वान् श्चेरबात्स्की की अमर देन**, 'वेदवाणी' (वर्ष ४ अङ्क १, कार्तिक २००८ वि०) में प्रकाशित; 'जनवाणी' (फरवरी १९४९) में भी प्रकाशित।

६. **भारतीय दर्शन के मौलिक ग्रन्थों का समुद्धार**, 'आज' (१५ जुलाई, १९५१) के साप्ताहिक विशेषांक में प्रकाशित; तथा 'वेदवाणी' (आश्विन २००८ वि०) में प्रकाशित।

७. **दलितों द्वारा सामाजिक क्रान्ति की घोषणा**, वर्ण-विध्वंसक-समाज, मेरठ शाखा द्वारा प्रकाशित ६ पृष्ठों का लेख।

८ **दलितों की समस्या**, ११ अक्तूबर १९७० को आयोजित कान्फ्रेंस में दिया गया अध्यक्षीय अभिभाषण, वर्ण-विध्वंसक-समाज, दिल्ली द्वारा प्रकाशित (१० पृष्ठ)।

९. **समस्या का हल बौद्ध-धर्म**, २६ नवम्बर, १९७२ को सारनाथ में विशाल बौद्ध-दीक्षा के अवसर पर दिया गया अध्यक्षीय भाषण (८ पृष्ठ), भारतीय बौद्ध महासभा, वाराणसी द्वारा प्रकाशित।

१०. **ऋषि दयानन्द और आर्यसमाज**, स्वयं प्रकाशित ८ पृष्ठों का लेख।

११. **लाजपतराय कालेज, साहिबाबाद : उसका मुख्य आदर्श—अध्यापक का गौरव**, लाजपतराय स्नातकोत्तर महाविद्यालय, दशक-समारोह, स्मारिका (३०-३१ जनवरी, १९७८) में प्रकाशित; 'तरुण' (अप्रैल १९६९) तथा 'अभिव्यंजना' (१९७१) के अङ्कों में भी प्रकाशित।

लेख (संस्कृत में)

१. **भारत-राष्ट्रस्यैक्यं संस्कृत-संस्कृति-मूलकम्**, 'विश्वसंस्कृतम्' (विश्वेश्वरानन्द-वैदिक-शोध-संस्थानम्, होशिआरपुरम्) के द्वितीय अङ्क में प्रकाशित।

२. वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयदर्शनपरिषदधिवेशनस्य बौद्धदर्शनपरिषदि अध्यक्षीयभाषणम् (दिनाङ्क २६.१२.६७)।

SECTION 1

VEDIC STUDIES

ṚGVEDA 10, 146 : THE HYMN TO ARAṆYĀNĪ

H.W. Bodewitz

Hinduism knows a lot of female deities, whereas this phenomenon is almost missing in the Veda. This may be the reason why the few goddesses mentioned in the hymns receive an attention which often bears no relation to their real position. In this light we should see the so-called goddess Araṇyānī. A goddess who receives a complete hymn of her own, makes a good score in the statistics of the Veda, but it is often more important to look at the stray references throughout the whole corpus of the Ṛgveda in order to settle the question whether something is rightly called a goddess or is just to be regarded as an ad hoc personification of a concept which e.g. happens to be grammatically feminine.

Araṇyānī has only one hymn in the Ṛgveda and no further references. In later texts some of its *ṛcs* are quoted. The entire hymn is repeated at Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa 2, 5, 5, 16, ff. Further Araṇyānī is once mentioned in the Atharvaveda (12, 2, 53), where, however, the information is very scanty; Whitney translates by "forest-spirit".

Are we to assume the existence of a cult of Araṇyānī in the Vedic religion? I have some doubts, even if it has to be admitted that a forest-spirit like Araṇyānī is not absolutely to be rejected. C.G. Diehl has published a paper "The goddess of forests in Tamil literature" in *Tamil Culture* 11, 1964, p. 308-316 (not at my disposal at the moment) in which he seems to have connected this goddess with Araṇyānī.

The name of our goddess looks quite simple : *araṇya* "forest" + the suffix *-ānī*, which mostly denotes the wife of a god : Indrāṇī is Mrs. Indra. The suffix may also denote the wife of a man who has a particular function : the *upādhyāyānī* is the wife of the guru. And according to Wackernagel-Debrunner II. 2, p. 280 it may incidentally refer to "weibliche Genien", e.g. *ūrjānī* "Genius der Kraftfülle" and *araṇyānī* "Waldgeist".

So at best Araṇyāni may denote a forest-genius. It is doubtful whether the Vedic ṛṣis, even those of the late tenth book, should dedicate an entire hymn to such a genius. Being the subject of a hymn of course does not make someone or something a deity. Several hymns of the tenth book which had no application in the old Vedic ritual and even in later times were not secondarily used in ceremonies, had a different function. They sketched a phenomenon or described in poetic terms something which drew the attention. It seems doubtful whether a hymn like 10, 146 originally had any ritual or other application. It sketches the impressions which one may undergo in a forest.

Araṇyānī is rather the personification of the forest or of its sphere. It is remarkable that some forms of Araṇyānī in this hymn belong to an *-i* stem. Thieme has observed in a paper in the Felicitation Volume Kuiper (*Pratidānam*, The Hague 1968, p. 391) : "*araṇyāní*-(...) lässt sich kaum anders begreifen denn als künstliche Personifizierung des neutralen Kollektivplurals *áraṇyānī*. Die Vorstellung schwankt zwischen männlicher (2 cd) und weiblicher (3 cd, 5) Auffassung". The feminine *araṇyānī* which is used outside the nominative was also a personification of the neuter plural, supported by the feminine suffix *-ānī*. I think that Thieme is right and that primarily this Araṇyānī/i is a personification, and in my view it is a poetic personification. Thus we get rid of the *-ānī* goddess ("wife of god Forest"?) or the *-ānī* genius.

These general notes of some length had to be made in order to settle the position of this hymn and of the so-called goddess in Vedic religion.

According to Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 261 Araṇyānī has to be connected with the "Waldfräulein" of the ancient folklore as described by Mannhardt and we hear in this hymn "die Sprache uralten, über die Erde verbreitetan Volksglaubens". In the view of Rudolf Otto, *Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier* (1932), p. 41 the forest is full of the numinous. He has to admit, however, that the numen in this case is a *mirum* rather than a *tremendum*. In my view a numen which creates surprise rather than terror, forms a weak foundation for the origin and existence of a deity. Still for Otto this Araṇyānī shows us 'die, Entstehung eines so ausgewählten und besonderen Gottestypus wie das der griechischen Göttin Artemis" (o.c., p. 41). Otto especially emphasizes the fact that in verse 6 she is called the mother of the wild animals and consequently he wants to connect her with Artemis, the potnia thērōn (p. 42). Gonda, *Religionen Indiens* I, p. 95 mentions her together with other goddesses who are called mothers. I think that both authors draw rather rash conclusions from a single line of the Veda.

In the case of a hymn which stands isolated in the total corpus every scholar may find support for his own ideas. Hauer, *Die Anfänge der Yogapraxis* (1922), p. 32 regards the author of this hymn, denoted by him as "einer der packendsten Lieder des ṚV", as a representative of the "in der Einsamkeit hausenden Einsiedler, der dem Leben entsagt hat, im Walde wandert" etc. etc. "So kann nur einer reden, der die Waldein-samkeiṭ kennt". The latter point is perfectly true, but in Vedic times there were many Indians who had some experience with "Waldeinsamkeit" without being full-time world-renouncers. Moreover, one may ask how a real renouncer came to compose such a poetic hymn which contains a comparison taken from the profane sphere of life as is found in verse 2 (in my view at least). And suppose he should have made such a hymn, how did this find its way into the Ṛgvedasaṃhitā? For Hauer this Araṇyānī of course is no deity or genius; she is "Die Personifikation der Waldeinsamkeit".

I shall not mention all the references to Araṇyānī found in books on Indian goddesses and I will concentrate now on the material available for this hymn.

Apart from the usual material for every Vedic hymn, the triad of Oldenberg's *Noten*, Geldner's German translation and Renou's *Études Védiques et Pāṇinéennes* (in this case vol.16, not containing much useful information) I may mention here the literature to which Renou refers: Geldner's *Kommentar* (=*Der Rigveda in Auswahl* II, 1909), p. 216; Hillebrandt's *Lieder des Ṛgveda* (1913), p.151; Lommel's *Gedichte des Rig Veda* (1955), p. 98 and the two mentioned publications of Otto and Hauer. After Renou's *Études* two papers have been published on the subject : S.G. Kantawala, "The hymn to Araṇyānī—a study", *Journal Oriental InstituteBaroda* 20 (1970), p. 1-11. The importance of this article is rather limited, since it mainly deals with the differences between the versions of the Ṛgveda and the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa and the interpretation of the commentaries on both versions. Much more controversial is Thieme's paper "ṚV. 10. 146. 2 *āghāṭibhir iva dhāvayan*", *Pratidānam* (Fel. Vol. Kuiper, 1968), p. 383 ff. Indeed, besides the general evaluation of the position of a possible deity Araṇyānī this second verse is the most controversial problem. We shall therefore pay all our attention to it.

Oldenberg does not deal with the meaning of Araṇyānī in his *Noten*. Geldner's *Kommentar* speaks of "ein stimmungvolles Lied" and refers to A. as "die Göttin des Waldes". In his translation (publ.1951) he observes: "Araṇyānī ist die Frau des áraṇya, des Waldes. Sie stellt den Wald mit allen Schauern der Einsamkeit dar. Das stimmungsvolle Lied ist gedacht als Abendsegen eines im Walde Ubernachtenden". He seems to accept a practical application of the hymn, which would imply the existence of a goddess whose help is asked for. See also Lommel : "Abends im Wald fürchtet sich einer und gewinnt den Schutz der Wald-Göttin, indem er sie preist". , He regards her as "Gattin des Waldes".

Thieme's analysis of the term Araṇyānī has been discussed already. Although Thieme interprets Araṇyānī as a personification of "Wildnis" which in this hymn now appears as female and then as male, and therefore does not seem to assume one fixed goddess, he still holds against Geldner "dass es sich nicht um ein stimmungvolles Abendgedicht (...) handelt, sondern vielmehr um eine Art Zauberdichtung, um solenn geformte Aussagen, durch die eine bedrohliche und unheimliche Situation im Wort verharmlost und damit, magischem Denken entsprechend, auch in der Wirklichkeit harmlos gemacht wird" (p. 390). In spite of his reference to Rau, *Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien*, p. 53 "... das indische Altertum kannte keine Waldromantik" (a correct observation), I have to disagree with Thieme and I prefer poetry above "Zauberdichting" in this case. This is not to deny that in other cases Thieme is right in stressing the religious aspect of the Veda and rejecting the view that several hymns are purely poetical compositions. In the tenth book hard and fast rules cannot be applied.

In order to give an impression of the sphere of this hymn I will give a translation of vs. 1 and 3-6 before discussing the contents of the difficult second verse.

1. Lady Forest, Lady Forest! You who seem to escape me. What is the reason that you do not ask about the world where people live? Don't you ever feel terror?

3. Cattle seem to be eating; a house seems to be seen. Forest at night cracks like a cart.

—*Note* : Of course Araṇyānī does not represent a goddess in this verse (e.g. an old lady with cracking joints).

4. Here someone calls a cow, one would think; there someone was cutting wood, it seems. Passing the night with lady Forest (or : staying in a forest at nightfall) one always is under the impression that someone is shouting.

5. Forest does not kill anybody, unless someone else comes from outside. Having eaten sweet fruits one lies down as one likes.

6. I have praised the forest, the mother of the animals, who smells of cosmetics and is fragrant (like a young woman), the forest who yields much food though not being cultivated.

In the second verse Araṇyānī (-i stem) is compared with someone else. The exact implications of the simile may escape us. So much, however, is clear that the one to whom Araṇyānī is compared is a male human being (*dhāvayant*), which does not speak in favour of the assumption that Araṇyānī/i is a female deity in the whole hymn.

For the evaluation of this verse the following points have to be taken into account :

a) What is the general sphere of the hymn? Are we to interpret the simile starting from the assumption that Araṇyānī/i is an awe-inspiring female deity or do we regard this hymn as a poetical description?

b) What is the meaning of *mahīyate* ? The interpretation may be influenced by preconceived notions about a goddess who should be *mahī*.

c) What is the function of the comparison in the hymn and how has it been elaborated?

d) Is *āghāṭi* a musical instrument, and if so, what is the function of this instrument?

e) What kind of guesses should be made about the meaning of the difficult words *vṛṣārava* and *ciccika* which denote some animals on account of the sound they produce?

f) What is the meaning of *dhāvayati* or, rather, what is a *dhāvayant*?

As to point a) we have already given an elaborate introduction. Most interpreters have overestimated the terror spread by Araṇyānī. In the case of some scholars this was based on their assumption of a particular sort of goddess. For Thieme Araṇyānī/i is not a goddess, but a personification (both male and female) of something which produces terror. If I correctly understand Thieme, Araṇyānī/i is pictured in flattered colours in order to change by word magic the actually terrifying nature of the phenomenon into something harmless. That is to say that in Thieme's view we should not be misled by the charming aspect of the poetical description of the forest; indeed there are hardly any traces of a terrifying numen. The charm of this hymn in fact were a magical charm : "eine Art Zauberdichtung". I have some doubts about this. Anyhow, for Thieme Araṇyānī may be impressive as well as charming in the simile of this verse, since both aspects fit into his interpretation.

As to point b) (*mahīyate*) several different translations (either based on etymology or on ideas about the impressiveness of the goddess) have been proposed.

Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben* (1879), p. 288 translates : "dünkt sich gross"; Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 261 : "fühlt sich gross"; Hillebrandt: "ist stolz"; Geldner : "fühlt sich geehrt" (based on Sāyaṇa's ***Pūjyate***); Otto : "ein Preisgeton ist das für die Waldfrau". In Lommel's translation the verb is only rendered by an adverb :"fährt die Waldfrau *prächtig* einher". According to Thieme *mahīyate* should mean "zeigt sich mächtig" or "zeigt sich wie ein Fürst der.." In the latter interpretation the meaning of the verb becomes eclipsed behind the comparison.

I doubt the correctness of these translations, which on the one hand are based on the etymology (*mahā* "great") and on the other hand on the assumption that a goddess, be it a mother or not, should be great. The differentiation in the translations refers to greatness being present or felt and to greatness being produced (e.g. by praising, music etc.). The position of the instrumental *āghāṭibhir* partly depends on the interpretation of *mahīyate*. Does the (feeling of) greatness depend on, and is it produced by, these *āghāṭis*, or is the instrumental *āghāṭibhir* loosely connected with *dhāvayan* (as a sociativus)? Or, to put it in other words : is *mahīyate* a passive or a denominative without any passive implications ? The latter interpretation appears to be adopted by Grassmann's dictionary: "sich gross, mächtig, herrlich erweisen" as well as "übermüthig sein, sich grass dünken". This "sich gross dünken" has a peiorative connotation which of course is missing in Zimmer's and Thieme's interpretations. For the denominative see also Wackernagel-Debrunner II, 2, p. 243, where it is shown that besides the verb *mahīyate* also the adjective *mahīyu* and the noun *mahīyā* occur, as is to be expected with denominatives.

Now the meaning of *mahīyā* according to Wackernagel (o.c., l.c.) is "Lustigkeit". See also Wackernagel II, 1, p. 13 on *mahīyate* originally meaning "fröhlich sein", secondarily changed into "sich hoch erheben, gedeihen, in Ehren stehen bezw halten" under the influence of *mahānt* "gross". It is true that the last mentioned meanings of *mahīyate* are later.

The etymological analysis of Wackernagel's grammar, however, is debatable. Both "Lustigkeit" and "feeling great, being in an honourable position" should be derived from the same root. See Gonda, "The meaning of Skt. *mahas* and its relatives", *Journal Or. Inst. Baroda* 8 (1959), p. 234-269 (=*Selected Studies* II, p. 448ff). Gonda points out that in the past one assumed two homonyms : *mahas* 1) "joy, gladness", "festival" and "sacrifice"; 2) "greatness, might, magnificence" and "abundance". Actually there is only one word "greatness" with different aspects. This "greatness" may imply the subjective experience of "greatness", e.g. "exaltation", or even the religious ceremony which produces this "greatness". The ritual swinging during the Mahāvrata ceremony produces *mahas* "exaltation". In the same ceremony the dancing girls sing *hai mahā, hai mahā* "which is likewise believed to put them and those present in possession of *mahas*" (Sel. St. II, p. 458). Since *mahas* can also be brought about by worship and ritual the word came to mean *pūjā* in later times.

Gonda sometimes rejects the profane meaning "joy" for *mahas* even when it is found side by side with *moda* and *ānanda*. It is true that we do not have real synonyms here, but I would prefer "joy" or "exaltation" to "greatness".

For the present verse it is important to look at Vājasaneyisaṃhitā 19, 19, which associates the beater of a drum with noise (*śabda*), the lute-player (*viṇāvāda*) with *mahas*, the flute-player with crying (*krośa*), etc. Gonda, *Sel. St.* II, p. 462 observes : "Here *mahas* "greatness" does not, at first sight, seem to fit the context, but if we realize that musical instruments may not only be looked upon as producers of noise, but also have an important religious function, the passage may become more intelligible". Indeed, the lute is used in several ceremonies where a king is praised. Therefore Gonda concludes that the lute "is a means of generating or renewing *mahas* 'greatness, majesty, distinction," Yet I think this is rather too vague. After all, other instruments may also be used, when a king is praised. In the mentioned passage of VS. the sound of the drum is associated with noise, the sound of the flute with crying and that of the lute with the sphere of joy and exaltation.

At several places Gonda tries to explain away the idea of joy and gladness. He has to agree, however, that "the existence of an intimate connection between 'joy' and 'greatness' cannot be denied" (o.c., p. 463). Therefore I would not exclude the possibility that the music of the *viṇā* and "exaltation" belong together; this point should be kept in mind, when we further analyse the simile of our verse. Often *mahas* seems to denote joy, enjoyment, gaiety, merry-making etc. Often, indeed, this gaiety has a more or less religious background or aim, but this does not mean that merry-making itself cannot be expressed by the term. The *vīṇā* may produce a sphere of gaiety and this gaiety may have a religious function. However, the *vīṇā* has no primarily religious function (it is a secular instrument, only introduced in the Vedic ritual of the Mahāvrata or when a king is praised) and *mahas* 'joy' is not exclusively connected with religious aims.

The noun *mahīyā* also occurs in connection with the dancing in the Mahāvrata (Taittirīyasaṃhitā 7, 5, 10, 1). The girls produce *mahīyā*, which according to the Petrograd Dictionary should mean "joy, merriment," according to the translator Keith "might" and according to Gonda (p. 472) "greatness". The obscenities, the ritual coitus, the dancing, singing and music all belong together in this ceremony. They create the revelry which forms the counterpart of the rest of the śrauta ritual which is serious and practically without music. The total sphere of joy and revelry is denoted by the term *mahīyā*, which I would not translate by "greatness". The aim of the ritual may have been to promote vegetation and fertility; the means to achieve that aim are the manifestations of joy, hilarity, exaltation, which are to be observed in (and produced by some of) the participants, who "feel great".

The verb *mahīyate*, also found in the verse under discussion, according to the Petr. Dict. means something like to be merry, exultant, reckless etc. and in later times also to prosper, to be much esteemed, to be high. In connection with the present place Gonda observes : "Now, it is no doubt true that being honoured and being conscious of one's own greatness and importance may easily evoke a sensation of joy. It is therefore difficult to choose between two or three English terms in passages such as 10, 146, 2 where the goddess of the jungle, Araṇyānī, *mahīyate* by the music made by the insects".

First it should be noted that people who participate in a *mahīyā*, i.e. who are *mahīyu* or *mahīyante*, do not have the feeling that they are important. The music does not produce greatness in the sense of importance, but a mood of exaltation in which one feels oneself great in comparison with the comparatively depressed feelings of everyday life. Moreover one should not say that LadyForest of Goddess Forest as a person *mahīyate* " by the music made by the insects". In the poetical description the sounds made by insects or other animals create the situation that the forest may be compared with someone (a *dhāvayant)* who *mahīyate*, i.e. who is in exaltation, together with or on account of *āghāṭis* (probably musical instruments). The verb *mahīyate* partly belongs to the sphere of festivals and shows. It seems to denote the artist who is *mahīyu*, who is in the mood, who "feels great" and transfers this feeling to the other people present. Perhaps Whitney's translation of *mahīyate* at Atharvaveda 5, 17, 15, where a white horse is said to "make a show", is not completely beside the mark.

Gonda is wrong in deriving *mahīyate* as a denominative verb from the so-called comparative *mahīyas*, which in his view should explain the idea of "being 'great' to a special degree". This derivation is highly improbable, since the suffix *-ya* of the denominative and the suffix (*-t*)-*yas* of the comparative would not be distinguished then. See also Burrow, *Sanskrit Language*, p. 362 mentioning several *-iya*-denominatives, but none from the comparative.

The aspect of joy and happiness without any religious implications is evident at Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa 7, 5, 1. Prajāpati was not feeling quite happy: he was *a-mahiyamāna*. In order to feel better he saw (i.e. conceived) the Amahiyava Sāman. Herewith he created the creatures and these turned out to feel great or to be full of joy (*amahiyanta*).

So we may conclude this treatment of *mahiyate* by observing that the translations of the verse under discussion are all more or less wrong on account of the misinterpretation of the concept of greatness .The greatness is not the honour of the goddess which is activated by musicians in the form of insects; it is rather the feeling of exaltation or greatness which belongs to the man with whom forest as a totality is compared, i.e. probably to an artist who is associated with musical instruments.

As to point c) ("The comparison") the following has to be taken into consideration. In the forest particular animals produce sounds. If our interpretation of *mahiyate* in connection with artists or participants of a festival is correct, these animals produce music, or rather are compared with people who make music or with musical instruments. The *ciccika* who helps (*upāvati*) the *vṛṣārava* (probably singing, crying or at least using its voice : *vadate*) appears to accompany this animal. This implies that the *āghāṭis* likewise seem to accompany someone who *vadati* and who is in a mood of exaltation or joy.

If now we look at the translations of this verse, it is remarkable that most of them take a king or some other important person as the subject of the comparison, i.e. as the one who is accompanied by the *āghāṭis*.

Zimmer, *Alt. Leben*, p. 90 differs from the others in connecting *dhāvayan* with the *ciccika*, which is hardly acceptable : "Wenn mit dem lautrufenden Vṛshārava der Ciccika kost und nach der Cymbeln Takt gleichsam tanzt, dann dünkt sich Araṇyāni gross".

Oldenberg, *Rel. d. Veda*, p. 261 : ".. dann fühlt sich die Waldfrau gross wie ein Fürst, der mit Zimbelschall einherfährt"; Hillebrandt : "...da ist Araṇyāni stolz, als wenn sie unter Cymbelklang dahin führe" (here the king is implicitly meant); Otto : "..wie wenn ein Fürst mit Schellenklang zu Wagen ausfährt"; Geldner : "..fühlt sich die Frau des Waldes geehrt wie einer der unter Zimbelklängen ausfährt". In Lommel's translation (cf. Hillebrandt) the poor lady forest has to drive herself : "...wie von Lautenspielern begleitet fährt die Waldfrau prächter einher". Thieme's interpretation is so much different from the rest that it almost requires a separate treatment.

What I want to point out first is this : the comparison is not correctly rendered by most translators, since a king who goes out for a drive and while doing so hears the sound of the *āghāṭis* is not **musically accompanied** as the *vṛṣārava* which *vadati* is accompanied by the *ciccika*.

Moreover the text does not mention any king at all. He seems to have been introduced in the translations because :

a) one of the commentaries thought it useful to introduce him.

b) one interpreted *mahīyate* as "to be honoured" and the king was regarded as the man suitable to be honoured with music, especially in a comparison with a goddess.

c) driving a chariot was falsely considered to be the privilege of kings and other authorities.

d) a king going out for a drive while music is made is acceptable in post-Vedic times. In the present hymn this is an anachronism.

Thieme, o.c.,p. 389-391 discusses the comparison "im Zusammenhang des Ganzen", the same as what we are trying to do here. However, he does not discuss the details and arrives at a completely different conclusion. For him it is a matter of choosing between the sound of animals compared with the music "die den pomphaften Zug eines Fürsten begleitet" and the noise of animals compared with the cries and noises of a beat-up. In his view the latter simile was more suitable in the totality of the hymn, since "der Zusammenhang des Liedes im ganzen eigentlich nicht einen poetischen, ästhetisch ansprechenden Vergleich, wie es der erste wäre, sondern vielmehr eine in die Form des Vergleiches gekleidete beschwichtigende Behauptung verlangt, wie sich unser Vorschlag interpretieren lässt". Because I do not accept his interpretation of the "Zusammenhang des Liedes", I also cannot agree with his interpretation of the simile, which turns on the aspect of might and greatness supposed to be present in the goddess or personification Araṇyānī and in the verb *mahīyate*, and in which music and exaltation do not play a role at all. Moreover I assume that the wrong interpretations of *dhāvayati* ("to make people or other beings run, i.e. to scare away") and of *āghāṭibhir* ("people who beat on something") form the basis of his analysis.

Thieme's translation runs : "Wenn der 'Kreischer' (Papagei ?) den rufenden 'Hengstgewieher' (Häher, Affe, Schakal ?) [mit seinem eigenen Ruf] unterstützt, zeigt sich 'Wildnis' wie ein Fürst, der [bei der Treibjagd] mit Treibern [Raubtiere] scheucht".

Thieme seems to have realized that *upāvati* "to accompany or support" should be expressed in the comparison. Therefore he paraphrases with many additions between brackets : "...wie [ein Mächtiger], der durch Trommelnde/Treiber [**die sich gegenseitig mit ihrem Lärm sekundieren,** gefährliche Raubtiere] zum [Weg-]Laufen veranlasst (scheucht, vertreibt)". The Sanskrit text, however, hardly admits of such an interpretation. Moreover beaters in a beat-up neither make noise to support each other nor to drive away wild animals. They only have to rouse game. This beat-up makes an anachronistic impression in the Veda.

As to d) ("interpretation of *āghāṭi*") it seems obvious that the term denotes a musical instrument. What kind of instrument it should be, may depend on the guesswork of the translators and the assumed etymology. Zimmer, Oldenberg, Hillebrandt and Geldner adopt the translation "Zymbel". Otto renders by "Schellenklang", the Petr. Dict. by "Klapper". Lommel, however, translates : "Lautenspieler".

As we have already observed, Thieme's interpretation is entirely different. The *āghāṭis* were beaters. In his analysis the stem should be *āghāṭin-*, to be compared with *ghātin-* "beating", with *ṭ* for *t* since the word forms a shortening of a compound like *dārvāghāṭin* "beating the wood, i.e. woodpecker"or of other compounds in which the ṭ is explicable as due to "Fernassimilation". If at all *āghāṭi*(*n*) should denote something in the sphere of music, it were drum or drummer according to Thieme, who compares *dundubhyāghāta* (found in the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad). The form *āghāṭa* is explained by him as "wooddrummer, woodpecker" (=*dārvāghāṭa*) at Atharvaveda 4, 37, 5 :

> *yatra vaḥ preṅkhā haritā arjunā uta*
> *yatrāghāṭāḥ karkaryaḥ saṃvadanti*
> *tat paretāpsarasaḥ...*
>
> "Wo eure Schaukeln sind, die grünen (d.h. die Zweige und Ranken der Bäume und Lianen) und die silbrigen (d.h. die Wellen der Waldbäche und -flüsse), wo die Spechte (d.h. der weithallende Trommellaut der Spechte), und (eure) Lauten zusammenklingen (d.h. im tiefsten Wald), dorthin geht fort, ihr Apsarasen..."

He concludes that *āghāṭi*, the form which denotes a musical instrument in several contexts which do not admit of a different interpretation, has to be taken as"die Spechtartige" ="Trommel".

Thieme's interpretation of the quoted mantra, however, is questionable. He may explain the swing (*preṅkha*) by way of a nice metaphor, the *karkari* at least cannot be taken otherwise than as a real musical instrument. These *karkaris* and the *āghāṭas* play together. Concerts for lutes and woodpeckers seem improbable.

If now we suppose that *āghāṭa*, *āghāṭi* and *āghāṭi* (the form found in Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa version of the hymn) denotes a musical instrument (or a musician), we have to bear in mind that the names of the instruments are mostly of non-Indo-European origin. So the *ṭ* may be differently explained and *āghāṭa/i/i* may have no original connection with *ghāt-*, which secondarily (?) became associated with *han-* "to beat". See Kuiper, *Studia Indologica* (Fel. Vol. Kirfel), Bonn 1955, p. 154-55 on the term under discussion.

Moreover the *āghāṭas* which occur together with the *karkaris* in the quoted Atharvavedic mantra cannot be disconnected from the *āghāṭis* and *karkaris* which occur side by side in the Mahāvrata ceremony as described in Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra 16, 20. The *āghāṭis* obviously accompany (together with the *piñcholā* flutes, and the *karkaris*) the singing women. In parallel passages on the Mahāvrata the *karkarī* is replaced by the *tambalavīṇā* (the "Tamil-laute" according to Caland's translation of Āpastamba Śr. S. 21, 17, 16). When we compare the different descriptions of the Mahāvrata, it cannot escape us that the *āghāṭi* and its variants (*āghāṭī*, *apaghāṭila*, *apaghāṭalikā avaghaṭarikā*, and perhaps *ghāṭakarkarī*) should be taken with instruments like the lute, the guitar, the harp, etc. There is no indication that the term refers to cymbals, drums or flutes. Some texts state that the women play one type of instrument : the *kāṇḍavīṇā* according to Ait. Ār. 5, 1, 5 ("lutes" according to Keith), the *apaghāṭilā* according to Pañcav. Br. 5, 6, 8. Other texts mention three names : *vīṇā*, *kāṇḍavīṇā*, *nāḍitūṇava* (Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā 34, 5), *āghāṭi*, *piccholā*, *karkarikā* (Baudh. Śr. S. 16, 20), *apāghāṭalikā*, *tambalavīṇā piccholā* (Āp. Śr. S. 21,17, 16). The flute may be added, but evidently has no connection with the *āghāṭi* group. Other texts mention four (Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 17, 3, 12) or even eight (Jaim. Br. 2, 404) instruments apart from the drums. In these enumerations the instrument with the element *ghāṭ* in its name occurs between evident names for *vīṇā*-like types of instruments. The exact meaning of *āghāṭi* and its variants is difficult to establish. According to Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 17, 3, 14-15 the *ghāṭaris* should be played by means of a plectrum. According to the Karmāntasūtra of Baudhāyana (Baudh. Śr. S. 26, 17) the *āghāṭis* are *koloṣṭhās*; unfortunately we do not know what is meant here. The many variants of *āghāṭi* may be an indication that this word has no Indo-European origin. The connection with *ghāt* and the root *han* may originally have been absent. However, even *ā-han* may be used to denote the playing of a stringed instrument like the *viṇā*. See Jaim. Br. 2, 404 *vāṇam śatatantrīm āghnanti* "Man bespielt eine hundertsaitige Harfe" (Caland's translation in his *Auswahl*). The *cicci* sound (e.g. produced by a cricket) seems to be a good characterization of the rather monotonous Indian stringed instruments which accompany songs.

As to e) (the *ciccika* and the *vṛṣārava*) our comments will be short. The word *ciccika* is an onomatope, which means that there is room for guesses (e.g. Thieme's "Papagei"). Mostly one interprets *ciccika* as a cricket. This is very suitable, since the cricket makes a continuous sound which may be compared with that of instruments used in accompanying songs or other instruments. Moreover the cricket represents a striking feature of a forest. One has also interpreted the *vṛṣārava* as a sort of cricket, in German a "Grille." In that case however, the *ciccika* does not really accompany a solo. Moreover the participle *vadat*—does not make much sense then. The compound seems to be a bahuvrīhi with irregular accent (see Oldenberg's *Noten*). On account of the participle *vadat*— I assume that the *vṛṣārava* may denote any bird or animal which sings or cries and thereby produces a sound comparable to that of a bull or a stallion. It seems to perform the role of a singer; the *ciccika* accompanies it. The exact identification of this animal, however, is very difficult, as appears from the existence of a ritual implement, a stone pestle or pounder, which has that name.

The last point to be discussed here is the meaning of *dhāvayant*. The verb *dhāvayatin* means "to drive"; it is the elliptical causative of *dhāvati* "to walk or run", in which the chariot or the horse has to be supplied as the object. According to Thieme here and in several other contexts *dhāvayati* should mean "to make people run, to scare them away." For a refutation of this view see my paper "Vedic *dhāvayati* 'to drive," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 16 (1974), p. 81-95. Since my criticism seems to have been decisive, there is no need of an elaborate discussion of Thieme's views in this respect. In the mentioned paper, however, I abandoned a further explanation of the present mantra. Indeed, after having shown that *dhāvayati* nowhere means "to scare away" we remained with the problem of the unsatisfactory current interpretation of the verse, in which a king goes out for a drive and while doing so is praised with music.

The translations so far proposed for *dhāvayant* are :

a) "going out far a drive" (most translators)

b) "scaring away" (Thieme, and Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava's commentary on 10, 146, where the king is supposed to scare away the enemies)

c) A particular technique of playing the viṇā : "Like a songster slurring the seven tunes on the kāṇḍaviṇā" (Sāyaṇa on the Ṛgveda, tr. Kantawala), "Just as a king is lauded by expert singers who slur the different tunes on the kāṇḍaviṇās (āghāṭibhir)" (Sāyaṇa on the Taitt. Br.).

d) "dancing" (Zimmer : "Wenn...der Ciccika kost und nach der Cymbeln Takt gleichsam tanzt"; see also Monier William's Dictionary).

The last-mentioned interpretation is obviously based on the intellectual's misconception that dancing merely implies to make someone run. The musical connotation of *dhāvayati* (if correct at all) is hardly suitable in the Ṛgveda. Thieme's interpretation is to be rejected for several reasons: e.g. one does not scare away in a beat-up. However, the usual translation is also problematic. For going out for a drive one expects at least a preverbial *pra-*. The verb *dhāvayati* as such does not mean "to go out for a drive." Moreover the concept of the king who makes a trip and is praised or something like that (*mahiyate*) has been shown to be based on wrong suppositions. The verb denotes the driving about of all sorts of people, especially of those who roam about as professionals, as free-lance employees, such as e.g. Uddālaka Āruṇi who travelled all over Northern India in order to perform sacrifices as a chosen priest and to partake in debates with the local brahmins. These brahmins, mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas, continue the tradition of the Vedic singers-poets who according to several hymns tried to find patrons everywhere.

It is important to bear in mind that the participle *dhāvayant* in many Vedic prose passages is not descriptive (e.g. "while he was driving at full speed"), but refers to the particular situation of the persons denoted thereby. These people are referred to as "travellers," as people who are always, or mostly, or at that stage of their life on the road. At Śatap. Br. 11, 6, 2, 1 king Janaka meets some brahmins who are said to be *dhāvayadbhir*, i.e. he did not meet them while they were driving, but came into contact with them because they were roaming about.

The *dhāvayantas* are the travellers seen as a category. Often they are brahmins (see e. g. Śatap. Br. 11, 4, 1, 1 *tat pūrveṣāṃ vṛtānāṃ dhāvayatām ekadhanam upāhitam abhavat*; again the *dhāvayantas* as a special group); others may also have been denoted by that term. According to Jaim. Br. 2, 2'1 *diyā vai vrātyā vrātyām adhāvayan* ("Die göttlichen Vrātyas führten ein Vrātyaleben", tr. Caland, *Auswahl*, p. 183). In the parallels *vrātyāṃ pravasanti or caranti* is found. These Vrātyas roam about by chariot.

The *dhāvayant* of our verse may also be a professional traveller, perhaps a Vrātya. He seems to be an artist who is somehow associated with music. The Vrātya has indeed connections with music. He also plays a role in the Mahāvrata ceremony, one of the few occasions on which attention is paid to music, singing etc. in Vedic texts. See Paul Horsch, *Die vedische Gāthā-und Śloka-Literatur*, Bern 1966, p. 401 ff. This Vrātya is i.a. associated with the Māgadha, a name which not only figures in the ritual coitus of the Mahāvrata, but which also may denote the bard. The Vrātya also seems to have been the bard who praises the kings. A reflection of this may be found in the sūtras, where praising the king with songs (under the accompaniment of the *viṇā*) is mentioned. Later this bard is sometimes called Sūta. This Sūta is also the king's charioteer in permanent service. Originally he may have been more free-lance as a traveller who offered his services everywhere. See also Horsch, o.c., p. 425. Later the term *cāraṇa*, which in fact only denotes some-one who is roaming about, denotes the singers and actors. These Vrātyas did not walk, they drove. See Richard Hauer, *Der Vrātya*, Stuttgart 1927, p. 125. Just as the wandering priest Uddālaka (mentioned above as a *dhāvayant*) the Vrātya takes with him one *niṣka* during his travels. See Hauer, p. 128.

So I would suggest that the *dhāvayant* of our verse is a wandering bard of the Vrātya type who sings and is accompanied with *viṇās* or *āghāṭis*. My translation of the second verse runs :

"When the cricket accompanies the singing *vṛṣārava* (?), forest is in exaltation like the travelling (bard who is accompanied) with lutes."

FOLK-TRADITIONS AND RAIN-IMAGERY OF THE VEDIC SEERS

SADASHIV A. DANGE

Rain-gain is a mixed motif in the Vedic seers' imagination. Viewing closely we see that there are two predominant aspects of the seers' vision of the advent of rain from the skies. In one aspect the sky, the cloud or the sun is the male, the male that releases the manly fluid (rain); and, this in itself is the result of some unseen act of coitus in the cosmos. In another aspect, rain is the result of a fight that goes on in the cosmos. The aspect developed further and gave rise to many sexual rituals.[1] In addition to these two main aspects, there are a number of symbols used by the Ṛgvedic seers, and followed by the later ritualists, to indicate rain. The various expressions found in the Ṛgveda as regards rain could be divided into two : i) Originated from the pastoral experiences; and ii) Originated from the pre-pastoral experiences. However, this division cannot be stressed too much; and pre-pastoral images could be presented by the seer in later times. Broadly speaking, the motif of the fight between the hero and the wild beast may be taken as a gift of the hunting or the pre-pastoral period. In the pastoral setting the common motif used is that of the oozing of the fat of the domesticated animal as it is being roasted on the fire.

The most dominant motif for the release of rain is that of fight. On the Ṛgvedic plane Indra is said to have smashed the demons Vṛtra, Śuṣṇa, Namuci and others who are said to control water. The motif of fight, in connection with the gain of rain, is to be found in other mythologies also; and we shall have occasion to refer to such instances in our discussion. This probably, was the most original concept of the advent of rain, the basis of it being the actual experience of the rain-shower from the clouds. The flash of lightning and the thunder suggested the fight, yet unmixed by the motif of sex, gave to the ancient people the first glimpse of the probable reason of the release of rain, wherein they visualized the fight of the flash and the cloud, both taken to be animated with life.[2] A further extension of the same motif is to be seen in the fight between the "Bird" and the "Serpent", the former representing the cloud-fire (the lightning) and the latter the dark elongated or changing cloud.

The bird-serpent fight is seen among many people, as we have remarked above; but, it is to be noted that even this motif has two phases. In one phase it is symbolic of the fight between the solar bird and the serpent of darkness, while in the other it touches the sphere of the gain of rain. As far as RV is concerned, the solar bird motif is found in it; but, it is not connected with the killing of the serpent. In other words, darkness is not associated with the serpent in the RV. The solar bird, on the other hand, is said to stay in the solar waters; this point will be clear in the course of discussion later. The solar orb is believed to be full of waters sucked up from the earth; and in it stays the solar fire like a bird. Analogous with it is the lightning fire-bird that stays in the waters of the cloud. The fight between the bird and the serpent does not form a rain motif in the RV. Vṛtra is the serpent, no doubt; and he is also called "the First-born among the serpents" (RV I. 32. 3 *ahann enaṃ prathamajām ahīnām*; and v.4 *yad Indrāhan prathamajām ahīnām*), when he is said to be killed by Indra in the intoxication of Soma (Soma is also closely associated with the gain of rain, in oral charms and rituals); but, in this exploit Indra is not depicted or described as a bird. In later texts, when Indra is depicted as a bird,[3] he is not involved in the dragon-fight. In the post-Vedic texts the motif of the bird-dragon-fight occurs; but the bird is Garuḍa (the hawk) called Suparṇa; and Indra does not come in the direct fight, but helps this bird and becomes a third party in the gain of rain. Suparṇa, as a bird, is mentioned in the RV and other Vedic texts many times; but, it has to be noted, there he is not associated with the dragon-fight, though associated with the gain of rain (RV I. 164. 46-52, the famous hymn known as "Asya vāmīya"). The bird-serpent-fight comes first at the *Suparṇādhyāya*[4] which is a semi-Vedic text and later in the Mahābhārata (MB)[5]. However, the belief. in the cloud (or Vṛtra who symbolized it) being the great serpent is well set in the RV. Thus, *ahi-hatya* (meaning "the killing of the serpent") indicates at all places in the RV the fight against the waterful cloud-dragon (RV I. 61. 8; 165. 6; III. 32. 12). The epithet of Indra based on this belief is *ahi-śuṣman* (RV V. 33. 5), his other epithet of similar nature being *ahi-han* (Ibid, II. 19. 3; 13. 5). The rains (or the rain-waters,or atmospheric waters) are, before their release called *ahi-gopāḥ* (I. 32. 11); and Vṛtra, and other water-controlling fiends are called *ahi* (I.52. 10; 64.8, 9; 172. 1 etc). The cloud-dragon motif, in the context of rain, is found also among other people, and has been a very popular one;[6] and must be taken as a pre-pastoral one, and also the oldest one in myth-making in the context of rain; it should also be taken as based on the common experience of the association of the serpent and the water, the former staying in it in many places. The lightning being taken as the serpent is only an application of this motif in the sphere of the mid-region. Another phase of the same motif is in the clouds being called *ajagara* (the python). The RV does not record it; but the AV does record it (AV IV. 15.7,9 *utsā ajagarāḥ* "the pythons, the water-springs"; and Sāyaṇa's comment, *ajagara-samānākārāḥ utsāḥ marudbhiḥ pracyutā meghāḥ*, "the clouds moved by the winds"). The motif, obviously, is a gift from the folk-beliefs that the cloud-water is controlled by the lightning serpent that resides in it, on the analogy of the serpents that are believed to control the water-places on the earth. This belief gave rise to the concept of the yellow dragon in China. It is notewothy, however, that the serpent does not figure in the Vedic rituals as such for rain.[7]

Like the serpent, the frog is closely associated with rain; and, in the Vedic theatre, it finds a place in the RV already (RV VII. 103, the famous Frog-hymn). Like the serpent the frog has been, without doubt, taken by the Vedic seer (Vasiṣṭha) from folk-belief. The frog played a very prominent part in rituals for rain in the folk-tradition. Thus, among the Behirs in Assam, when the rains are delayed, the following is the practice : Women from the low stratum of the society go about catching frogs. The frogs, when gathered, are placed in an earthen jar and are taken in a procession round the locality in a ceremonious manner. The procession goes to every house where women pour water in the jar. Ultimately, it reaches the house of a woman known to be of quarrelsome nature, and are thrown there in the court-yard, along with the water in the jar[8]. In a variant of this ritual, all women in the locality gather near a well. There a small girl is asked to hold a small jug containing a frog in her hand; and on her head is placed a lamp; she is made to sit on a mortar turned upside down. In a short time she pretends to be (or is actually) possessed by Indra,[9] and, in that condition, is asked questions about the advent of rain. And she foretells[10]. The point to be noted is, that in these rituals women figure. The frog, like Indra of the Vedic people, is the rainer. Here we have a mixture of the Indra-frog motif; and there is no reason to doubt that these two got mixed even in the Vedic period, when Vasiṣṭha used the motif of the frog for the gain of rain. In addition, in the Birhor tradition we have the women; and this is for the sex-charm. We have the sex-pairing as follows : i) Frog-girl; and ii) Frogs-Women. The throwing of the frog-jar in the court-yard of the quarrelsome woman, probably, suggests the rumbling (quarrelling) of the clouds, which is also the fight-motif. The sex-motif in the employment of the frog(s) is to be noted also in such cases where frog-marriages are performed for the gain of rain.[11] Apart from their part in rain-rituals, the frogs played a very important part in fertility rites, which indicates the belief about their being the male counterpart of the ritual-woman. Thus, according to a custom in Orissa, after the period of the uncleanliness after delivery, the woman goes to a well or a water-place outside the village. There she prepares a frog by her own hands, out of mud; worships it and comes back home.[12] Even shorn of the idea of sex ,the belief in the frog as the terrible controller of all nourishing fluid obtains. Among the Australian tribes near lake Tears, there is a myth that all water was inside the belly of a huge frog, in very ancient times. Hence, there was no water anywhere on the earth. It was, hence, decided that the huge frog should be made to laugh, somehow. An eel was entrusted with this task; and when he danced on the tip of his tail, the frog laughed. Immediately there was water everywhere; for it came out of the body of the frog, as it moved when he laughed.[13] The belief in, and the worship of, the frog goes far back. Thus, the terrible Hathor of ancient Egypt, having the face of a cow in one of her aspects, that of the Sky, was also depicted in the form of a female frog in her aspect of the rain-goddess. Human sacrifice was offered to her so that she may release rain.[14] Likewise, among the Zuni Indians the female frog, represented the mother-earth. When the Vedic seer praised the frogs, he was drawing upon a part of this general store of folk-beliefs. The female frog does not appear in the RV; but the AV (IV. 15. 14) mentions her, where she is addressed as *tāduri*, a rather curious epithet which occurs nowhere else, and is indicative of pregnancy, if we follow the scholiast Sāyaṇa (*yāvac chariraṃ tāvad udaraṃ yasyāḥ sā*). However, the RV records the invocation to the frogs for coolness (X. 16. 14), and the AV refers to the custom of tying a frog to the foot of the bed of a person suffering from fever (AV VII. 12. 4). This makes clear the belief about the frog being the controller of waters and of coolness. The creature came in the rain-hymn on the basis of this belief. The RV and the AV do not indicate the belief that the creature was sacrificed for the gain of rain or that it was sacrificed to. In the later texts, however, there is indication that frogs were sacrificed for rain (*Mait. Saṃ.* III. 14. 2. *samudrāya Śiśumārān ālabhate parjanyāya maṇḍūkān adbhyo matsyān*. But, for want of an actual ritual, it is difficult to assert that this sacrifice was actual . In all probability, this *mantra* was only an oral charm; but, the fact of the belief remains. Though frogs are not seen as deities in the Vedic texts, there is a clear effort on the part of Vasiṣṭha to see them as wonder-workers that bring rain. The seer Vasiṣṭha says that the frogs "perform the *brahma*, that is yearly" (RV VII. 103. 8 *brahma kṛṇvantaḥ privatsariṇam*); and as they perform this *brahma*, they are the Brāhmaṇas (v. 7 *brāhmaṇāso atirātre na some*; and v. 8 *brāhmaṇāsaḥ somino vācam akrata*). Earlier, at the very opening of the hymn, they are said to be "Brāhmaṇas that abide by the periodic law" (v. 1 *brāhmaṇā vratacāriṇaḥ*). The identification of the frogs with the Brāhmaṇas is only one phase of the belief about the frogs, recorded by Vasiṣṭha. The other is their identification with the clouds, a fact that has to be very carefully noted. The suggestion comes in the very first verse of the hymn, where the creatures are said to utter the speech of the rain-god (Parjanya) himself (*vācam parjanya-jinvitāṃ pra maṇḍūkā avādiṣuh*). This means that the frogs are the earthly representatives of the god of rain. This is balanced by the thought that they are the "divines" of the earth, lying idle for the whole year and harbingering the refreshingly benevolent speech of Parjanya. They are said to protect (hold) the yearly deposit of water (v. 9 *devahitiṃ jugupur dvādaśasya*). Now, the frogs that hold the yearly deposit of water cannot be the frogs on the earth. They are their doubles in the mid-region: the clouds. Hence, the expression in the same verse, "The heated vessels get their release" (*taptā gharmā aśnuvate visargam*) cannot be taken to indicate the actual frogs jumping out of the crevices in which they had hidden, due to heat.[15] The heated vessels (*gharmāḥ*) cannot be the frogs; for the latter are already said to be *gharmiṇah* (those who prepare the *gharma*); and naturally, there has to be a difference between the *gharma* and the *gharmin*. The frogs on the earth are the *gharmiṇaḥ*, and they release the *gharmas* i.e. the clouds. Thus, the heated *gharma* is the symbol of the cloud here; and, being in association with the thought of the frogs, there could be little doubt that the seer visualizes the clouds as *gharmas*; and at the same time he throws the suggestion that they are the mid-region frogs. Thus, the frog is a double symbol in the vision of Vasiṣṭha : i) the earthly water-controller; and ii) the waterful cloud. The thought works on the same line as that which makes the serpent the controller of rain on the one hand; and, on the other, the moving cloud itself is seen as the serpent. The latter image is common in the RV in the form of Vṛtra. The frog appears to be a later incorporation; for, the serpent-motif is common in the RV, while the frog-motif comes only once in it, and is scanty in the later texts.[16]

The serpent and the frog symbols for the cloud are far less employed in the RV than that of the cow. While these two creatures symbolize the cloud, or the water-reservoir in other words, the cow symbolizes both the cloud and also the streams of rain.[17] Sometimes there is a fusion of the cow and the serpent; and once (VII. 103. 10) the frogs are invoked to bestow the "cows" (rains). Indra kills Vṛtra, the serpent; and the latter's mother Dānu lies shattered as a cow with the calf (RV I. 32. 9).

Another important symbol for the cloud is the *varāha*, the boar. This symbol has its rise, probably, in the prepastoral stage of life. Indra is said to have struck the *varāha* that stood concealed in the mountain (RV I. 61. 7). The belief became a myth in the later times; and it is said that a certain *varāha* bears the wealth of the Asuras, and stands hidden beyond the seven mountains (*Taitt. Saṃ.* VI. 2. 4. 2, 3). The *varāha* is Viṣṇu in this context, due to the obvious influence of the identification of the sacrifice with Viṣṇu —in the Yajñavarāha motif. In the original concept, however, the *varāha* appears to be the cloud. This gets support in the fact that *varāha* comes as the cloud in the RV, where he is said to have been struck by Indra; he is called *Emuṣa*, and is said to be full of boiling milk (RV VIII. 77. 10). Elsewhere Indra is said to have struck the *varāha* with the tip of his finger that was as hard as the tip of *ayas* (RV X. 99. 6 *vipā varāham ayo agrayā han*; *ayas* here in the RV is not iron, but copper or bronze). Here the image is of fight, or of hunting, as is the case with Vṛtra. Another image of a similar nature is when the cloud is believed to be a forest or a tree to be cut (RV X. 27. 22, 23; also cf. 28. 8). In the case of the varāha the shaft that shoots the beast is the lightning, which is the thunderbolt in the Indra-Vṛtra motif. Now, this motif of shooting enters a new phase of symbolism and gets tinged with sex in the famous hymn of Nābhānediṣṭha (X. 61. 6-9) and forms the central theme of the well notorious myth of the incestuous Father that runs after his own Daughter.[18]

That rain was believed to be the body-fluid of the cloud-beast is clear from the concept of the *varāha*. In the same category falls the belief that rain is the fluid from the testicles of Śuṣṇa (RV VIII. 40. 10, 11), which Indra is said to have broken in the act of releasing rain. This supports the general belief in folklore that rain is the fertilizing body-moisture;[19] it is the *retas* (semen) in the RV. Then we have the perspiration of the Maruts (RV V. 58. 7 *varṣaṃ svedam cakrire rudriyāsaḥ*; X. 67.7 *varāhair gharma-svedebhiḥ*), or later, the tears of Prajāpati (*Mait.Saṃ.* IV. 6. 3). The frog releasing the waters from his body-joints and other parts in folk-tradition has to be taken in the same category, i.e. of prepastoral beliefs.

Other symbols for the cloud are the "stone-mouthed reservoir" (RV II. 24. 4 *aśmāsyam avatam*) and the "water-filled fountain" (Ibid, *utsam udriṇam*;

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cf. VIII. 7.10 *utsaṃ kavandham udriṇam*), or simply "fountain" at various places. Yet other symbols are "divine reservoir" (*divyaṃ kośam*), or "the rivers that ooze from the boiling vessel in the sky" (RV IV. 55.6 *gharmasvaraso nadyaḥ*), or even "the great reservoir" (*mahat kośa*, V. 83.8), or the *caru* (I. 7. 6, "small boiling pot"), or "the floating citadel of Śuṣṇa" (VIII. I. 28). These images are mostly from the pastoral stage and indicate a seemingly settled life. But there are clear agricultural images, in such cases where the clouds are suggested by the word *sthivi* (cf. X. 27. 15 where the Maruts are called *sthivimantaḥ*; *sthivi* is corn-measure). Of similar nature is the symbol in the word *dṛti* (leather-bag), which obtains at various places (cf. IV. 45. 3, where the Aśvins are said to carry the honeyed *dṛti*, *dṛtiṃ vahethe madhumantam*; also V. 83. 7 etc.), and the "wheelless nourishment" (*acakrā svadhā*; cf. IV. 26. 4; X. 27. 19). The most interesting and notable pastoral images for clouds releasing rain can be seen in the allusions to the cooking of domesticated beasts, their fat being caused to ooze on the fire as a sympathetic charm for the gain of rain (X. 27. 17 *pivānaṃ meṣam apacanta virāḥ*; I. 164. 43 *ukṣāṇam pṛśniṃ apacanta virāḥ*), which entered the rituals for rain-gain as a sympathetic spell.[20] In the bull-sacrifice the bull was praised as "the source (or foetus) of waters; sprinkled on the plants" (*Tait. Saṃ.* III. 3. 9. 1 *apāṃ garbha oṣadhiṣu ny, "aktaḥ*), which is rendered, by Sāyaṇa as "*hutaḥ san megheṣu apāṃ sambandhi garbhaḥ, punar oṣadhiṣu ny 'aktaḥ*" (cf. also *Mait. Saṃ.* II. 5. 10; *Kāṭh. Saṃ.* XIII. 9). The ritual of the offering of the drop of fat of the sacrificed bull is thus described by the *Śat. Br.* (III. 8. 2. 21) : "Indeed, these drops being offered into the fire...; from here does the fire seek the shower of rain; with these drops does he gain these drops (of rain); those drops, thus, get showered (herewards)" (Ibid 22). Rains come through the seive, as corn is seived (X. 27. 17 said of the Maruts, *pavitravantaḥ carataḥ punantaḥ*), which probably, is a suggestion of sympathetic magic.[21] The same symbol comes elsewhere when Vāyu is said to make a leather-seive (X. 31. 8 *tvacaṃ pavitraṃ kṛṇuta svadhāvān*). With the bull-symbolism the motif of sex is deftly employed. The mid-region is conceived as the pasture wherein the bull roars (the thunder-cloud), planting his seed in the cows (clouds) that get fructified (and rain) for prosperity (III. 55. 16, 17). The cloud is the black bull in one image; and his thundering roar is believed to be due to the shaft of the lightning (I. 79. 2 *kṛṣṇo nonāva vṛṣabho yadi-idam*; and the cause given in the earlier half, *ā te suparṇā aminantam evaiḥ*). Just here the image takes a turn and glides swiftly into sexual imagery. The result of the shooting, and the roaring of the "Bull" is the streams of rain-waters. But these are presented in the pet symbol of women; for waters are believed to be females to be fructified by the fire. Here Parjanya is said to advance with the smiling auspicious women (Ibid, *śivābhir na smayamānābhir āgāt*). The concept of the water-females compares with the "streams of clarified butter" ...the females...that are said to go round the mid-region fire (IV. 58.8 cf. *samaneva yoṣāḥ...smayamānāsaḥ...ghṛtasya dhārāḥ*), who adores them (Ibid, *tā juṣāṇo haryati jātavedāḥ*). It will be interesting to mark how this vision of the seer is enacted in ritual-context, for which we have to recollect a rite in the Mahāvrata according to which young girls went round the fire dancing and calling the "cows" to bathe.[22]

At the same ritual a cowhide (bull-hide?) was pierced with an arrow, which reminds us of the black bull struck with the shafts as noted above. The girls going round the fire in the ritual for rain in the Mahāvrata serve as a sex-charm; and there could not be any doubt that they represent the females that arouse the mid-region fire to release the rains. At this juncture we may note, and compare, a few customs that obtain outside the Vedic sphere.

According to a custom that obtains in a region of Africa, in a rite for the gain of rains, a black bull is killed; the partly digested grass in his stomach is taken out; it is placed in a pot which is buried, with open mouth. Into this mouth of the pot little girls pour water till it overflows, indicating the rains from all quarters. Now, the women strip off their clothes and dance a rain-dance.[23] The Vedic rite noted above does not have nudity as a motif at this particular place; but the sex-motif is clear. Such rituals indicate the pastoro-agricultural stage when rain was the utmost necessity. The Mahāvrata of the Vedic Aryans was an agra-pastoral festival-sacrifice, for the gain of rain and prosperity through sex-rituals. Among other Aryan people also the same motif is seen. Thus, among the Germans there obtains a ritual, according to which the rain-charmer causes a naked girl to be led to the river, where water is sprinkled over her.[24] We may compare the Behir girl who fore-tells the day of rain. Nudity and rain is closely associated in rituals; and nudity is only one aspect of a clear-cut sexual symbol; the other is copulation on the ritual plane, the sanctified plane on the earth. Where nudity or copulation is not present, there are suggestive dialogues or actions. But in the original rites nudity played a very important part, sometimes gliding into sex; for rain was believed to be the result of sex on the cosmic or the superhuman strata. Among the Tsūl tribe of Morocco when rain is wanted, the women of the locality go to a retired place, where nobody is expected to see them. There they get completely naked and play a sort of game with a ball.[25] Here, the ball,probably, represents the male. member. Let us note an unusual rite among the Trojas of Central Celebes These people simulate the incest of beasts when there are conditions of drought. A cock and sow are killed, and laid side by side. This is for showing unnatural copulation to cause the heavens to show displeasure by pouring rain.[26] Incest is only one of the motifs employed; but the general principle is copulative pairing (or sex-coupling), which the Vedic people called *mithuna* ; and they employed it at various levels with a view not only to cause rain but also the resultant prosperity in corn and cattle. The Brāhmaṇas have a complicated system of these *mithunas* (which I have discussed in my new book *Sexual Symbolism*...see note 1). As a variant of this motif, elsewhere (in Palestine for example), obtains the custom of the marriage of gods. This is accomplished in the following way : Women, including maidens, clothe a fork in the garment of a woman, and call it "the Bride of the gods".[27]

If we carefully examine the material about the beliefs and customs regarding rain-making, the fight-motif appears to be the oldest. The fight is against the power that confines rain or the fertilizing fluids. Now, this power may be presented as the fiend or the god of the locality or the tribe himself, in his baser aspect. In the latter case those who fight him are women; and they fight a mimic fight. Thus, among the Bhils of the central part of India, when rains are delayed, women go with bows and arrows to the shrine of the goddess of the village dancing and abusing her in vulgar terms.[28] Here the fight is mixed with sex; and the vulgar abuse is nothing but a rain-charm. On the other hand, among the Celts it was customary to whip the water in a sacred stream and sprinkle the drops on stones.[29] The idea here, as in the fight-motif, appears to be to strike the cosmic waters (or the reservoir of cosmic waters), or the water-god, so that he might send rain. Where the rain-controller was believed to be a demon, as in the case of Vṛtra (or his other representatives in the zoomorphs[30]), the motif took the form of a regular fight. The ancient Egyptians believed that the fight between the (solar) bird and the serpent is generative of the cosmic moisture.[31] This tallies with the Nepalese belief that, when it rains heavily, the Nāgas and the bird (Garuḍa) fight and the image of the god Śaṅkunārāyaṇa (Śaṅkhanārāyaṇa?) gets wet.[32] Now, it is interesting to note how this motif of fight gets tinged with that of sex. We have seen the example from the Bhils above. In the ancient Egyptian belief about the fight between the solar bird, who is named Horus, and the serpent Set, both abuse each other of having allowed the homosexual act; but ultimately the truth comes out in the 'semen' of Horus coming out of the ear of Set[33], which is symbolic of rain. In a more polished account that we have in the Avesta, the fight between the white and the black horse in the mid-region ocean, called Vouru Kash causes the ocean to cross limit; and thence comes rain.[34] Here there is no tinge of sex. But, here is another version of the fight-motif from a backward tribe, which, like the Bhils, combines sex with fight. Among the Pali people of Dinajpur, when the land is suffering from want of rain the women of the locality assemble at one place in the night; cover their bodies with some red dye (vermilion?); and they go naked through the village, swords in hand, dancing and singing obscene songs. Notice is given beforehand to the men in the locality not to leave the house. The song and the ritual as a whole is called "*hudmdyao.*"[35]

It is to be kept in mind that what appear as symbols for the cloud, including the fiend or the zoomorph, were actual terrestrial forms of the cloud for the ancient people. Appeasing him in rituals by means of mimetic behaviour is the result of this faith. In certain cases this takes the form of sexual rituals, and there is also a double motif : i) appeasing by sexual symbolic rites; and ii) getting rid (if the water-controller is deemed to be a fiend).

In the Vedic tradition of beliefs, the controller of waters, or rain-waters, has passed the stage of the mere fiend, and Vṛtra and the like of the RV are only a passing phase. Here the belief has passed the stage of fight, or even sex and fight; it had already reached the concept of the Bird that stays at the confluence of the waters and the light of the sun in the solar orb (RV X. 123. 6; 177. 1, 2). Another very interesting and sophisticated stage is that of the Gandharva; and he is sometimes with the Gandharvi, thus forming the copulative pair, devoid of the fight motif. However, the Gandharva is not, at all places, devoid of the motif of fight. Thus he comes as the enemy of Indra at a few places (RV VIII. 77.5 *abhi gandharvam atṛṇad abudhneṣu rajassv, ā*; also 1. 11); but such places are scanty. The Gandharva is not considered to be on par with any of the aquatic fiends, far less the notorious serpent. The Gandharva is somewhat mystic rather than fiendish. He is associated with the "gheeful milk" (=rain) of the couple Heaven and Earth; and on this "gheeful milk" do the wise fix their minds (RV I. 22. 14.*tayor id ghṛtavat payo viprā rihanti dhītibhiḥ gandharvasya dhruve pade*). The essence of the cosmos (which was rain in the simple visual symbolism) has now passed into the realm of mysticism, but controlled by the Gandharva (cf. IX. 85. 12; X. 123. 7, where the Gandharva and the principle called, the Bird, are associated with the solar waters). The Gandharva, thus, becomes the supreme seeder ; he is the water-usurper turned benevolent to the seers and mankind as a whole. The next step is to make him the male in the *mithuna* (sexual pair); and he is conceived as the seeder of the Gandharvī (X. 11. 2, the word comes only here in the RV), who is the *apyā yoṣā* ("water-belle"). The oldest reference to the Gandharva is, probably, in the family-book of the Viśvāmitras, where we have not one but many Gandharvas (RV III. 38. 6 *gandharvān vāyukeśān*) and they are placed in the mid-region, as is indicated by the epithet *vāyu-keśān*. The Gandharva and the Gandharvī (or the *apyā yoṣā*) form the final cosmic *mithuna* and are the prototypes for the couples Yama and Yamī on the one hand, where both are fictitious, and, on the other, for Pururavas and Urvaśī, where the former is real and the latter fictitious. A beautiful combination of all these motifs is presented by the RV in the name of the Gandharva Viśvāvasu (actually *Viśva-vasu*, "All wealth"); and it is said, "He (Indra) broke open the gates (of the waters) that were captivated in the 'stone-reservoirs'; the Gandharva disclosed (to him) the nectars of the waters, Indra knew the sustenance of the (or held by the) serpents." (X. 139. 6; esp. *prāsāṃ gandharvo amṛtāni vocat, Indro dakṣaṃ pari jānāt ahīnām*). In the previous stanza we have Viśvāvasu mentioned by name (v. 5 *Viśvāvasur abhi tanno gṛṇātu, divyo gandharvo rajaso vimānaḥ*, where he is said to be wandering in the mid-region (*rajaso vimānaḥ* above). Thus, we have the 'stone-reservoir' (cloud) the Gandharva and the serpents-all holding the waters (cf. Ibid a, *caraṇe nadīnām*). The point to be noted is that the reference to the one Gandharva (singular, not plural) comes in the later stages of the Ṛgveda (All come in books I and X only, which are later on the basis of the language). Only twice is the Gandharva mentioned in book VIII (1. 11; 77.5); but the places can be taken as exceptions, or later. This will indicate that the Gandharva is the last to be added to the symbolic controllers of waters; and this was on the basis of the many Gandharvas, that were believed to roam in the mid-region—those who have the "hair-on-winds" (cf. *vāyu-keśāḥ*), where the concept is more of the mystic creatures rather than of the clouds that roam on the wind. The earliest symbol is that of the serpent (*ahi*), that occurs even in the old family books (RV II-VII, and even in VIII). The concept of the female counterpart of the one Gandharva, the Gandharvī, also comes only in the later books. As both, as a mithuna now, control all fluids (including rain and the generative fluid), they are ushered in the marriage-hymn (X. 85.21, 22; 40, 41) for fecundity; and later, they became the norm for sexual laxity.

NOTES

1. See my books, *Vedic Concept of 'Field' and the Divine Fructification*, Bombay University, 1971, and *Sexual Symbolism from the Vedic Ritual*, Delhi, 1979.

2. On this point see Donald Mackenzie, *Myths of China and Japan*, London, pp. 66-72; also Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1959, p. 51 ff.

3. *Jaim. Br.* I. 125-7; *Kāṭhaka Saṃ*. 37.14. etc.

4. See Jarl Charpentier, *Die Suparṇasage* Uppsala, 1920, where he records the whole work and presents a critical study.

5. Dange S.A., *Legends in the Mahābhārata*, Delhi, 1969, pp. 1-153.

6. D. Mackenzie, Op. Cit. loc. cit.

7. The head of the serpent is mentioned in the Vedic ritual of *agnicayana* (Piling of the altar); *Baudh.* Śr. S. X. 9; but this is not in connection with rain.

8. Ganesh Chaube, "Behir songs for Rain," *Bharatiya Vidya, VI*, p. 176.

9. Cf. W. Crooke in *Encl.Rel. Ethics*, II, p. 555b, for the Bhils offering cakes to Darma. Indra. Such cases are of the Vedic influence on non-Vedic rituals.

10. Ganesh Chaube, op. cit. loc. cit.

11. Many instances can be cited; but we may refer to a report from the *Hitavada* (a Daily from Bhopal), dated the 30th May, 1965; see also Waddel, "Frog-worship in Nepal," *Indian Antiquary* XXII, p. 293ff. Sharatchandra Mitra, "Frog in North Indian Rain-controlling rites," *Folk-lore and Tradition in India*, XIV, p. 429 ff.

12. *Indian Antiquary*, V, p. 188.

13. Andrew Lang, *Myth Ritual and Religion*, London, 1913, p. 43.

14. D.Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 145.

15. As does Geldner K., *Der Rigveda*, HOS, 1951, note on the passage; and also Velankar H.D., *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala VII*, Bombay, 1953, p. 225, note 8.

16. For the serpent motif in the Mb. see Dange, *Legends in the Mahābhārata*, Delhi, 1969, ch. I; for the frog in a different context and motif, Ibid, p. 339 ff; also Max Muller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, II, p. 251 ff.

17. They cannot be actual cows, as certain scholars believe (see note 15 above). The cow symbol comes for the river also in the Purāṇa texts, see my article, "*The Purāṇic Motif of the River-Cow*," *Indica*, Bombay, 1979, Fr. Esteller Fel.Vol.

18. For a full interpretation see *Sexual Symbolism*, p. 141-158.

19. D. Mackenzie, op. cit., p. 132, 160; also by the same author, *Myths of Pre-Columbian America*, p. 167.

20. Dange, *Pastoral Symbolism from the Ṛgveda*, Poona Uni., 1970, pp. 45-9.

21. For the seive in non-Vedic rites see *Encl.Rel. E.*, XI, p. 506a.

22. Ibid, VIII, p. 319, article by Macdonell, A.A.

23. Ibid, X, p. 262a; also Chaube, op. cit.

24. Encl. Rel. E., II, p. 40b, Shrader, "Aryan Religion"; also III, p. 419a.

25. Ibid, IX, p. 830; cf. the custom and rite of "Hudm dyao" ref. to further in the discussion; see note 35 below.

26. Ibid, X, p. 155b; also Frazer, *Magic Art*, II, p. 113.

27. Ibid, V,p. 830; cf. my book *Sexual Symbolism*..."Marriage of Heaven and Earth," where the motif of *deva-vivāha* is dealt with.

28. Ibid, II, p. 555b.

29. Ibid, VIII, p. 257; we might compare the concept in the "honeyed whip" (*madhumati kaśā*) of the Vedic twin-gods Aśvins; RV I.22.3; 157.4; for a different interpretation of the "honeyed whip" see C.A. Blair, *Heat in the Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda*, New Haven, 1961, p. 153 ff; however, the whip need not be the flogging hunter; it may be the strap that vibrates and sprinkles the drops ···lightning. For another example of the sprinkling motif, Frazer, *Folk-lore of the Old Testament*, III, p. 66; Dange, *Pastoral Symbolism*, p. 45.

30. For stories based on this motif, *Folk-lore and Legend Oriental*, London, 1890, p. 59f; A. Lang, op. cit. p. 42, 44.

31. D. Mackenzie, *Myths of Pre-Columbian America*, p. 55.

32. Vogel J.P.H., *The Indian Serpent-lore*, London, 1926, p. 278; Crooke, W., *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, II, 1896, p.122. This fight is believed to take place on the day Nāgapañcamī, which comes roughly in the month of August. It is called also Garuḍapañcamī in South India. Acc. to the Chinese belief it rains when the dragons fight, D. Mackenzie, *Myths of China and Japan*, p,56.

33. Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt*, p. 150.

34. Darmesteter J., Tr. of the *Avesta*, SBE XXIII, Intr. to the "Tir Yasst"; also pp. 1-9.

35. Damant G.H. in *Indian Antiquary*, I, 1872 ,p.340a; "*Hudma dyao*" means, according to John Beams (Ibid, p, 371), "naked women" or "loose women;" ploughing by naked women is practised even today, in North Indian villages, see News item, *Tarun Bharat*, Marathi Daily, Nagpur, 2nd May 1963; also Chaube, op. cit.

TO THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SPELL ATHARVAVEDA VI, 117

MRS T.Y. ELIZARENKOVA

There is a profound philosophical text in the "Atharvaveda" (AV) disguised under the form of a spell. The text of this spell runs as following :

apamityam apratīttaṃ yad asmi
yamasya yena balinā carāmi,
idaṃ tad agne agne anṛṇo bhavāmi
tvaṃ pāśān vicṛtaṃ vettha sarvān. 1
ihaiva santaḥ prati dama enaj
jīvā jīvebhyo ni harāma enat,
apamitya dhānyaṃ yaj jaghāsāham
idaṃ tad agne anṛṇo bhavāmi. 2
anṛṇā asminn anṛṇāḥ parasmin
tṛtīye loke anṛṇāḥ syāma,
ye devayānāḥ pitṛyāṇāśca lokāḥ
sarvān patho anṛṇā ā kṣiyema. 3

W.D. Whitney, the author of the complete English translation of the AV[1], translates it in the following way :

"1. What I eat (?) that is borrowed, that is not given back; with what tribute of Yama I go about-now, O Agni, I become guiltless (*anṛṇa*) as to that; thou knowest how to unfasten all fetters.

2. Being just here we give it back; living, we pay it in (*ni-hṛ*) for the living; what grain I have devoured having borrowed (it), now, O Agni, I become guiltless as to that.

3. Guiltless in this (world), guiltless in the higher, guiltless in the third world may we be; the worlds traversed by the gods and traversed by the Fathers-all the roads may we abide in guiltless".

This translation seems to miss the philosophic background of the text.

because of an inadequate interpretation of the 1st verse, which is a key to the whole philosophic conception.

The aim of this paper is an attempt to restore the system of ideas of this text with the help not only of a formal analysis of the spell itself, but of a semantic analysis of some concepts as they are represented in the whole body of the AV, as well.

The spell belongs to the 12th anuvāka of the VI kāṇḍa, which contains on the whole spells connected with expiatory rites : for relief from sin (115), guilt (116,118), obligation (119), to reach heaven in spite of a committed delinquency (120) etc.

The traditional commentators establish the ritual connections of this spell in different ways. In the Kauśika-Sūtra (133,1) it is connected with an expiatory rite necessary when there is an ill-omen of a fire in the house, and the commentator of the Kauśika-Sūtra Keśava regards it as a part of a rite accompanying the discharge of a debt to a deceased creditor to his son or heir (NB. the late character of these comments), while the Vaitāna-Sūtra explains it as accompanying the Agniṣṭoma, when in the end barhis is being burnt on the vedi in atonement for the possible mistakes.

The result is that by the two earlier commentators this spell is bound up with the atonement for an abstract notion (an ill-omen, a mistake), while the later one connects it with a concrete material debt.

Bearing this in mind, one should pass to the formal analysis of the 1st verse. Whitney's translation of its first line as "What I eat (?) that is borrowed, that is not given back", is based on an emendation of the text (which had been suggested by A. Ludwig) : *ádmi* instead of *ásmi*, supported by *jaghāsa* in the 2nd verse. It should be noticed, by the way, that all the manuscripts, no matter what alternative readings they suggest, have unanimously the form *ásmi*.

The matter is that *ásmi* seems to be the original form, and therefore no emendation is needed. If so, the formal analysis of the first line will be as following. *Yád* should be treated not as an Acc.n., that is, as a direct object of a transitive verb, but as a conjunction in a sentence with an intransitive verb. Such a syntactic structure of the sentence is typical of the Vedic language. In case a complex sentence is elliptic, the demonstrative pronoun, corresponding to the relative one, may be absent. In general, absence of agreement between the main and subordinate clauses in a complex sentence is a well-known phenomenon of the Vedic syntax.

This formal analysis results in the following translation of the 1st verse :

> "An unpaid debt is the fact that I exist,
> That tribute of Yama with what I go about.
> Now, O Agni, I become guiltless in that respect.
> Thou knowest how to unfasten all fetters",

The suggested translation meets the requirements of the Vedic grammar, and it should be tested now from the semantic view-point.

The main idea is expressed in the 1st verse : life is a debt, tribute of the king of the dead Yama. It should be paid back, and the process of this paying back is going on during the whole life (2 a). It also concerns other living beings (2 b), because paying back implies the fulfillment of all the duties, e.g., such as having a son, who can perform one's funeral rites. Having measured one's lifetime (figuratively expressed in 2 c), and thus paid back one's debt, one becomes guiltless in this existence (2 d). The 3rd verse contains wishes to remain guiltless the same way in any existence.

Some etymological, stylistic and conceptual arguments are needed to support this interpretation.

The spell begins with the word expressing the central idea of the conception : *apamitya-* "debt," "what is borrowed". It is a nominal stem derived from *apa-mā-* "to measure off," so a debt is treated as something measured off. There is a hint at this etymological meaning of "debt" given in 2 c. by *apamitya,* the gerund of *apa-mā.* Thus the word for the most prominent notion is carefully worked up at the stylistic level.

As to the verb *mā* itself, it is frequently used in the "Ṛgveda" (RV) in a cosmogonic meaning[2] : measuring the space, gods are creating the universe (the Ādityas are measuring the sky by the sun, Viṣṇu is measuring the universe with his three strides[3], etc.). A similar cosmogonic function of the verb meaning "to measure" is known in other ancient traditions, as well.

The terminology characteristic of the semantic field of Yama is used in this text.

A part of it is obviously connected in the RV and AV with Yama par excellence, and needs little special comments : *pāśān vicṛtam* "to unfasten the fetters"—though it is addressed here to Agni, the phrase is usually connected with Yama, *vicṛt* meaning "unbinding," "untieing," an action characteristic of a deity of death. Cp. *vicṛtau* "the two stars of the constellation of Yama" (the birth under this constellation was considered disastrous -cf. AV VI, 110).

Agni as the addressee in this context might be explained by the fact that a person can become guiltless here only when he dies, and from that very moment he is at the disposal of Agni, the funeral fire. Agni is the god who carries the dead with his flames to the celestial realm of Yama.

Devayāna-and *pitṛyāṇa* "(the path) followed by the gods and (the path) followed by the ancestors" (cp. the RV X, 18, 1). The opposition of the two paths was established by Yama : he was the first mortal who died, and thus created the second path.

Páth"path" is also connected with Yama, which is apparent from the aforesaid (but it is characteristic of Agni, as well).

Tṛtiya-loká "the third world" (the upper part of the sky) is the name of Yama's abode, where he revels in company of the"pitára*ḥ*," the deceased ancestors.

Another part of the vocabulary of this spell requires closer consideration. The most frequent word in this text is *anṛṇá-* "guiltless" used in each verse of the spell, six times in all. It is an adjective formed with the prefix of negation a—/an— from the nominal stem *ṛṇá* -"duty," "debt," "guilt". According to M. Mayrhofer[4], the etymology of this word is uncertain, *ṛṇá* probably being a *-nó* participle from the Indo-European root **le* "to leave behind oneself". So, the etymological meaning of the noun should be "something left behind", which corresponds well to the semantic context of this Atharvanic spell.

Be as it is, there exists a certain connective link in the AV between *ṛṇá* and Yama at the conceptual level. As an illustration to it can be mentioned a fact that in charms against evil dreams (dream being closely related to Yama) a stock phrase is used with the word *ṛṇá*, e.g., AV XIX, 57, 1 : "As a sixteenth, as an eighth, as a [whole] debt they bring together, so do we bring together all evil-dreaming on one who is offensive".

Another word which is in a sense synonymous to *ṛṇá* and also used in this text is *apamítya*. The combination of the root *mā* with the prefix *ápa* is a rare one, being met only twice, both cases in the AV. One case is in a funeral hymn (XVIII, 2) connected naturally with Yama, where combinations of *mā* with different prefixes are at play :

imāṃ mātrāṃ mimīmahe	"This measure do we measure,
yathāparaṃ na māsātai	so that one may not measure
śate śaratsu no purā. -38.	further; in a hundred autumns,
	not before".

premāṃ mātrāṃ mimmīahe-39.
apemāṃ „ „ -40.
vimāṃ „ „ -41.
nir imāṃ „ „ -42.
ud imāṃ „ „ -43.
sam imāṃ „ „ -44.

Cp. also : *amāsi mātrāṃ svar agām* "I have measured the measure, I have gone to heaven"-45.

The second case is represented in AV XIX, 57, 6 : *navāratnīn apamāyāsmākaṃ tataḥ pari duṣvapnyaṃ sárvaṃ dviṣate nirdayāmasi* "Having measured off nine cubits, forth from that do we divide off to him who hates us all our evil-dreaming". *Apa-mā* has its literal physical meaning here, but it can not be by chance that the verb is used in connection with the evil dream, that is in connection with Yama (about evil dreams being closely related to Yama cp. AV VI, 46, 1: "Thou who art not alive, not dead, immortal embryo of the gods art thou, O sleep, Varuṇānī is thy mother, Yama, thy father; Araru by name art thou"; or XIX, 56, 1 : "Out of Yama's world hast thou come hither").

A conclusion may be drawn from all these facts that *mā* in general and *apa-mā* in particular, belong to the semantic field of the Vedic Yama.

The meaning of *mā-* "to measure off a fixed time" is an ancient Indo-European one. Cp. the Greek metreō "to measure off," often referred to time. Cp. also such mythological personages as the Moiras, and Moira 1) "part"; 2) "fate," "lot"; 3) "*due*" (noun); 4) "*death*," "*decease*." The Moiras are measuring the thread of fate -cp. the loops of Yama.

The further development of Yama in the Post-Vedic mythology also proves the connection of the verb *mā* with this personage, for Yama in this period is the god of death and the god of justice simultaneously (measure= norm, hence Yama's connection with justice). Significant in this respect is an episode from the "Mahābhārata," the argument of Sāvitri with Yama who had fastened with his loop her husband Satyavān : "It is unjust-says Sāvitri-therefore Yama should not do it" (that is kill Satyavān).

The combination of the functions of death and justice is known in many traditions. Measuring off vital force and life-time makes a connecting link which unites these two complexes, justice and death. One of the earlier stages of development of this conception is reflected in the spell AV VI, 117.

NOTES

1. Atharva-Veda Saṃhitā, Transl. with a Critical and Exegetical Commentary by W.D. Whitney, Revised...by Ch. R. Lanman, Vol. 1-2, Cambridge, Mass., 1905 (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 7, 8). Further translation of the text of the AV given without special references are cited from Whitney.

2. See B.L. Ogibenin, Structure d'un mythe védique, Le mythe cosmogonique dans le Ṛgveda, The Hague-Paris, 1973, p. 65.

3. See the cosmogonic interpretation of this deity's activity—F.B.J. Kuiper, The Three Strides of Viṣṇu ("Indological Studies in Honor of W. Norman Brown", New Haven, 1962, pp. 137-151).

4. A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary, Vol. I, Heidelberg, 1956, p. 121.

व्रात्य : एक अध्ययन

कैलाश चन्द्र विद्यालंकार

वैदिक साहित्य में तथा स्मृतियों में प्रसंगवंश 'व्रात्य' का उल्लेख बहुधा हुआ है। कहीं बड़े सम्मान के साथ इनका वर्णन है,[1] तो कहीं इन्हें निकृष्ट कोटि का बताकर समाज से बहिष्कृत व्यक्तियों के रूप में माना गया है[2]। ऋग्वेद में 'व्रात्य' शब्द का कहीं भी किसी प्रसंग में भी उल्लेख नहीं मिलता। यजुर्वेद की वाजसनेयिसंहिता में पुरुषमेध की बलियों की परिगणना करते हुए 'व्रात्य' शब्द का प्रयोग किया गया है[3]। महीधर और उव्वट ने अपने यजुर्वेद-भाष्य में इसका अर्थ 'सावित्री-पतित' अर्थात् 'सावित्री के अधिकार से भ्रष्ट' किया है। ऋषि दयानन्द ने इसी स्थल पर भाष्य करते हुए इसका अर्थ 'असंस्कृत पुरुष' अर्थात् 'जिस व्यक्ति का उपयुक्त संस्कार न हुआ हो' दिया है।

अथर्ववेद में तो एक पूरा काण्ड ही है जिसे व्रात्य-काण्ड कहा जाता है। उसमें व्रात्य का बड़ा अलौकिक वर्णन किया गया है। इस काण्ड में अठारह पर्याय-सूक्त हैं तथा लगभग २२० मन्त्र हैं। सायण ने इस काण्ड के प्रारम्भ में भूमिका भाग में बताया है कि व्रात्य एक असंस्कृत, पतित, भ्रष्ट तथा समाज से बहिष्कृत व्यक्ति होता था, परन्तु इस काण्ड में उसे देवत्व प्रदान किया गया है।[4] श्रीपाद दामोदर सातवलेकर ने इस काण्ड को अध्यात्म-प्रकरण में दिया है।[5] उन्होंने इस काण्ड में 'व्रात्य' का अर्थ 'समूह अर्थात् समाज का हितकारी' किया है, क्योंकि 'व्रात' का अर्थ 'समूह, समाज अथवा संघ' है, और 'उनका हित करने वाला' (तेभ्यः हितः) 'व्रात्य' कहलाता है। इसी प्रकार 'व्राते भवः व्रात्यः', अर्थात् 'समूह में उत्पन्न अथवा समाज में रहने वाला' भी व्रात्य है। व्रतों का पालक अथवा उनके लिए सर्मपित व्रतचारी व्यक्ति भी 'व्रात्य' कहा जा सकता है। 'व्रजति इति व्रात्यः,' अर्थात् भ्रमण करने वाला, परिव्राजक, संन्यासी उपदेशक भी 'व्रात्य' है। रॉथ[6] ने भी 'व्रात्य' का अर्थ 'परिव्राजक' ही दिया है। स्वामी दयानन्द ने 'व्रात्य' को 'महोत्तमगुणविशिष्टः सेवनीयोऽतिथिः' अर्थात् महान् और उत्तम गुणों से युक्त सेवा के योग्य अतिथि के रूप में बताया है।[7] मोनियर विलियम्स ने शास्त्रों में प्रयोग के आधार पर 'व्रात्य' का अर्थ 'भिखारी, आवारा वर्ग से सम्बद्ध परिव्राजक, समाज से बहिष्कृत लज्जाहीन व्यक्ति' रखा है। ऐसे व्यक्ति कुछ विशिष्ट संस्कारों के न होने से जातिभ्रष्ट हो जाते थे, अथवा वे किसी निम्न कोटि की जाति-विशेष से सम्बन्ध रखते थे, अथवा शूद्र पुरुष और क्षत्रिय स्त्री से उत्पन्न सन्तान होते थे। कुछ व्यक्तियों ने उन्हें किसी क्षत्रिय की किसी अन्य वर्ण की स्त्री में उत्पन्न सन्तान भी माना है।[8] अथर्ववेद का व्रात्य अन्य ब्राह्मण-ग्रंथों,[9] श्रौतसूत्रों,[10] गृह्यसूत्रां,[11] महाभारत तथा स्मृतियों[12] में वर्णित व्रात्य से सर्वथा भिन्न है, यद्यपि सम्मानित अतिथि के रूप में तो व्रात्य का उल्लेख श्रौतसूत्रों[13] में भी उपलब्ध होता है।

वाचस्पत्यकोश में भी स्मृतियों से प्राप्त परम्परा के आधार पर 'व्रातात् समूहात् च्यवति यत्' ऐसी व्युत्पत्ति दिखाते हुए 'व्रात्य' का अर्थ 'अव्यवहार्य, संस्कार-हीन और जातिमात्रोपजीवी द्विज व्यक्ति' किया है। अमरकोश में 'व्रात्यः संस्कारहीनः' दिया है। उस पर क्षीरस्वामी ने 'व्रते साधुः कालो व्रत्यः तत्र भवो व्रात्यः प्रायश्चित्तार्हः' व्याख्या की है। यह व्याख्या इस भावना को प्रकट करती है कि संस्कारहीन व्यक्ति को व्रात्य कहा जाता था किन्तु वह कुछ प्रायश्चित्त करके पुनः समाज में अपना समुचित स्थान प्राप्त कर लेता था।

अथर्ववेद के पन्द्रहवें काण्ड के प्रथम पर्याय-सूक्त में व्रात्य का गौरव प्रजापति से भी बढ़कर दिखाया गया है।[१४] उसने प्रजापति को प्रेरणा दी और प्रजापति ने अपने आपको सुवर्ण अथवा हिरण्य के रूप में देखा और सबको उत्पन्न किया। वह व्रात्य सभी देवताओं का एक ही व्रात्य (व्रातपति) था।[१५] उसने धनुष ग्रहण किया, उसका पेट नीला था और पीठ लाल थी। वह नीले भाग से शत्रुओं को घेरता है और लाल भाग से द्वेष करने वालों को नष्ट करता है।

दूसरे पर्याय-सूक्त में व्रात्य को एक भ्रमणशील, विद्वान्, सदाचारी, जनसमुदाय को धर्माचरण का उपदेश देने वाले व्रतचारी के रूप में चित्रित किया गया है। वह पूर्व, पश्चिम, उत्तर, दक्षिण—सभी दिशाओं में जाता है।[१६] सभी देवता (विद्वज्जन) और शास्त्रविद् उसका अनुगमन करते हैं। वह श्रद्धा और ज्ञान से युक्त होकर दिन-रात सबके कार्यों को सम्पन्न करने में संलग्न रहता है। ऐसे विद्वान् व्रात्य का जो उपहास करता है वह सभी देवताओं, राजा और प्रजाओं का अपराधी होता है।

तृतीय पर्याय-सूक्त में व्रात्य का वर्णन एक व्रती तपस्वी के रूप में किया गया है। 'वह परम विद्वान् व्रात्य एक वर्ष तक खड़े रहकर तपस्या करता रहा।[१७] इससे समाज के सभी जनों के मन में उसके प्रति श्रद्धा की भावना भर गई।[१८] उन्होंने उसे बैठने के लिए उचित आसन प्रदान किया।[१९] उस आसन का स्वरूप विश्व-चन्द्र के समान अलौकिक था। उस आसन पर व्रात्य ने आरोहण किया।[२०] उसका साथ सभी देवताओं और प्राणियों ने दिया।'

चौथे पर्यायसूक्त में चारों दिशाओं और छहों ऋतुओं को उसके रक्षक के रूप में बताते हुए उसके विभिन्न सेवकों का वर्णन किया गया है। पांचवें सूक्त में सभी दिशाओं के साथ इसका सम्बन्ध भव, शर्व, पशुपति, रुद्र, उग्र, महादेव और ईशान नामों से दिखाया गया है।[२१] सातवलेकर[२२] महोदय ने इन सभी नामों को ईशान (सब का ईश) व्रात्य के विरुदों के रूप में माना है, जबकि अन्य विद्वान्[२३] इसमें वैदिकेतर सम्प्रदाय में प्रचलित शिव की उपासना को वैदिक देवों की उपासना में सम्मिलित किए जाने की प्रवृत्ति का प्रदर्शक मानते हैं।

छठे सूक्त में भी यह दिखाया गया है कि यह व्रात्य जिस ओर भी जाता था सभी देवता उसका अनुगमन करते थे तथा उसकी रक्षा करते थे। इसी प्रकार सातवें सूक्त में भी यह प्रतीत होता है कि ऐसी महिमा वाला व्रात्य पृथ्वी तल पर जहां भी जाता है वहां ही उसे श्रद्धा, यज्ञ, जन-समुदाय, अन्न, भोजन की न्यूनता नहीं रहती, सभी उसका स्वागत करते हैं।[२४]

जब वह सभी के हित में तथा अनुरञ्जन में लग जाता है तो वह सब का राजा बन जाता है।[२५] प्रजाओं का अन्न, भोजन आदि से पालन करना उसका कर्त्तव्य हो जाता है। प्रजा भी उसे इन सब अन्न-भोजनादि वस्तुओं से परिपूर्ण कर देती है।[२६] इस प्रकार वह व्रात्य राजा के रूप में होकर प्रजाओं के अनुकूल कार्य करता है तो सभा, समिति, सेना और कोश सभी उसके अनुकूल हो जाते

हैं ।[२७] इस प्रकार व्रतचारी व्रात्य निःस्वार्थ भाव से जब प्रजा का अनुरञ्जन करता है तो वह राजा के पद तथा प्रजा की अनुकूलता प्राप्त करने का अधिकारी माना गया है ।

इसके पश्चात् दसवें से तेरहवें सूक्त तक, चार सूक्तों में, व्रात्य उत्तम-गुण-युक्त सेवा करने योग्य अतिथि के रूप में चित्रित है । जब व्रात्य घर पर आये तो उसका स्वागत करके उसकी सेवा तथा उससे व्यवहार के विषय में बताया गया है । उसकी सेवा करने से क्या फल प्राप्त होता है यह भी निर्देश है । जिस व्यक्ति के घर में ऐसा विद्वान् अतिथि आ जाए उसे अपना अहोभाग्य समझना चाहिए,[२८] क्योंकि उसकी सेवा करने से ज्ञान, शक्ति और ओजस्विता प्राप्त होती है, अतः ऐसे विद्वान् व्रात्य अतिथि के आ जाने पर स्वयं उठकर स्वागत करना चाहिए ।[२९] कुशल-प्रश्न पूछकर जल, भोजनादि प्रदान करके सेवा करनी चाहिए ।[३०] इससे अतिथि-पूजक को शुभ फल प्राप्त होता है। उसकी सभी अभिलाषाओं की पूर्ति होती है ।[३१]

अग्निहोत्र आदि नित्यकर्मों को करने के समय पर भी अतिथि के आ जाने पर उसकी उपेक्षा उचित नहीं, अपितु अतिथि की अनुमति प्राप्त करके ही अपना कार्य करना उचित है, अन्यथा अतिथि का स्वागत करना ही श्रेयस्कर है ।[३२] व्रात्य की अनुमति से अग्निहोत्र करने पर सभी देवता प्रसन्न होते हैं ।[३३] उसकी उपेक्षा करके यज्ञकार्य पूरा करने वाले व्यक्ति को न तो पितरों के मार्ग का ज्ञान होता है, न देवों के । उसका हवन विफल हो जाता है और वह देवों का अपराधी माना जाता है ।[३४]

इस प्रकार सेवा से प्रसन्न होकर अतिथि जिसके घर में रहता है उसे सभी प्रकार के पुण्यों का फल मिलता है ।[३५] यदि किसी के घर में अविद्वान्, अव्रती, नाममात्र का व्रात्य अतिथि बन कर आ जाए तो उसका भी अपमान उचित नहीं है ।[३६] उसका भी यथोचित सत्कार करना ही चाहिए, क्योंकि उसके सत्कार से भी अपने इष्ट देवता प्रसन्न होते हैं ।[३७]

चौदहवें से अठारहवें तक पाँच पर्याय-सूक्तों में अतिथि के सार्वभौम स्वरूप का वर्णन किया गया है । चौदहवें सूक्त में दिखाया गया है कि वह व्रात्य विभिन्न दिशाओं में, प्राणिजगत् के विभिन्न समुदायों में और विभिन्न स्थानों पर विचरण करता है । उस समय उसमें अवसर के अनुसार मरुत्, वरुण, सोम, विष्णु, रुद्र, यम, अग्नि, बृहस्पति, ईशान, प्रजापति, परमेष्ठी आदि देवों के गुण विद्यमान होते हैं और यथायोग्य शक्ति से वह उनके मध्य कार्य करता है ।[३८]

इसके पश्चात् चार सूक्तों में व्रात्य के शरीर में विभिन्न प्राकृतिक विभूतियों का निवास बताया गया है । उसके सात प्राणों में अग्नि, आदित्य, चन्द्रमा, पवमान, जल (अप्), पशु और प्रजाओं का अंश है ।[३९] उसके सात अपानों में पौर्णमासी, अष्टका, अमावस्या, श्रद्धा, दीक्षा, यज्ञ और दक्षिणा का रूप विद्यमान है ।[४०] उसके सात व्यानों में भूमि, अन्तरिक्ष, द्यौ नक्षत्र, ऋतुएं, ऋतुओं में उत्पन्न होने वाले पदार्थ और संवत्सर हैं ।[४१] ये सभी व्रात्य को अमरत्व प्रदान करते हैं । इसी प्रकार व्रात्य के आँख, नाक, कान, सिर आदि सभी अंग सूर्य, चन्द्रमा आदि की शक्तियों से परिपूर्ण हैं ।[४२] उस व्रात्य को नमस्कार है ।

इस प्रकार अथर्ववेद के व्रात्य का स्वरूप अलौकिक बना दिया गया है और वह दिव्य शक्तियों से सम्पन्न है । वह ज्ञानवान् है, उसकी विशेष प्रकार की वेषभूषा है, जिसमें मुख्यतः पगड़ी, धनुष, प्रतोद, अनेक वर्ण की मणियाँ और रंगीन वस्त्र हैं । वह रथ पर बैठ कर चलता है । वह एक स्थान पर ठहरता नहीं । समाज के और भूमण्डल के विभिन्न स्तरों और प्रदेशों में घूमता रहता है । तपस्या

और विद्वत्ता के कारण उसका सर्वत्र सम्मान होता है। सदाचरण, ज्ञानशक्ति, तपस्या, परहित आदि गुणों के कारण उसमें सब शक्तियाँ विद्यमान हैं। प्रजा के हित में तत्पर रहने के कारण प्रजा उसे अपना राजा बना लेती है, उसे सब कुछ प्रदान करती है। वह अतिथि के रूप में राजा के भी घर पहुंच जाता है तो वह भी अपना सौभाग्य मानकर उसका स्वागत और सेवा करता है। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि समाज में प्रचलित संस्कार आदि की परम्पराएँ, यज्ञादि कर्मकाण्ड उसे इष्ट नहीं थे। वह परिव्राजक तथा संन्यासी के समान इन सबसे ऊपर था।

कुछ विद्वान् मानते हैं कि अथर्ववेद में आर्यों की वैदिक परम्परा के साथ आर्येतर अवैदिक परम्पराओं का मिश्रण है, इसीलिए उसमें कुछ भावात्मक तथा अवैदिक सत्ताओं को देवत्व प्रदान किया गया है।[४३] तदनुसार व्रात्य को भी देवत्व की प्राप्ति हो गई। उनके अनुसार व्रात्य कुछ ऐसे अवैदिक, सदाचारी तपस्वी थे, जिन्होंने बाद में ब्राह्मण धर्म को स्वीकार कर लिया और इसी कारण उन्हें सम्मानित किया गया।[४४]

अथर्ववेद के अतिरिक्त ब्राह्मण[४५] तथा उपनिषद्[४६] ग्रन्थों में भी व्रात्यों का उल्लेख आया है। विशेष रूप से पञ्चविंशब्राह्मण (ताण्ड्य-महाब्राह्मण) में व्रात्यों का विस्तार से वर्णन किया गया है। एक स्थान पर[४७] इसका प्रयोग देवताओं के विशेषण के रूप में हुआ है। सायण ने उसकी व्याख्या 'सङ्घातमकानाम् देवानाम्' करते हुए यह दिखाया है कि जो वसु आदि देवता समूह में रहने वाले हैं उनके लिए ही व्रात्य शब्द का प्रयोग है। परन्तु अन्यत्र[४८] व्रात्यों के विषय में विस्तार से बताया गया है।

"एक बार देवता इस पृथ्वी पर रहते थे। उन्होंने यज्ञ किया और वे स्वर्ग चले गए। उन देवों के अनुचर, जो देवताओं से सम्बद्ध होने के कारण दैव कहलाते थे, 'व्रात्या' के कारण प्रवास करते हुए पृथ्वी पर ही रह गए। जब वे लौट कर आए तो अपने साथी देवों को न पाकर इच्छा की कि जिस यज्ञ के अनुष्ठान से देवता लोग स्वर्ग चले गए हैं हम भी उसी को करें। उन्हें उस स्तोम और छन्द का ज्ञान नहीं था। इस पर देवों ने मरुतों से कहा कि उन्हें भी वही स्तोम और छन्द प्रदान कर दो जिससे वे भी यहाँ आ जाएँ। मरुतों ने उन्हें षोडशस्तोम बता दिया। इससे वे देवों के साथ आ मिले।"[४९]

यहाँ यह प्रश्न उठता है कि यह 'व्रात्या' क्या है, जिसके कारण उन लोगों को 'व्रात्य' कहा जाने लगा। सायण ने 'व्रात्यां व्रात्यतामाचारहीनताम्' ऐसा अर्थ किया है। आगे इसी ब्राह्मण में कहा गया है 'जो व्रात्या का जीवन व्यतीत करते हैं वे हीन और हीनतम होते जाते हैं, क्योंकि न तो वे ब्रह्मचर्य का पालन करते हैं, न कृषि करते हैं और न व्यापार करते हैं।'[५०] यहाँ भी 'व्रात्या' के अर्थ को और स्पष्ट करते हुए सायण ने कहा है कि 'व्रात्या' ही 'व्रात्यता' है और 'व्रात्यता' से तात्पर्य है 'विहित कार्यों को न करना और प्रतिषिद्ध कार्यों को करना।'[५१] इस प्रकार की आचार-हीनता से षोडशस्तोम ही मुक्ति प्रदान कराकर श्रेष्ठता प्राप्त करा सकता है। इस षोडशस्तोम का सम्बन्ध मरुतों से माना गया है, क्योंकि 'जो क्षुद्र और न्यून अक्षर वाले छन्द होते हैं उनका मरुतों से सम्बन्ध माना गया है।'[५२] व्रात्यों का एक वर्ग दिव्यव्रात्य कहा जाता है। वे मरुतों से अभिन्न हैं। इन दिव्य-व्रात्यों को यद्यपि व्रात्यों में उच्चतम स्थान प्राप्त था, किन्तु अपनी अवैदिक प्रवृत्तियों के कारण इन्हें वैदिक समाज में सम्मानित स्थान नहीं दिया जाता था।[५३] सम्भवतः ये अर्धसभ्य आर्य-दल के लोग थे और प्रायः इधर-उधर घूमते रहते थे तथा अपनी वंश-परम्परा से प्राप्त विशेष प्रकार की पूजापद्धति

का पालन करते हुए नगरों से बाहर ही रहा करते थे। एक स्थान पर नहीं ठहरते थे, समूहों में घूमा करते थे।

इन व्रात्यों का मारुत् द्युतान गृहपति कहलाता था। उसकी अध्यक्षता में व्रात्यों ने षोडशस्तोम नामक यज्ञ किया जिससे वे सभी समृद्ध हो गए।[५४] यज्ञ करने के उपरान्त गृहपति को अनेक वस्तुएँ दक्षिणा के रूप में प्रदान करने का विधान है। ये वस्तुएँ व्रात्यपति की सम्पत्ति मानी जाती थीं। इसलिए ये वस्तुएं ही उसके द्वारा प्रदेय थीं—'सिर पर पहनने के लिए उष्णीष, लोहे की नोक वाला दण्ड (प्रतोद), प्रत्यञ्चारहित धनुर्दण्ड (ज्याह्रोड), अनेक फलकों से विस्तृत और इधर-उधर चलने वाले घोड़ों से युक्त रथ, काले किनारे वाला वस्त्र, कृष्णश्वेत मृगचर्म, चाँदी के आभूषण।'[५५]

अन्य व्रात्यों के पास 'लाल पल्ले वाले और दोनों ओर रस्सी लगे हुए वस्त्र, दो-दो जूते, तथा कृष्ण और श्वेत मृगचर्म' होते थे।[५६] वे इन्हीं वस्तुओं का दान करते थे। इसके अतिरिक्त तीस गौएँ प्रदान करने का भी विधान है। ये सभी वस्तुएँ मगध देश के रहने वाले ब्रह्मबन्धु (अयोग्य ब्राह्मण) को दान दी जाती थीं।[५७] यह समझा जाता था कि षोडशस्तोम के सम्पन्न करने से और अपनी सम्पत्ति दान करने से सभी व्रात्य शुद्ध हो जाते हैं, क्योंकि प्रदत्त वस्तुओं के साथ ही उनकी व्रात्यता उनके लेने वाले के पास चली जाती है।[५८]

पञ्चविंश-ब्राह्मण के उपर्युक्त वर्णन में आए व्रात्य और अथर्ववेद के व्रात्य में बड़ा अन्तर प्रतीत होता है। अथर्ववेद का व्रात्य व्रतों का पालन करने वाला सदाचारी, परोपकारी, विद्वान् व्यक्ति है और उसे समाज में परम सम्मानित व्यक्ति या अतिथि माना गया है। उसका उचित सम्मान करना सौभाग्यवर्धन करने वाला है। कुछ अंशों में उसका स्वरूप भी अलौकिक है, जबकि पञ्चविंश-ब्राह्मण का व्रात्य घुमक्कड़ और आचारहीन है। किन्तु बाह्य स्वरूप के विषय में कुछ समानताएँ भी हैं—पगड़ी, धनुष, नानावर्णी वस्त्र, रथ और आभूषणों के संकेत अथर्ववेद में भी हैं और पञ्चविंश-ब्राह्मण में भी। इससे बाह्य वेषभूषा और इधर-उधर घूमने (व्रात्या) की समानता दोनों में ही है।

यह एक अद्भुत बात है कि अथर्ववेद के अतिरिक्त कहीं भी व्रात्य को यह सम्मानित पद प्राप्त नहीं हुआ। श्रौतसूत्रों[५९] में सोमयाग की क्रियापद्धति का वर्णन करते हुए एक दिवस की अवधि में किए जाने वाले कुछ यज्ञों का वर्णन मिलता है। उनमें चार व्रात्यस्तोम[६०] यज्ञों का वर्णन भी है। उन व्रात्यस्तोमों की उपयोगिता बताते हुए कहा गया है कि जिन ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय, वैश्य वर्ण के लोगों का सोलह वर्ष की आयु तक उपनयन संस्कार न हुआ हो तथा जो द्विजातिकर्म को छोड़कर हीनाचरणशील हो गए हों उन्हें व्रात्य कहा जाता है। वे व्रात्य चार प्रकार के होते हैं—निन्दित, कनिष्ठ, ज्येष्ठ और हीनाचार। इनमें से निन्दित, कनिष्ठ और ज्येष्ठ के लिए दूसरा, तीसरा और चौथा व्रात्यस्तोम निश्चित किया गया है। चतुर्थ अर्थात् हीनाचार के लिए प्रथम व्रात्यस्तोम किया जाता है। यह षोडशस्तोम ही है जिसका वर्णन पञ्चविंश-ब्राह्मण[६१] में किया गया है। इन यज्ञों को सम्पन्न करने से ये व्रात्य समाज में पुनः प्रवेश के अधिकारी हो जाते थे। ये अद्विजों के मध्य अथवा उनके साथ रहने के कारण अनार्य अथवा अवैदिक कहलाते थे तथा समाज से बहिष्कृत समझे जाते थे।

गृह्यसूत्रों[६२] में उपनयन संस्कार के प्रसंग में आता है कि ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय, वैश्य बालकों का क्रमशः आठवें, ग्यारहवें और बारहवें वर्ष में उपनयन संस्कार हो जाना चाहिए। यह सीमा सोलह, बाइस और चौबीस वर्ष तक बढ़ सकती है। ऐसा न होने पर युवक सावित्री मन्त्र के उच्चारण के अधिकार से वंचित हो जाता है। उसे सावित्रीपतित कहा जाता है। ऐसे युवक को शिष्य के रूप में स्वीकार करने, यज्ञ के लिए दीक्षित करने तथा जामाता बनाने के योग्य नहीं समझा जाता था। ऐसे व्यक्तियों

को श्रौतसूत्रों में वर्णित व्रात्यस्तोम नामक अनुष्ठान को विधिवत् सम्पन्न करने पर पुनः शिक्षा, सावित्री आदि के अधिकार प्राप्त होते थे।

मनु, याज्ञवल्क्य, यम और वसिष्ठ स्मृतियों में भी उपनयन संस्कार, वर्णधर्म, उपपातक और उनके प्रायश्चित्तादि प्रकरणों में 'व्रात्य' का उल्लेख मिलता है, जिनसे यही प्रतीत होता है कि उपनयन संस्कार के उचित समय पर न किए जाने पर ये सावित्रीपतित व्यक्ति व्रात्य कहे जाते थे।[६३] आपत्काल में भी उनके साथ नियमानुसार पठन-पाठन और विवाह-सम्बन्ध आदि का निषेध किया गया है।[६४] दूसरे प्रसंग में व्रात्य सन्तान की परिभाषा देते हुए कहा गया है कि द्विजाति अपने समान वर्ण की स्त्रियों में उत्पन्न सन्तान का यदि यथासमय यज्ञोपवीत अथवा उपनयन संस्कार नहीं कराते तो उन्हें व्रात्य कहा जाता है।[६५] इन व्रात्यों की अपनी सवर्ण स्त्रियों से उत्पन्न सन्तान भी पतित ही कही जाती है।[६६] उनके परिशोधन के लिए विशेष यज्ञ (व्रात्यस्तोम) करके तीन कृच्छ्रव्रत करने का विधान है।[६७] इसी प्रकार व्रात्यों को यज्ञ कराना भी पाप माना गया है और उसके लिए भी प्रायश्चित्त का विधान है।[६८]

इस प्रकार अथर्ववेद के अतिरिक्त सभी धर्मशास्त्रों में व्रात्य को अपवित्र और हीनाचार माना गया है। परन्तु कहीं भी व्रात्य को अवैदिक और अनार्य नहीं माना गया। वैखानस-धर्मसूत्र[६९] में व्रात्यों का एक जाति विशेष के रूप में उल्लेख है। महाभारत में अनुशासन-पर्व में युधिष्ठिर ने भीष्म से प्रश्न किया कि अपसद कौन लोग कहे जाते हैं ? उसके उत्तर में भीष्म ने कहा—

चण्डालो व्रात्यवेनौ च ब्राह्मण्यां क्षत्रियासु च ।
वैश्यायां चैव शूद्रस्य लक्ष्यन्तेऽपसदास्त्रयः ।।[७०]

इसमें व्रात्यों की गणना चण्डालों और वर्ण-संकरों के साथ की गई है। इसी प्रकार अन्यत्र कहा गया है—

आरट्टानामेते देशा नष्टधर्मा न तान् व्रजेत् ।
व्रात्यानां दासमीयानां बाहीकानामयज्वनाम् ।।[७१]

इसमें पंजाब के प्रदेश का वर्णन करते हुए कहा गया है कि ये प्रदेश नष्टधर्मा हैं। इनमें यज्ञ न करने वाले आरट्ट, व्रात्य, दासमीय और बाहीक जन रहते हैं, अतः वहाँ कभी मत जाना। यहाँ व्रात्य, दासमीय और बाहीकों को एक साथ रक्खा गया है। पाणिनि के ४.१.८५ सूत्र पर 'ईकक् च' वार्तिक देकर कात्यायन ने 'बाहीक' शब्द की रचना 'बहिः' शब्द से 'ईकक्' प्रत्यय जोड़ कर की है। 'बाहीक' का अर्थ है 'परम्परागत ब्राह्मण-समाज से बाहर के प्रदेश में रहने वाले।' इससे ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि व्रात्यजन सदाचारी, विद्वान् होते हुए भी वैदिक ब्राह्मण-समाज के नियमों का अनुसरण न करने वाले जनसमुदाय के सदस्य थे। वे वैदिक यज्ञों और संस्कार-परम्परा को नहीं मानते होंगे। स्वतन्त्र रूप से इधर-उधर भ्रमण तथा परिव्रजन करते हुए नैतिक आचरण की पवित्रता पर बल देते होंगे। अथर्ववेदीय समाज में उनका सम्मान रहा होगा, किन्तु यज्ञ-प्रधान कर्मकाण्डीय परम्परा से पृथक् रहने के कारण उन्हें संस्कारहीन, सावित्रीपतित, तथा उपपातकी माना गया। ब्राह्मण-ग्रन्थों की, स्मृति-परम्परा से प्रभावित, सायणकृत व्याख्या व्रात्यों को व्रात्यस्तोम तथा अन्य प्रायश्चित्त के योग्य मानती है और तभी उनको समाज में मिलाती है। उन्हें हम अनार्य जाति के सदस्य तो नहीं कह सकते। यह अवश्य है कि वे आर्यों से, व्रात्यता (इधर-उधर घूमने) के कारण, पृथक हो गये थे।[७२] वह पृथकता इतनी बढ़ी कि पुनः विशेष विधान या प्रायश्चित्त से ही वे अपनाये जाने के योग्य माने गए।

टिप्पणियाँ

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६०. का० श्रौ० सू० २२.४.१.
६१. द्रष्टव्य १७.१.
६२. आ० गृ० सू० १.१९; गो० गृ० सू० २.१०.
६३. मनुस्मृति २.३९; याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति १.३८.
६४. मनु० २.४०.
६५. वही, १०.२०.
६६. ,, १०.२१.२३.
६७. ,, ११.१९१.
६८. ,, ११.१९७.
६९. वै० ध० सू० ३.११.२.
७०. महाभारत, अनुशासन-पर्व, ४९.८.
७१. महाभारत ८.४४.३३.
७२. पञ्चविंश ब्राह्मण-१७.१.१.

SECTION II

GRAMMAR AND LINGUISTICS

CANDRA AND THE 'ASAṂJÑAKAṂ VYĀKARAṆAM'

PRAFULLA CHANDRA DASH

I. BACKGROUND

(A) Ancient References

Among ancient works on Sanskrit Grammar Candra's Grammar is found described at least in five texts. This line occurs first in the *Cāndra-Vṛtti* (*CV*), in course of the explanation of the rule, '*upajñopakrame tadāditve*' (*Cāndra-Sūtra* =*CS*, 2.2.68). Here in the same rule also occurs the same type of line. "*Pāṇinyupajñam akālakaṃ vyākaraṇam*". The Vṛttikāra (VK) here does not define the line written by him. But it may convey the sense that Candra (C) has not used technical terms in his Grammar.

It occurs in Vāmana's *Liṅgānuśāsana*[1] (8th cent. A.D.)[2].

Kṣīrasvāmin (11th cent. A.D.)[3], the commentator of the *Amarakośa*, has quoted this line at many places, e.g. on the rule 2.7.13[4], 3.5.28[5], etc.

Nārāyaṇa Daṇḍanātha (12th cent. A.D.)[6] in his commentary *Hṛdayahāriṇī* on Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, mentions this line on the rules, *upajñopakramaṃ tadāditve* (3.3.26) and *upajñāte* (4.3.245).

The *Supadmavivaraṇapañjikā* on the rule 4.3.101 mentions *candrasya pratijñā saṃjñaiva na kartavyā* "Candra has taken a vow to discard *saṃjñās* or technical terms"[7].

(B) Views of Modern Scholars

Some modern scholars have given a thought to this line. Kielhorn tries to show that C has avoided a large number of technical terms and his work has been described as "the grammar without technical terms."[8]

K. G. Oka, in his edition of the *Amarakośa* remarks[9] on this line that the Grammar is called '*asaṃjñaka*' because in it C replaces the word *saṃjñā* used by Pāṇini (P) by the word *nāman*. It is to be understood from his remark that omission of the word *saṃjñā* (whether this is true or not is to be examined later) in the Grammar has been responsible for it to be widely described as '*asaṃjñakaṃ vyākaraṇaṃ*'

Belvalkar also agrees with Oka in his monograph on Sanskrit Grammar[10].

Liebich and K. C. Chatterji are silent about this line.

Harshanath Mishra in his thesis on the Cāndra Vyākaraṇa[11] points out that C's non-use of technical terms in his Grammar was intended to avoid the difficulties faced in P's grammar owing to the use of technical terms.

H. P. Dvivedi in his study on the technical terms of P's Grammar[12] takes the expression '*asaṃjñakaṃ vyākaraṇam*' as the Grammar which marked a revolt against the use of technical terms.[13]

From the above overview of earlier studies it can be seen that only Oka and Belvalkar interpret the expression *asaṃjñaka* from the famous line as one which avoids the use of the 'word' *saṃjñā* in it; while others take the expression to mean one which avoids the use of technical terms in it.

II. INTRODUCTORY

1. At the outset it may be stated that the problem of the identical or separate authorship of the CS and the CV[14] is kept aside from the present study. The line would be studied independently with respect to the *Sūtras* and with respect to the *Vṛtti*.

2. It has been observed from a study of C's Grammar, that in general he follows in his Grammar the technique or procedure used by P for his Grammar (such as *Adhikāra*, *Anuvṛtti*, *Anubandhas*, etc.). It is therefore to be expected that, like P, C also made use of certain technical terms or *saṃjñās* in his Grammar.

3. This brings us to the use of '*saṃjñās*' in P's Grammar.

In his study on this word Palsule[15] has categorised the mention of the *saṃjñā* words into two, (*i*) names (proper names and common names), and (*ii*) non-names (i.e. adjectives), both being restricted in their use by social convention. The basic meaning of *saṃjñā* was observed by him to be social convention. In the field of linguistics, it stood for either (1) convention about a word, i.e. conventional use of a word, or (2) name (in its various kinds, the proper names being the *saṃjñā* words par excellence). At the end of his study on this question he concludes that *saṃjñā* means 'a word whose etymological meaning is restricted', and 'a purely *rūḍha* word also'. Palsule does not deal with a *saṃjñā* word where it carries the technical sense, i.e. with a technical term.

Wezler[16] points out that P uses the word *saṃajñā* to denote, in some contexts (cf. in *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā* 1.4.1), "a technical term", while generally elsewhere to denote "an individual name" or "a class name" for which he also sometimes uses the words *nāman* and *ākhyā*.

4. This means that our expression *'asaṃjñaka'* from the line, *'candropajñam asaṃjñakaṃ vyākaraṇam'*, could mean either (1) not showing the use of technical terms, or (2) not discussing grammatically the common or proper names. But the second possibility viz. not discussing, i.e. not deriving, the names, is rather over-stated, and hence that possible meaning of the expression is kept aside in our enquiry.

5.1. It is to be understood here that the scholiast who first gave currency to the line, *'candropajñam asaṃjñakaṃ vyākaraṇam'*, probably looked at C's Grammar with a previous knowledge of P's Grammar, and hence all the while inwardly comparing the former with the latter. As such, our enquiry into the meaning of the line should also keep a constant eye at P's technique while examining the one followed by C.

5.2. At the same time there could also be a theoretical possibility of the line giving the meaning (irrespectively of a comparison with P's procedure) of C not using technical terms in his Grammar at all. However, as a writer in science is required for the sake of convenience to use a few expressions in a technical manner, this possibility with C must be said to be far-fetched and not true to facts.

6. Our enquiry can then be pursued along the following lines :

(*i*) C's not using the technical terms at all where P is found using them;

(*ii*) C's using the technical terms in a shape different from that of P.

(*iii*) C's using the technical terms in a shape similar to P's but in a different sense;

(*iv*) C's using the technical terms exactly alike P.

7. Attention in this small study is given chiefly to the *Kṛdanta* section of the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*, occurring in its first adhyāya. As this section is rooted on the material from the preceding portion in the Grammar, that portion also has been included in the examination. The later parts of the Grammar are looked into only casually.

III. THE ENQUIRY

(i) C's Non-use of Technical Terms

Among the terms used by P but found to be totally avoided in C's Grammar are the following :

Apṛkta, ātmanepada, ārdhadhātuka, upasarjana, ekaśeṣa, kṛt, kṛtya, guṇa, gha, ghi, ghu, ṭi, taddhita, tadrāja, nadī, nipāta, niṣṭhā, parasmaipada, pragṛhya, prātipadika, bha, vṛddha, vṛddhi, sarvanāmasthāna, sārvadhātuka. (25)

Then how does he word his *sūtras* to describe the ideas conveyed by these terms ? The answer is that he uses no term in description of the basic ideas but clearly refers to the basic ideas themselves, such as *aden* for *guṇa*, *ādaic* for *vṛddhi*, etc. It may be asked why C does that, or, what his motive was in doing this, i.e. in not using the technical term to express these ideas in short. It may be suggested that the following reasons probably guided C. They are : 1. Economy (*a*) in syllables, and (*b*) in applicability; 2. Clarity; 3. Avoidance of excessive artificiality; 4. No apparent benefit.

1. (a) Economy in Syllables

The single phoneme itself as against P's *apṛkta*;
taṅāna ,, ,, ,, *ātmanepada*;
ataṅ ,, ,, ,, *pārasmaipada*;
sometimes *suṭ* sometimes *am* ,, ,, *sarvanāmasthāna*;
tiṅśit ,, ,, ,, *sārvadhātuka*.

(b) Economy in applicability

Hereunder cases are found avoiding the use of the term for reason of its multi-applicability or over-applicability.

śiti from *śityāyādayaḥ* 1.1.50, as against P's *ārdhadhātuka* from *āyādaya ārddhadhātuke vā* 3.1.31.
pratipari from *pratiparibhyāṃ bhāge ca* 2.1.55, as against P's *karmapravacanīya* from *karmapravacanīyayukte dvitīyā* 2.3.8.
ot from *or ot* 5.3.147, as against P's *guṇa* from *or guṇaḥ* 6.4.146.
et from *mider et* 6.1.109, ,, ,, ,, *guṇa* from *mider guṇaḥ* 7.3.82.
eṅ from *idutor eṅ* 6.2.48, ,, ,, ,, *guṇa* from *hrasvasya guṇaḥ* 7.3.108.
ṅi, ūṅ from *ṅyūṅaḥ* 6.2.46, ,, ,, ,, *nadī* from *ambārthanadyor hrasvaḥ* 7.3.107.
āt from *mṛjer āt* 6.1.1, ,, ,, ,, *vṛddhi* from *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ* 7.2.114.
tiṅ from *rudbhyas tiṅaḥ* 5.4.173, ,, *sārvadhātuka* from *rudādibhyaḥ sārvadhātuke* 7.2.76.
aliṭ from *dviruktasya nācy aliṭi* 6.2.7, as against P's *sārvadhāuka* from *nābhyastasyāci piti sārvadhātuke*
āśiṣi from *āśiṣi dīrghaḥ* 6.2.77, as against P's *sārvadhātuka* from *akṛtsārvadhātukayor dīrghaḥ* 7.4.25.

2. Clarity

Some terms are meant to avoid the ambiguity as to whether a technical term may be accepted in a technical way, or in a popular way, such as *guṇa*, *nadī*, *vṛddha*, *vṛddhi*.

3. Avoidance of excessive artificiality

Extremely artificial term such as *gha*, *ghi*, *ṭi*, *bha* etc. are omitted by C.

4. No apparent benefit

In excluding others, such as *kṛt*, *kṛtya*, *taddhita*, *nipāta*, *niṣṭhā*, or *pragṛhya*, the benefit that C may have secured is not clearly understandable[17].

(ii) C's use of Technical Terms in a different shape

C has substituted some terms (may be uncommon or popular, which will be discussed later) for P's technical terms. They are as follows :

P	C
1. *aṅga*	*prakṛti*
2. *adhikaraṇa*	*ādhāra*
3. *apādāna*	*avadhi*
4. *abhyasta*	*dvirukti*
5. *abhyāsa*	*dvirukta*
6. *avasāna*	*virāma*
7. *avyaya*	*asaṃkhya*
8. *āmreḍita*	*dvirukta*
9. *upadhā*	*upānta*
10. *upasarjana*	*apradhāna*
11. *karman*	*vyāpya*
12. *karmadhāraya*	*viśeṣaṇārtha*
13. *gati*	*prādi*
14. *dvandva*	*cārtha*
15. *dvigu*	*saṃkhyārtha*
16. *dhātu*	*kriyārtha, dhātu*
17. *pratyaya*	*para*
18. *bahuvrīhi*	*anyārtha*
19. *yuvan*	*gurvāyatta*
20. *samāsa*	*ekārtha*
21. *sambuddhi*	*sambodhana*
22. *saṃjñā*	*nāman, saṃjñā*
23. *sarvanāman*	*sarvādi*
24. *hetu*	*prayojakavyāpāra*

Now, when we examine the reasons that might have induced C to alter the terms that were already prevalent with P, those could be found to be :—(a) Clarity or Ease in understanding, (*b*) Economy, and (*c*) (in the case of some) no understandable reason.

(*a*) Clarity

It can be seen that most generally the terms used by C (in a different shape) are motivated by this principle. This will be apparent by a look at anyone of the pairs in the list. It may happen sometime that the idea of clarity is carried to an excess as in the case of P's *karmadhāraya*, *bahuvrīhi*, *samāsa*, *hetu* being substituted respectively by the terms, *viśeṣaṇārtha*, *anyārtha*, *ekārtha*, and *prayojakavyāpāra*. Also in a few cases, very little clarity can be seen achieved, as when *sambuddhi* is replaced by *sambodhana*.

(*b*) Economy

Saving of syllables can be seen when for P's *adhikaraṇa* we have *ādhāra* from C; the same may be seen if P's *pratyaya* is supposed to be replaced by the term *para* in a technical sense[18].

(*c*) No understandable reason

The motivation behind the substitution in the cases of *avyaya*, *karman*, *dhātu* and *yuvan*, respectively by the terms, *asaṃkhya*, *vyāpya*, *kriyārtha* and *gurvāyatta*, is either not clear or not happy.

(iii) C's use of technical terms in a different sense

P has used the term *anunāsika* to denote the group of nasal consonants, while features like *anusvāra* are described in P's system by the term *ayogavāha*[19]. However, C uses the pratyāhāra *ñam* itself for a nasal sound, and the term *anunāsika* to denote the *ayogavāha* sounds. So too, C uses P's technical term *gotra* only in a popular sense.

(iv) C's identical use of technical terms

C has retained quite a number of technical terms which were used by P. This can be listed below :

Anadyatana, *anudātta*, *anusvāra*, *anvādeśa*, *āmantrita*, *it*, *īṣatspṛṣṭa*, *uttama* (*puruṣa*), *udātta*, *upadeśa*, *upapada* (*vibhakti*), *ekavacana*, *karaṇa*, *kartṛ*, *kāraka*, *guru*, *caturthī*, *jāti*, *tṛtiyā*, *dīrgha*, *dvitīyā*, *dvivacana*, *dhātu*, *pañcamī*, *pada*, *parasavarṇa*, *prathama* (puruṣa), prathamā (vibhakti), *pluta*, *bahula*, *bahuvacana*, *bhaviṣyat*, *bhāva*, *madhyama* (*puruṣa*), *laghu*, *vākya*, *vidhi*, *vipratiṣedha*, *ṣaṣṭhī*, *saṃyoga*, *saṃkyhā*, *saṃjñā*, *saptamī*, *samāsa*, *saṃpradāna*, *saṃpraśna*, *savarṇa*, *svarita*, *hrasva*. (49)

It can be seen that the list includes, among others, (1) terms describing the phonetic features, (2) terms for the seven Cases, (3) terms denoting the Person and Number.

IV. CRITICAL COMMENTS

(A) C's non-use of the word *saṃjñā*

As for the interpretation of the word *'asaṃjñaka'* from the line as suggested by Oka and Belvalkar, viz. C's non-use of the word *saṃjñā*, we have the following facts :

(*i*) The *CS* uses the word in 8 places[20]; while, in the place of *saṃjñā*, he uses *'nāman'* in at least 29 places[21], and *'ākhyā'* in 2 places[22]; and he totally omits using *saṃjñā* (where P uses it) in 15 places[23].

(*ii*) The *CV*, however, is found to use the word *saṃjñā* frequently.

With this situation of C's general reluctance (as against only 8 cases) to the use of the word *saṃjñā* in his Grammar[24], in the face of the frequent use of that word in the *Vṛtti* on his Grammar, one can give his Grammar (i.e. the '*sūtras*' alone), the descriptive title *'asaṃjñakam vyākaraṇam'*, only on the assumption that the author of the *Sūtras* from the Grammar was different from the author of the *Vṛtti* on them.

(B) C's non-use of the Technical Terms

1. C cannot be said to have not used technical terms at all as is the literal impression given by the line, *'candropajñam asaṃjñakaṃ vyākaraṇam'*. So the line obviously intends to remark that C does not use the technical terms 'as used by P'.

2. (*a*) It has been noted above that C has avoided using many of P's technical terms : at least 25+1(viz. *gotra*); and, 24 in P's shape+1(viz. *anunāsika*) in P's meaning.

(*b*) C is also found to have used as many as 49 of P's technical terms in an identical shape.

2.1.1. Harshanath Mishra in his book referred to above has undertaken a study of C's peculiarity in the so-called non-use of technical terms in his Grammar and has pointed out about twenty-three defects in P's use of technical terms in his Grammar. However, on an examination of the arguments produced by him it would be apparent that most of the so-called defects pointed out by him are, in the context of C's Grammar, either improper or irrelevant.

As such, the discussion unfortunately does not (except for a reference to C's brevity or clarity in the use of some of his terms[25]) contribute much towards the interpretation of the problematic line before us.

2.1.2. Mishra comments, both in the context of C changing some of P's technical terms in his Grammar and in the context of C making an identical use of some of P's terms, that in these cases simplicity or clarity of the term was the reason that made C adopt those terms[26].

Now, as for the first list of terms, it has already been pointed out (under III. ii. c.) that at least in the case of four terms used by C his choice is not at all happy and cannot be said to be adding to simplicity. Of the second list (under III. iv.), at least the following terms which are borrowed by C from P cannot be said to be for reason of their being either simple or familiar : *anvādeśa*, *it*, *iṣatspṛṣṭa*, *upadeśa*, *upapada* (*vibhakti*), *sampraśna*.

It may also be noted that of all these terms, only the single term *it* has been defined by him (1.1.5) thereby certainly understanding it as a technical term.

The above evidence proves that Mishra's remark is a very sweeping one and not true to facts.

2.2. Dvivedi at the end of his good discussion has shown that C has "succeded in avoiding only a majority of technical terms[27] though not one and all of them."[28] How this is true has already been examined by us.

V. Concluding Remarks

The preceding examination, carried on a modest scale but done on the basis of the available evidence, leads us to the following observations. On an analysis of the possible significances of the term '*asaṃjñakam*' "without *saṃjñā*", which depend upon the different meanings in which the word '*saṃjñā*' (*sa*^{0}) is looked at, we get the following picture.

Possible Significances of '*asaṃjñakam*' :

A. (1) (Absolutely :)	"without *sa*^{0}" (with *sa*^{0} as a 'word') ="without using the word *sa*^{0}"
(2) (W. r. t. P's use of *sa*^{0} :)	"without *sa*^{0}" (with *sa*^{0} as a 'word') ="without use of the word *sa*^{0} where P has used it"
B. (3) (Absolutely :)	"without *sa*^{0} (with *sa*^{0} 'meaning' a T.T.) ="without using a T.T."
(4) (W. r .t. P's use of a T.T. :)	"without *sa*^{0} (with *sa*^{0} meaning a T.T.) ="without using P's T.T."

C. (5) (W. r. t. its derivation :) "without *sa*^{0}" (with *sa*^{0} meaning "a name")
="without a name being derived"

(*NB.* 'T.T.'=Technical Term; 'W.r.t.'=with reference to)

Respective Findings for these :

A. (1) : Incorrect (C found using the 'word' *sa*^{0}, 8 times)
(2) : (*i*) Incorrect (C found using the 'word' *sa*^{0} where P has used it, 8 times)
(*ii*) Correct (C found not using the 'word' *sa*^{0} where P has used it, 15+29+2 times)

B. (3) : Totally Incorrect (C using a number of T.T.s)
(4) : (*i*) Incorrect (C found using P's T.T.s, 49 times)
(*ii*) Correct (C found not using P's T.T.s, 25+1+24+1 times)

C. (5) : Totally Incorrect (C deriving a number of names)

Possible Justifications for the Description 'asaṃjñakam' :

1. (Under 'A. 2 (*ii*)' :) When standing for the fact of C (with a few axceptions) not using the word *sa*^{0} where P has used it.
2. (Under 'B. 2 (*ii*)' :) When standing for the fact of C not using P's T.T.s when they were found difficult, the benefits, thereby secured by C being : (1) Economy, (2) Clarity, and (3) Simplicity, despite his failure in a few cases in achieving this desired end.

NOTES

1. C.D. Dalal (Ed.), *Liṅgānuśāsana of Vāmana* with the author's own commentary, GOS, No. VI, Baroda, 1918.
2. Dalal, op. cit., Introd., p. vii; and A.B. Kieth, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1928. p.7.
3. Kieth, op. cit., p. 414.
4. See K.G. Oka (Ed.), *The Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana of Amarasiṃha*, Poona, 1913, p. 115, but noted as 2.7.12 by Aufrecht, "Zùr Handschriften Kunde (Kommentare zum Amarakosha)", *ZDMG* 28. 105 (1874).
5. Oka, op. cit., p. 236.

6. Y. Mimamsaka, *Saṃskṛt vyākaraṇaśāstra kā itihās*, Vol. I, 1973, p. 610.
7. According to K.C. Chatterji, *Cāndravyākaraṇa of Candragomin*, Part I, Poona, 1953, p. 16-17.
8. "The Chāndra-Vyākaraṇa and the Kāśikā-Vritti", *Indian Antiquary* 15.185 (1886).
9. Op. cit., Notes p. 12.
10. An Account of the different existing *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, Poona, 1915, p. 60.
11. *Cāndravyākaraṇavṛtteh samālocanātmakam adhyayanam*, 1974, p. 93.
12. *Studies in Pāṇini ; Technical Terms of the Aṣṭādhyāyī*, Delhi, 1977.
13. Op. cit., p. 167.
14. For a recent study on this, see R. Birwe, "Ist Candragomin der Verfasser der *Candra-Vṛtti ?*", *Melanges d' indianisme* a la Memoire de Louis Renou, Paris, 1968, pp. 127-42.
15. G.B. Palsule, " 'Saṃjñāyām' in Pāṇini", *JUP*, 25. 31-75 (1967).
16. Albrecht Wezler, "Some Observations on the Grammatical Terminology of Pāṇini", in *German Scholars on India*, II. 361-79 (Delhi, 1976).
17. Cp. for modern views on the impropriety in the classification of suffixes into *kṛt*, *taddhita*, etc., T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language*, new and revised ed., 1973, p. 120, and N.C. Nath, *Pāṇinian Interpretation of the Sanskrit Language*, Varanasi, 1969, p. 43.
18. This is following K.C. Chatterji who takes *para* as a technical term; vide his ed. 1953, Vol. I, p. 12f.
19. See Vt. 6 on Śiva-Sūtra 5; and *Mahābhāṣya* (ed. Kielhorn) I. 28. 16.
20. Viz. 1.1.23, 2.3.60, 3.3.83, 3.3.113, 3.3.121, 4.3.78, 5.2.35, 6.4.85.
    Note : For comparative references, see B. Liebich, *Konkordanz Panini-Candra*, Breslau, 1928.
21. Viz. 1.2.30, 1.3.77, 1.3.78, 2.2.14, 2.2.67, 2.3.69, 2.3.77, 3.2.19, 3.4.81, 3.4.88, 4.1.37, 4.1.38, 4.2.76, 4.2.87, 4.2.133, 4.4.79, 4.4.109, 4.4.121, 4.4.132, 4.4.143, 5.1.142, 5.2.6, 5.2.49, 5.2.65, 5.2.73, 5.2.98, 5.2.130, 6.3.37, 6.4.102.
22. Viz. 4.1.65, 6.1.95.
23. Viz. 1.2.3, 1.2.65, 1.3.7, 1.3.100, 1.3.135, 2.1.15, 2.2.8, 3.4.44, 4.1.62, 4.2.32, 4.2.90, 4.2.113, 5.2.132, 6.3.28, 6.4.104.
24. The negative prefix '*a*' in the compound '*asaṃjñaka*' has to be understood in the modified meaning and not in its absolute meaning, i.e. in the *alpatā* sense from the famous couplet:

    tatsādṛśyam abhāvaś ca tadanyatvaṃ tadalpatā;
    aprāśastyaṁ virodhaś ca nañarthāḥ ṣaṭ prakīrtitāḥ.
25. The removal by C in his rules, as pointed out by Mishra, of the inconsistency in P's use of some technical terms, could be effected by adopting some simple measures and need not necessarily mean avoiding the use of technical terms in those contexts.
26. Op. cit., p. 106.
27. By this the author means to refer only to 'Pāṇini's' technical terms. Cp. his statement on p. 179 : "Who has......*Aṣṭādhyāyī*".
28. Op. cit., p. 184.

पाणिनीय स्थान्यादेश-व्यवस्था का भाषावैज्ञानिक विश्लेषण

वी० एल० गौड़

पाणिनि की सम्पूर्ण भाषिक संरचना-विधा स्थान्यादेश-व्यवस्था पर आधारित है। इस लेख का मुख्य उद्देश्य आधुनिक संरचनात्मक भाषा-विज्ञान की धारणाओं के आलोक में पाणिनि की स्थान्यादेश-व्यवस्था का विश्लेषण करना है। इससे पाणिनीय संरचना-विधा के बारे में उत्पन्न अनेक भ्रान्तियों के निराकरण की भी पूरी सम्भावनाएं हैं।

भाषा की संरचनात्मक इकाइयां मुख्यतः चार स्तरों पर विभक्त की जा सकती हैं—

स्तर (Stratum)	**उपादान** (Units)
(क) अर्थग्रामीय स्तर	अर्थग्राम
(ख) रूपग्रामीय स्तर	रूपग्राम
(ग) रूपध्वनिग्रामीय स्तर	रूपध्वनिग्राम
(घ) ध्वनिग्रामीय स्तर	ध्वनिग्राम

उक्त चार स्तरों में विभक्त संरचना-उपादानों का अग्रिम स्तर की इकाई के साथ स्थान्यादेश सम्बन्ध होता है। अर्थग्राम रूपग्राम द्वारा, रूपग्राम रूपध्वनिग्राम द्वारा, तथा रूपध्वनिग्राम ध्वनिग्राम द्वारा आदेशन या प्रतिनिधान प्राप्त करता है।

पाणिनि की स्थान्यादेश-व्यवस्था आधुनिक वर्णनात्मक भाषाविज्ञान (संरचनात्मक भाषा-विज्ञान) के कतिपय प्रमुख सिद्धान्तों पर आधारित है।

प्रतिनिधि-सिद्धान्त

पाणिनि की स्थान्यादेश-व्यवस्था का मुख्य आधार आधुनिक भाषा-विज्ञान में मान्यता-प्राप्त प्रतिनिधि-सिद्धान्त है[1]। इसके अनुसार पाणिनीय विधा में 'स्थानी' का आदेश के रूप में भौतिक विपरिणाम नहीं बताया जाता, अपितु उसका प्रतिनिधित्व किया जाता है, जिसके लिए ध्वनिगत साम्य की आवश्यकता नहीं (यदि साम्य है तो कोई आपत्ति नहीं), अपितु अर्थाभिधान-सामर्थ्य की अपेक्षा है।[2] वर्णनात्मक भाषाविज्ञान के 'प्रतिनिधि-सिद्धान्त' के विषय में पाणिनि ही नहीं, उसके व्याख्याकार भी निर्भ्रान्त थे।

वर्णनात्मक भाषा-विज्ञान, जोकि शब्दों को नित्य मानकर चलता है, 'स्थानी' का आदेश के रूप में विपरिणाम कैसे बता सकता है ? 'कात्यायन' ने स्वयं यह आक्षेप[3] करके 'सिद्धन्तु यथा लौकिकवैदिकेष्वभूतपूर्वेऽपि स्थानप्रयोगात्' वार्तिक से समाधान किया है। इसका सीधा आशय यह है कि 'स्थानी' एक बौद्ध-सत्तामात्र है न कि भौतिक सत्ता। अतः उसके भौतिक रूप से न होते हुए भी प्रसंगमात्र में आदेश-विधि की जाती है, जैसे—'उपाध्यायस्य स्थाने शिष्यः' इत्युच्यते, न च तत्र उपाध्यायो भूतपूर्वोऽपि भवति।[4] पतंञ्जलि दो कदम आगे बढ़कर व्यावहारिक स्पष्टता लाता है। उसका कहना है कि प्रक्रिया की दृष्टि से हम 'स्थानी' की पूर्वस्तरिक (First stratum) सत्ता मान भी लें तो भी आदेश द्वारा प्रतिनिधान होने से नित्यता पर आंच नहीं आती - "भूतपूर्वे चापि स्थानशब्दो वर्तते। कथम् ? बुद्ध्या। तद्यथा कश्चित् कस्मैचिद् उपदिशति प्राचीनं ग्रामादाम्राः इति। तस्य सर्वत्राम्रबुद्धिः प्रसक्ता। ततः पश्चादाह —'ये क्षीरिणोऽवरोहवन्तः पृथुपर्णास्ते न्यग्रोधाः' इति। स तत्राम्रबुद्ध्या न्यग्रोधबुद्धिः प्रतिपद्यते। स ततः पश्यति-बुद्ध्या आम्राँश्चापकृष्यमाणान् न्यग्रोधांश्चोपाधीयमानान्। नित्या एव च स्वस्मिन् विषये आम्राः, नित्याश्च न्यग्रोधाः। बुद्धिस्त्वस्य विपरिणम्यते। एवमिहापि अस्तिरस्मायविशेषेणोपदिष्टः, तस्य सर्वत्रास्तिबुद्धिः प्रसक्ता। सः 'अस्तेर्भूः' इत्यनेनास्तिबुद्ध्या भवतिबुद्धि प्रतिपद्यते। स ततः पश्यति-बुद्ध्या अस्ति चापकृष्यमाणं, भवतिं चोपाधीयमानम्, नित्य एवं च स्वस्मिन् विषयेऽस्तिर्नित्यो भवतिश्च। बुद्धिस्त्वस्य विपरिणम्यते"[5]। पाणिनि की स्थान्यादेश-व्यवस्था का यह सिद्धान्त स्पष्ट हो जाने से ऐसी भ्रान्त धारणाएं कि मानो पाणिनि ने मनगढ़न्त ढंग से हन्' के लिए 'घन्'[6], 'अस्' के लिए 'भू', 'जाया' के लिए 'जानि', 'नासिका' के लिए 'नस्' आदि आदेश बता दिए हैं, स्वतः उन्मूलित हो जाती हैं।

विश्लेषण की एकरूपता

पाणिनि की संरचनात्मक विश्लेषण-प्रक्रिया का एक महत्त्वपूर्ण रूप उसकी एकरूपता है। उसने धातु या प्रातिपदिक प्रकृति का अथवा तद्विहित प्रत्ययों का विश्लेषण जिन-जिन स्तरों से निरूपित किया है उसमें आश्चर्यकारी एकरूपता है। संरचनात्मक प्रक्रिया के अन्तर्गत विवेचनाधीन भाषा का काल्पनिक विखण्डन करके जो भी अर्थतत्त्व, रूपग्राम, ध्वनिग्राम निर्धारित किये तथा उनके संयोजन की जो एकरूप पद्धति अपनायी है, वह मानव-मेधा का अद्वितीय उदाहरण है। विश्लेषण की यह एकरूपता तब तक सर्वथा असम्भव थी जब तक उक्त-प्रकारक स्थान्यादेश-व्यवस्था को न अपनाया जाता। संरचनात्मक विश्लेषण की एकरूपता बनाये रखने को ही उसे 'शून्य' रूपग्राम की कल्पना करनी पड़ी। उसकी शास्त्रीय प्रक्रिया के अनुसार प्रकृति-प्रत्यय दोनों[7] मिलकर अर्थ-बोध कराते हैं, कोई एक नहीं, अतः जहाँ कहीं उसे प्रकृति के साथ प्रत्यय तत्त्व नहीं भी दीखता, वहाँ भी वह प्रत्यय के स्थान में उसका लोप अर्थात् 'शून्य-प्रत्यय' आदिष्ट करता है।[8]

परिपूरक वितरण का सिद्धान्त

पाणिनि की स्थान्यादेश-व्यवस्था संरचनात्मक भाषा-विज्ञान के 'परिपूरक वितरण'[9] के सिद्धान्त पर आधारित है। इसका अर्थ यह है कि जिन ध्वन्यात्मक या रूपात्मक परिस्थितियों में एक रूप का प्रयोग होता है, दूसरे का भी उन्हीं में होता है या सबका अलग-अलग। यदि सबका एक ही परिस्थिति में प्रयोग होता है तो उसका आशय यह है कि उनका आपस में विरोध है। एक के स्थान में दूसरा भी आ जाता है। यदि ऐसा है तो उन्हें एक रूपग्राम का अंग [जिन्हें संरूप (Allomorpb) कहते हैं)] नहीं माना जा सकता। वे सभी अलग-अलग रूपग्राम हैं। किन्तु यदि

परिपूरक वितरण में हैं, अर्थात् वितरण या प्रयोग की दृष्टि से सभी का स्थान अलग-अलग बंटा है; जहां एक आता है वहाँ दूसरा नहीं; तो इसका आशय यह है कि उनका आपस में विरोध नहीं है।[१०] और ऐसी स्थिति में वे सभी एक ही रूपग्राम के संरूप हैं। संक्षेप में वे दो भाषायी तत्त्व 'परिपूरक वितरण' में कहे जाते हैं जिनमें एक जिस स्थिति में प्रयुक्त हो दूसरा कभी न हो – अर्थात् कोई ऐसी परिस्थिति न हो जहां दोनों प्रयुक्त हों। उदाहरणार्थ पाणिनीय रीति से 'मत्याम्' और 'मतौ' पदों में 'ङि' (स० ए० व०) के स्थान पर आदिष्ट 'आम्' (ङेराम्नद्याम्नीभ्यः ७.३.११६) और 'औ' (औत् ७.३.११८) परस्पर संरूप नहीं हैं, क्योंकि दोनों एक ही स्थिति में प्रयुक्त हैं, किन्तु ये दोनों ही 'ङि' (इ) के संरूप हैं। पाणिनि की स्थान्यादेश-व्यवस्था भाषा-विज्ञान के इसी महत्त्वपूर्ण सिद्धान्त पर आधारित है। वह अपनी संरचनात्मक प्रक्रिया में जिस प्रकृति, प्रत्यय आदि तत्त्व को आरम्भिक बिन्दु मानकर चलता है उसका आदेश अगले स्तर पर अथवा उपस्तर पर परिपूरक वितरण के आधार पर ही प्रयुक्त होता है। सत्य तो यह है कि उक्त परिभाषा की दृष्टि से जिन तत्त्वों को परिपूरक वितरण में मानना कठिन था उन्हें भी उसने कुछ परिस्थितियों में, न कि सर्वत्र, उनके प्रयोग के परिपूरक वितरण का लाभ उठाकर, जिस तत्त्व का अधिक स्थलों में प्रयोग था उसे रूपग्राम तथा अल्पप्रयोग वाले तत्त्व को (कहीं-कहीं एक ही परिस्थिति में प्रयोग होने पर भी[११]) संरूप मानकर आदेश-विधान कर दिया। 'जरा' और 'जरस्' यद्यपि कुछ रूपों में एक ही परिस्थिति में (अजादि प्रत्ययों में) प्रयुक्त होते हैं, अतः किसी एक को दूसरे का संरूप मानना कठिन है। किन्तु पाणिनि हलादि विभक्तियों में 'जरा' का प्रयोग देखता है, वहां 'जरस् का नहीं (अजादि में भले ही दोनों का हो), वह 'जरस्' को संरूप मानकर विश्लेषण कर डालता है। उसकी यह शैली यह भी सूचित कर देती है कि उक्त दो रूपग्राम स्वतन्त्र हैं, किन्तु कुछ विभक्तियों में 'जरस्' ने अपना प्रयोग खो दिया है।

परिपूरक वितरण के सिद्धान्त का सर्वोत्कृष्ट रूप तो प्रत्यय-रूपग्रामों के स्थान में विहित आदेशों के संदर्भ में दिखाई देता है। सुबन्त पदों की संरचना का विश्लेषण करने को पाणिनि ने सु, औ, जस् आदि २१ प्रत्यय मूल रूपग्राम के रूप में निर्धारित कर दिये हैं। इन स्थानी प्रत्ययों की कल्पना में शास्त्रकार की सूझ अद्भुत रही है, क्योंकि यदि अनुबन्ध-मुक्त रूप में देखा जाय तो 'मरुत्' जैसे हलन्त शब्दों में इनका श्रवण 'अविकल' रूप में होता है। 'सु' भी अधिकांश शब्द-प्रयोगों में 'स्' के रूप में सुना जाता है, अतः उसने इन्हीं को मूल रूपग्राम चुना। संरचना-प्रक्रिया में प्रातिपदिक तत्त्व और 'सुप्' तत्त्व—इन दो रूपग्रामों के संयोग से जो भी समुच्चित रूपग्राम (Combined Morpheme) बना उसमें प्रकृति-प्रत्यय को यथायोग 'संरूपों'[१२] द्वारा आदिष्ट कर दिया गया, अन्यथा वे ही मूल-रूप में बने रहते। इस प्रकार सारा विश्लेषण सहज ही एकरूपता से चलता रहता है।

लकारों, लकारस्थानिक १८ तिङ् प्रत्ययों का तत्तत्काल में 'वाच्य', 'पुरुष' और 'वचन' के अनुसार परिपूरक-वितरण के अनुसार उनके 'संरूप' प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं। इस प्रकार सारी संरचनात्मक प्रक्रिया, जो विश्लेषण की गहराई और सूक्ष्मता के कारण पर्याप्त जटिल है, बीजगणितीय पद्धति से ऐसी क्रमबद्ध कर दी गई है कि परिपूरक-वितरण में जिस 'स्थानी' को जो आदेश मिलता है वह आत्मचालित सा उपस्थित हो जाता है। पदों में 'सुप्'-स्थानिक तथा 'तिङ्'-स्थानिक संरूपों की अत्यन्त विविधता भी उन्हें 'सुबन्त' और 'तिङन्त' नाम पाने में बाधक नहीं होती, क्योंकि पाणिनीय रीति से आधार-बिन्दु तो 'सुप्' और 'तिङ्' प्रत्यय हैं।

'स्थानी' का वर्गीकरण

स्पष्ट किया जा चुका है कि 'स्थानी' तथा 'आदेश' का सम्बन्ध चार स्तरों पर मिलता है—अर्थग्रामीय स्तर, रूपग्रामीय स्तर, रूपध्वनिग्रामीय स्तर, ध्वनिग्रामीय स्तर। इनको दृष्टिकोण में रखते हुए पाणिनीय अष्टाध्यायी में वर्णित 'स्थानी' और 'आदेश' को निम्नलिखित वर्गों में देखा जा सकता है :—

(क) वाक्यात्मक 'अर्थग्राम' रूप 'स्थानी'

कोई भी अर्थग्रामीय धारणा जिसे वाक्यात्मक रूप से व्यक्त किया जाता है, संरचनात्मक प्रक्रिया की दृष्टि से प्रथम 'स्थानी' होता है। शास्त्र द्वारा विहित 'रूपग्राम' अगले स्तर पर उसका ही प्रतिनिधित्व करता है। उदाहरणार्थ —'मक्षिकाणामभावः' तथा 'उपगोरपत्यम्' ये दोनों ही वाक्यात्मक अर्थग्राम 'स्थानी' हैं जिन्हें रूपग्रामीय स्तर पर क्रमशः 'मक्षिकाणां निर्' और 'उपगोः अण्' द्वारा प्रतिनिहित किया जाता है।

(ख) रूपग्रामीय 'स्थानी'

रूपग्रामीय 'स्थानी' के दो वर्ग हैं—प्रकृति-रूप स्थानी और प्रत्यय-रूप स्थानी। दोनों ही प्रकार के रूपग्रामीय 'स्थानी' अगले स्तर पर अपने-अपने संरूपों द्वारा प्रतिनिहित होते हैं। उदाहरणार्थ 'अस्' धातु आर्धधातुक विषय में अपने संरूप 'भू' द्वारा, 'पाद' प्रकृति शसादि विभक्ति में 'पद्' द्वारा प्रतिनिहित होते हैं। इसी प्रकार 'प्रत्ययरूपग्राम' भी प्रक्रिया के अगले स्तर पर अपने संरूपों द्वारा प्रतिनिहित होते हैं; जैसे 'जस्' प्रत्यय यथायोग 'शि', 'शी' तथा 'औश्' से प्रतिनिहित होता है। उक्त सभी स्तर वस्तुतः अन्तर्माध्यमिक हैं। रूपग्राम का द्वितीय स्तर का प्रतिनिधान 'गुण', 'वृद्धि' आदि रूपध्वनिग्राम करते हैं।

(ग) रूपध्वनिग्रामात्मक 'स्थानी'

प्रकृति-प्रत्ययात्मक रूपग्रामों का रूपान्तरण करने वाले गुण, वृद्धि आदि वे 'स्थानी' हैं जो अगले स्तर पर 'ध्वनिग्राम' द्वारा प्रतिनिहित होते हैं, जैसे—'मृजेर्वृद्धिः' (अष्टा० ७.२.११४) सूत्र मृज्-घटक 'इक्' के स्थान में वृद्धि करता है। यहाँ 'इक्'-लक्षणा वृद्धि तृतीय कोटि का 'स्थानी' है जिसको अगले स्तर पर वृद्धि-संज्ञक ध्वनिग्राम आत् ऐच् से प्रतिनिहित होना है।

(घ) ध्वनिग्रामात्मक 'स्थानी'

वर्णात्मक ध्वनिग्राम वह स्थानी है जो अपनी सवर्ण-ध्वनियों से 'शब्दरूप' में उच्चारण पाता है। साथ ही अपने पूर्ववर्ती रूपध्वनिग्राम को प्रतिनिहित भी करता है। जैसे—'मृजेर्वृद्धि' (अष्टा० ७.२.११४) द्वारा 'मृज्' रूपग्राम का 'वृद्धि' रूपध्वनिग्राम अग्रिम संरचना-स्तर पर प्रतिनिधान करता है; ध्वनिग्रामीय स्तर पर 'वृद्धि' का 'आत्' 'ऐच्' प्रतिनिधान करता है। ये 'आत्' 'ऐच्' ध्वनिग्राम भी दीर्घत्वादि वर्ण-धर्मों से युक्त ध्वनियों के द्वारा चरम स्तर पर प्रतिनिहित होते हैं। वस्तु-दृष्टि से वर्ण-ध्वनियाँ ही संरचना के तात्त्विक उपादान हैं, शेष पूर्ववर्ती सभी स्तर एक कृत्रिम प्रक्रिया हैं।[११]

आदेश का वर्गीकरण

संरचनात्मक उपादानों की दृष्टि से पूर्व स्तर के उपादान का अग्रिम स्तर का प्रतिनिधि आदेश होता है। अष्टाध्यायी की रीति से उसके ये वर्ग हैं —

(१) सर्वादेश (Complete Substitution)

वे 'आदेश' जो अपने 'स्थानी' का संरचना के अग्रिम स्तर पर पूर्ण प्रतिनिधान करते हैं, और स्वभावतः उसे विदाई देते हैं, 'सर्वादेश' कहलाते हैं। पाणिनि ने 'सर्वादेश' का विषय रूपग्रामों तक ही सीमित रखा है। सभी सर्वादेश धातु या प्रातिपदिक के स्थान में विहित हैं तथा तद्विहित प्रत्ययों के स्थान में; जैसे—'अस्' धातु को 'भू', 'पाद' प्रातिपदिक को 'पद्', और 'जस्' प्रत्यय को 'शी' सर्वादेश होते हैं।

अष्टाध्यायी में सर्वादेश के दो वर्ग हैं —

(क) **अनेकाल्-सर्वादेश**[24]—जिस संरूप में एक से अधिक 'अल्' (वर्ण) हों; जैसे—'अस्' के स्थान में 'भू'[25], 'भिस्' के स्थान में 'ऐस्'[26] आदि सर्वादेश हैं।

पाणिनि की रचना-प्रक्रिया में किसी-किसी प्रकृति के अन्तिम 'अल्' (वर्ण) को 'अनेकाल्' आदेश द्वारा प्रतिनिहित करना पड़ा है। उस दशा में 'अनेकाल्' नियम की सर्वादेशता रोकने को आचार्य ने उसे 'ङित्' किया है और तदनुसार सर्वादेश का अपवाद-नियम[27] बना दिया।

(ख) **शित्-सर्वादेश**—प्रकृति-प्रत्ययस्थानिक[28] वे आदेश जिनमें अनेकाल्ता नहीं है, किन्तु सूत्रकार ने 'श्' अनुबन्ध लगा दिया है, 'शित्सर्वादेश' हैं; जैसे—'इदम्' को 'अश्'[29], 'जस्' को 'शी'[30] आदि।

(२) एकदेश्यादेश (Partial Substitution)

अष्टाध्यायी में एकदेशी आदेश की तीन स्थितियां हैं —

(क) **अन्त्यादेश**—प्रकृति अथवा प्रत्यय के अन्तिम 'अल्' के स्थान में विहित आदेश 'अन्त्यादेश' होते हैं। अन्त्यादेश भी दो प्रकार के होते हैं—

(अ) एकाल् अन्त्यादेश—शित् और मित्[31] एकाल् आदेशों को छोड़कर सभी एकाल् आदेश अन्तिम 'अल्' के स्थान में ही होते हैं।

(आ) अनेकाल् अन्त्यादेश—पाणिनि ने जिन अनेकाल् आदेशों में 'ङ्' अनुबन्ध लगाया है, वे सभी सर्वादेश न होकर अन्त्यादेश होते हैं, जैसे—'अवङ्', 'अकङ्', 'अनङ्', 'आनङ्' आदि 'ङित्' अनेकाल् आदेश।

(ख) **आद्यादेश**—अष्टाध्यायी के सूत्रों में पञ्चम्यन्त पद के निर्देश से जो आदेश विहित होते हैं वे आदि 'अल्' के स्थान में ही होते हैं अन्तिम के नहीं[32], जैसे— 'उद्+स्थानम्', सन्धि में 'उदः स्थास्तम्भोः पूर्वस्य' (अष्टा० ८.४.६१) द्वारा विहित पूर्व-सवर्ण 'स्थानम्' के आदि वर्ण 'स्' के स्थान में होता है।

(३) एकादेश

संहिता (सन्धि) के विषय में पूर्व शब्द के अन्तिम वर्ण तथा पर-शब्द के आदि वर्ण दोनों के स्थान पर एकवर्णात्मक आदेश होता है, जैसे—'महा+उत्सवः' की सन्धि करने पर 'महा' के अन्तिम वर्ण 'आ' तथा 'उत्सवः' के 'उ' दोनों के स्थान पर 'ओ' एकादेश होता है। इसका निरूपण 'एकः पूर्वपरयोः' (अष्टा० ६.१.८४) अधिकार में हुआ है।

पाणिनि की स्थान्यादेश-व्यवस्था का यह विश्लेषण हम पाणिनीय अध्येताओं तथा पाणिनीय समीक्षकों से सहज ही यह अपेक्षा करता है कि सूत्रकार की विधा का सही मूल्यांकन करने के लिए कात्यायन और पतञ्जलि जैसे पाणिनि के प्रामाणिक व्याख्याताओं की समीक्षाओं तथा आधुनिक संरचनात्मक भाषा-विज्ञान के सिद्धान्तों से सुपरिचित रहें।

NOTES

1. Charles F. Hocket, A *Course in Modern Linguistics*, p. 255 :
"A Substitute is a form which, under certain conventional circumstances, replaces any member of a given form class."

२. नागेश, मञ्जूषा, पृ० ७ : "आदेशानां च स्थान्यर्थाभिधानसमर्थस्यैवादेशेतेति न्यायेन ते" (ये स्थानिनामर्थाः इति ते पदस्यार्थाः)।

३. महा०, प्रथम भाग, वा० ३१७ (अनुपपन्नं स्थान्यादेशत्वं नित्यत्वात्)।

४. वही, वा० ३१८.

५. महा० १ अ० १ पा० ८ आ०, वा० ३१८.

६. डॉ० धर्मेन्द्रनाथ शास्त्री, संस्कृत-शिक्षण की नवीन योजना, पृ० १६४ :
"भाषा-विज्ञान से पता चलता है कि √हन् के स्थान में मूल भारतयूरोपीय धातु 'घन्' (ghwn) थी। उच्चारण के सिद्धान्तों की दृष्टि से भी यह सम्भव प्रतीत होता है कि 'घ' का 'ह' रह जाए परन्तु 'ह' का 'घ' नहीं हो सकता।"

७. सुप्तिङन्तं पदम् (अष्टा. १.४.१४) पाणिनिकृत पद की परिभाषा स्वयं प्रकृति-प्रत्यय का अनिवार्य साहचर्य बताती है। साथ ही देखिये, महा० प्रथम भाग, पृ० ४८३ : समयश्च कृत—'न केवला प्रकृतिः प्रयोक्तव्या न च केवलः प्रत्ययः' इति।

8. Robert A. Hall, Jr., *Introductory Linguistics*, p. 179 :
"Assumption of such a zero-suffix is the only efficient way of dealing with homonimity of stems in languages whose inflected stems are virtually bound forms."

९. डॉ० भोलानाथ तिवारी, भाषा-विज्ञान कोष, पृ० ५६० :

10. Robert A. Hall, Jr., *Introductory Linguistics*, p. 26 :
"A noncontrastive distribution is one of the pre-requisites for elements to be classed together as members of the same functional unit. If one element occurs where the other does not, and vice-versa, so that they complement each other, we say that (as in the two examples we have been using), they are in 'complementary distribution'."

11. H.A. Gleason Jr., *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*, p. 80 :
"Two elements are said to be in 'complementary distribution' if each occurs in certain environments in which the other never occurs—that is, if there are no environments in which both occur."

12. Charles F. Hockett, *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, p. 272 :
"Each representation is a morph ; all the morphs which represent some given morpheme are called 'allomorphs' of that morpheme."

13. See, S. M. Lamb (quoted by V. N. Misra, *The Descriptive Technique of Pāṇini*, p. 65) :
"For most spoken languages, there are at least four structural strata. We may call these the phonemic, the morphophonemic, the morphemic and sememic. In addition, there is another stratum, the phonetic, which lies adjacent to the phonemic structure, the phonetic stratum belongs to the 'real world'. And consists of sounds while everything in the linguistic structure is abstract in nature and neither continuous nor consists of sounds."

१४. अनेकाल् शित् सर्वस्य (अष्टा० १.१.५५) ।

१५. अस्तेर्भूः (अष्टा० २.४.५२) ।

१६. अतो भिस ऐस् (अष्टा० ७.१.९) ।

१७. ङिच्च (अष्टा० १.१.५३) ।

१८. प्रकृतिस्थानिक 'शित्' आदेश केवल प्रातिपदिक प्रकृति को बताये गये हैं, धातु को नहीं । देवस्थली ने धातु को भी 'शित्' आदेश का उल्लेख किया है, जिसका उदाहरण अष्टाध्यायी में नहीं मिल सका है । देवस्थली, अनुबन्धाज् ऑफ़ पाणिनि, पृ० १५४.

१९. इदमोऽन्वादेशेऽशनुदात्तस्तृतीयादौ (अष्टा० २.४.३२) ।

२०. जसः शी (अष्टा० ७.१.१७) ।

२१. 'मित्' आदेश; जैसे, 'शप्' के स्थान में 'श्नम्', 'रुधादिभ्यः श्नम्' (अष्टा० ३.१.७८) ।

९२. आदेः परस्य (अष्टा० १.१.५४) ।

संस्कृत और रूसी भाषा में प्रयुक्त उपसर्ग

श्रीमती इन्दु लेखा

भारोपीय भाषाओं में समास और प्रत्ययों के साथ-साथ उपसर्ग भी शब्द-निर्माण के महत्त्वपूर्ण और सुदृढ़ साधन हैं। वैदिक, ईरानी, ग्रीक और लैटिन आदि भाषाओं के प्राचीनतम अभिलेखों से लेकर उनकी समस्त वर्तमान प्रतिनिधि भाषाओं तक व्याकरण के क्षेत्र में तथा शब्द-निर्माण के साधन के रूप में (रूसी भाषा में भविष्यत्काल के अर्थ में भी) उपसर्गों का व्यापक प्रयोग देखा जा सकता है।

भारोपीय उपसर्गों के उद्‌भव की प्रक्रिया के स्पष्टीकरण में प्राचीन ग्रीक और वैदिक संस्कृत का विशेष महत्त्व है। प्राचीनतम वैदिक भाषा और लौकिक संस्कृत के बीच समय का विशाल अन्तर इस प्रक्रिया के विकास का अध्ययन करने में बड़ा सहायक है। भारोपीय भाषाओं के तुलनात्मक एवं ऐतिहासिक व्याकरण से स्पष्ट होता है कि अधिकांश उपसर्गों का जन्म अन्यथा अप्रचलित विभक्त्यन्त-पदों से हुआ है। गेये के अनुसार, "क्रियाविशेषणों की भाँति पूर्वसर्ग और उपसर्ग, उनमें से कुछ तो अवश्य ही, अन्यथा प्रयोग में न आने वाले सविभक्तिक पदों का रूप लिए हुए हैं, किन्तु अनेक ऐसे भी हैं जो किसी भी ज्ञात विभक्ति-रूप से मेल नहीं खाते।"[1]

उपसर्ग अधिकांश भारोपीय भाषाओं में पूर्णतः सुरक्षित हैं। क्रियाओं, संज्ञाओं और उनसे व्युत्पन्न शब्दों के साथ उपसर्गों का प्रयोग किया जाता है। एक ही धातु विभिन्न उपसर्गों के साथ मिलकर विविध और कभी-कभी विरोधी अर्थों और भावों को अपना लेती है। वे तत्त्व जो बाद में उपसर्ग बने, वैदिक भाषा में तीन प्रकार का कार्य करते थे—क्रियाविशेषणों का, उपक्रियापदों (Preverbs) का और पूर्वसर्गों[2] (Prepositions) का। दूसरे शब्दों में, भारोपीय भाषाओं के विकास के दौरान कुछ मूलभूत स्वतन्त्र तत्त्व संज्ञाओं से सम्बद्ध हो गये, जिन्हें 'पूर्वसर्ग' कहा जाता है, और कुछ क्रियाओं से जुड़ गये, जिन्हें हम क्रियायोगी उपसर्ग कहते हैं[3]। प्राचीन भारत-ईरानी विभाषाओं, होमरिक ग्रीक, बाल्तिक, केल्टिक, जर्मन और लैटिन आदि भाषाओं में इस तथ्य की पुष्टि करने वाले अनेक अवशेष सुरक्षित हैं कि मूल भारोपीय भाषा में ये उपर्युक्त तत्त्व संज्ञाओं और क्रियाओं से पूर्णतः स्वतन्त्र थे और वाक्य में उनका प्रयोग सम्बद्ध संज्ञा अथवा क्रिया के पहले या बाद में कहीं भी किया जा सकता था। होमर द्वारा लिखित प्राचीन ग्रीक महाकाव्यों की भाषा में अनेक

उपसर्ग उन क्रियाओं से अन्य पदों के व्यवधान के साथ पाये जाते हैं, जिनसे वे अर्थ की दृष्टि से सम्बद्ध हैं। इसी प्रकार ऋग्वेद में भी अनेक स्थलों पर उपसर्गों एवं पूर्वसर्गों का स्वतन्त्र प्रयोग मिलता है, उदाहरणार्थ, **आ त्वा विशन्तु** (ऋ० १.५.७) 'वे तुझमें प्रवेश करें'; **इन्द्रो गा अवृणोदप** (ऋ० ८.६३.३) 'इन्द्र ने गायों को खोल दिया'; **पथ्या अनु** 'सड़क-सड़क'; **अनु द्यून्** 'प्रतिदिन'। वैदिक भाषा में इन शब्दों का संज्ञा अथवा क्रियापदों के साथ असंश्लिष्ट सम्बन्ध और वाक्यगत स्वतन्त्र प्रयोग ग्रीक, लैटिन आदि भाषाओं में प्रयुक्त प्रणाली की तुलना में स्पष्टतः अधिक प्राचीन है और इसलिए यह प्राचीन भारोपीय उपसर्ग-प्रणाली के विकास की प्रारम्भिक अवस्था के अधिक निकट है[४]।

चौथी शताब्दी ईसवी पूर्व तक अधिकांश भारोपीय भाषाओं में, उन स्थितियों को छोड़कर जिनमें ये तत्त्व पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में प्रयुक्त होते रहे, उपसर्गों के रूप में इनका स्वतन्त्र प्रयोग धीरे-धीरे लुप्त हो गया। लैटिन, केल्टिक, लिथुआनियन और स्लाव भाषाओं में इनका धातु से सीधा संयोग मिलता है, यद्यपि जर्मन और लिथुआनियन में उपसर्गों के स्वतन्त्र प्रयोग के कुछ उदाहरण अब भी मिलते हैं, जैसे कि, **एड श्राइप्ट डेन ज़ात्स अप्** (Er schreibt den satz ab) 'वह वाक्य की नक़ल कर रहा है', और, **एड काम गेस्टर्न आन्** (Er kam gestern an) 'वह कल पहुँच गया' आदि जर्मन वाक्यों में **अप्** (ab) और **आन्** (an) उपसर्गों का प्रयोग क्रिया से पृथक् स्वतन्त्ररूपेण हुआ है।

उपसर्ग और पूर्वसर्ग न केवल उत्पत्ति अपितु प्रयोग की दृष्टि से भी एक-दूसरे से सम्बद्ध हैं। वैदिक भाषा में धातु के अर्थ को बदलने वाले उपसर्ग तथा संज्ञा के किसी नियत विभक्ति में प्रयोग की अपेक्षा रखने वाले पूर्वसर्ग में कोई स्पष्ट भेद नहीं है। संस्कृत के तथाकथित बीस 'शुद्ध उपसर्गों' में से आठ (**अप्**, **उद्**, **नि**, **निस्**, **प्र**, **परा**, **वि** और **सम्**) को छोड़कर शेष सभी पूर्वसर्ग और उपसर्ग दोनों रूपों में प्रयुक्त होते हैं। दूसरी ओर अधिकांशतः पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में प्रयुक्त होने वाले **अच्छ** (की ओर), **तिरस्** (पार) और **पुरस्** (सामने, पहले) कुछ धातुओं के साथ क्रियायोगी उपसर्गों के रूप में भी प्रयुक्त होते हैं[५]।

इस प्रकार भाषा के विकास के प्रारम्भिक काल में उपसर्ग और पूर्वसर्ग कोई दो पृथक् अथवा स्वतन्त्र वर्ग नहीं थे; उनका प्रमुख अन्तर यही था कि उपसर्ग के रूप में वे क्रियापदों में विशेषता लाते थे और पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में नामपदों की विभक्तियों को नियमित करते थे। उपर्युक्त वैदिक 'शुद्ध उपसर्गों' में से केवल '**अनु**', '**प्रति**' और 'आ' ही लौकिक संस्कृत में पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में व्यवहृत होते हैं (प्रथम दो परसर्ग के रूप में, और 'आ' 'तक' अर्थ में पञ्चमी के साथ पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में, जैसे—'**आ समुद्रात्**'), तथापि वैदिक संस्कृत की तुलना में परवर्ती संस्कृत में पूर्वसर्गों की संख्या कहीं अधिक है। इसका कारण उन गौण पूर्वसर्गों का प्रादुर्भाव है, जो मूलतः क्रियाविशेषण अथवा अन्यथा अप्रचलित विभक्त्यन्त-पद थे, जैसे कि, **अवस्** 'नीचे', **पुरा** 'पहले', **पार्श्वे** 'पास में', **अर्थे** 'लिए', **द्वारेण** 'द्वारा', **अन्तरा** 'बीच में' इत्यादि। कारक-सम्बन्ध को और अधिक स्पष्ट रूप में व्यक्त करने वाले ये 'गौण पूर्वसर्ग' लौकिक संस्कृत में वाक्य में अपनी स्थिति की दृष्टि से वस्तुतः परसर्ग हैं, अर्थात् वे सम्बद्ध सविभक्तिक संज्ञा के बाद आते हैं, अन्य भारोपीय भाषाओं की भाँति विभक्त्यन्त-पद से पहले नहीं। इस प्रकार वैदिक भाषा में एक ओर तो उपसर्गों को सम्बद्ध क्रियापदों से सीधे जोड़ देने की प्रवृत्ति पाई जाती है, दूसरी ओर पूर्वसर्गों को परसर्गों में बदल देने का प्रयास भी दिखाई देता है। ब्राह्मण-काल से ही पूर्वसर्गों की तुलना में इनका परसर्गात्मक प्रयोग ही अधिक मिलता है और यही प्रवृत्ति लौकिक संस्कृत में अत्यधिक बढ़ गई है।

संस्कृत की भाँति रूसी भाषा में भी क्रियापदों के साथ उपसर्गों का व्यापक प्रयोग मिलता है, तथापि धातु-विशेष के साथ किसी एक उपसर्ग के योग से बनने वाले संभाव्य रूपों की संख्या संस्कृत की तुलना में रूसी में कहीं कम है। विविध अर्थों एवं भावों को व्यक्त करने वाले संस्कृत के अधिकांश सोपसर्ग शब्दों (जिनमें एक से अधिक उपसर्गों के योग से बने शब्द भी सम्मिलित हैं) के सजातीय रूप रूसी भाषा में नहीं हैं। इन अर्थों और भावों को अन्य भारोपीय भाषाओं की भाँति रूसी भाषा में भी या तो वर्णन करके अथवा भिन्न-भिन्न उपसर्गों को पृथक्-पृथक् धातुओं के साथ लगाकर व्यक्त किया जाता है[६]। दूसरी ओर इन्हीं तत्त्वों के पूर्वसर्गात्मक प्रयोग की दृष्टि से रूसी भाषा संस्कृत की अपेक्षा कहीं अधिक समृद्ध है; रूसी भाषा में पूर्वसर्ग प्रथमा के अतिरिक्त अन्य सभी विभक्तियों को नियन्त्रित करते हैं।

संस्कृत उपसर्गों में सर्वप्रथम परम्परागत 'प्र' आदि हैं। ये संख्या में बीस हैं : **प्र, परा, अप, सम्, अनु, अव, निस् (निर्), दुस् (दुर्), वि, आ, नि, अधि, अपि, अति, सु, उद्, अभि, प्रति, परि, उप**। इनके अतिरिक्त अत्यधिक सीमित प्रयोग वाले कुछ और उपसर्ग भी वैदिक और परवर्ती भाषा में मिलते हैं, जैसे — **अच्छ** 'की ओर', **आविस्** 'प्रत्यक्ष रूप में' (तु०क० प्राचीन रूसी यावे, याव्नो क्रि० वि० 'प्रकटतः'), **तिरस्** 'पार' (=लै० ट्रान्स्, ट्रैंस्), **पुरस्** 'सामने', **प्रादुर्** 'बाहर' इत्यादि। रूसी भाषा में संज्ञाओं और क्रियापदों से पूर्व लगने वाले प्रमुख उपसर्ग, जिनमें से अधिकांश पूर्वसर्गों के रूप में भी प्रयुक्त होते हैं, इस प्रकार हैं —**व्** (v); **वोज़्, वोस्** (voz, vos); **वी** (vy); **दो** (do); **ज़ा** (zā); **इज़्** (iz); **ना** (nā); **नाद्** (nād); **निज़्, निस्** (niz, nis); **ओ, ओब्** (o, ob); **ओत्** (ot); **प्येरे** (pere); **पो** (po); **पोद्** (pod); **प्रे** (pre); **प्रेद्** (pred); **प्री** (pri); **प्रो** (pro); **राज़्, रास्** (rāz, rās); **स्** (s); उ (u)। इनके अतिरिक्त **ब्येज़्** (bez) 'बिना' (=सं० बहिर्), **मेज्द्रु** (mezdu) 'बीच में' (=सं० मध्ये), **न्ये** (ne) 'नहीं' (विपरीतार्थक=सं० अ, अन), **व्न्ये** (vne) 'बाहर' (=सं० विना), **व्नुत्री** (vnutri) 'भीतर' (=सं० अन्तरे) आदि कुछ और उपसर्ग भी हैं जो केवल संज्ञाओं और विशेषणों में लगते हैं। जैसा कि आगे स्पष्ट किया जायेगा, संस्कृत और रूसी भाषा में व्यवहृत अधिकांश उपसर्ग सजातीय हैं और मूल भारोपीय युग से सम्बन्ध रखते हैं, भले ही उनका वर्तमान स्वरूप अपनी-अपनी भाषागत ध्वनि-सम्बन्धी विशेषताओं के कारण भिन्न हो गया हो। दोनों भाषाओं में इन भारोपीय उपसर्गों के अर्थ और प्रयोग क्रमशः निम्नलिखित हैं।

१. सं० अति; रूसी अोत्, अोतो (ot, oto)

भाषाविदों के अनुसार संस्कृत '**अति**' मूल भारोपीय ***एति** (*eti) अथवा * **ओति** (*oti) से विकसित हुआ है और ग्रीक **एति** (eti) 'के अतिरिक्त', 'भी'; लैटिन **एत्** (et) 'और'; प्राचीन उच्च जर्मन **इट्, इड्** (it, id) 'फिर', 'दोबारा'; गॉथिक **इथ्** (ith) 'और', 'लेकिन'; लिथुआनियन **अत**, अति (at, ati) 'पास', 'पीछे'; अवेस्तन **अइति** (aiti) का सजातीय है[७]।

'अति' पूर्वसर्ग और उपसर्ग दोनों रूपों में प्रयुक्त होता है। क्रिया और कृदन्त शब्दों से पूर्व यह 'परे', 'ऊपर' अर्थ को अभिव्यक्त करता है : **अति-इ**='परे जाना'; **अति-क्रम्**='सीमा से आगे बढ़ना', 'उल्लंघन करना'। क्रियाओं की अपेक्षा संज्ञाओं और विशेषणों के साथ ही 'अति' का

अधिक प्रयोग होता है, जिनमें यह 'असाधारण', 'अत्यधिक' आदि अर्थों का वाचक होता है : **अतिवृष्टि** 'भारी वर्षा', **अतिराजन्** 'उत्कृष्ट राजा', **अतिबल** 'अत्यधिक बलवान्' । कर्मप्रवचनीय के रूप में यह द्वितीया विभक्ति के साथ आता है : **यो देवो मर्त्यान्** अति 'वह देवता जो मनुष्यों से परे है' ।

'अति' का रूसी सजातीय '**ओत्**' (**ओतो**)[६] भी पूर्वसर्ग तथा उपसर्ग दोनों रूपों में प्रयुक्त होता है । उपसर्ग के रूप में '**ओत्**' क्रिया की सम्पन्नता अथवा समाप्ति को सूचित करता है तथा गत्यर्थक क्रियाओं के साथ किसी स्थान से दूर हट जाने का भाव व्यक्त करता है : **अत्राबोतत्च्** (otıabótaι') 'काम समाप्त कर देना', **अत्क्लेइत्च्** (otkl^éit') 'उखाड़ देना', **अतइती** (otoiti) 'अलग हट जाना', **अत्बिगात्च्** (otbegāt') 'दूर भाग जाना' । पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में 'ओत्' 'से' 'के कारण' अर्थों में षष्ठी विभक्ति के साथ प्रयुक्त होता है । **अत् मस्क्वी** (ot Moskvy) 'मास्को से', **अत् रादस्ति** (ot rādosti) 'ख़ुशी के कारण' । रूसी भाषाविद् फ़ोर्तुनातोव का मत है कि रूसी '**ओत्**' दो विभिन्न स्रोतों से विकसित हुआ है । उनके अनुसार उपसर्ग 'ओत्' वस्तुतः मूल *'**ओति**' (*oti= लिथु० वैभाषिक '**अति**' [ati]) से तथा पूर्वसर्ग ओत् (ओतो) प्राचीन क्रियाविशेषण ***ओतोस्** (*otos=सं० **अतः**) से सम्बद्ध है । बाद में ये दोनों मिलकर एक हो गये[७]। रूसी 'ओत्' का सं० '**अतः**' के साथ तादात्म्य मिक्लोशिच्, पतेब्न्या तथा बॉप्प आदि अन्य विद्वानों ने भी स्वीकार किया है'[८] ।

२. सं० अधि

धातुओं एवं उनसे व्युत्पन्न शब्दों के पूर्व उपसर्ग के रूप में अधि 'ऊपर', 'अधिक' अर्थ को सूचित करता है : **अधिरुह्**='चढ़ना' (जैसे—अधिरोहति), **अधिगम्**='प्राप्त करना', 'समझना' (जैसे—अधिगच्छति), **अधिलोक**='उच्चतम लोक' । पृथक् क्रियाविशेषण के रूप में यह सप्तमी विभक्ति के साथ 'ऊपर', 'आगे', 'की तुलना में', पञ्चमी विभक्ति के साथ 'ऊपर', 'से', 'पश्चात्', 'लिए', 'के बदले' तथा द्वितीया विभक्ति के साथ (सीमित प्रयोग में) 'ऊपर', 'के सम्बन्ध में' आदि विभिन्न अर्थों को अभिव्यक्त करता है। उदाहरण क्रमशः इस प्रकार हैं :

(सप्तमी के साथ) **पृथिव्याम् अध्योषधीः** 'पृथ्वी पर ओषधियाँ' ।
(पञ्चमी के साथ) **हृदयाद् अधि** (ऋ० १०.१६३.३) 'हृदय से' ।
(द्वितीया के साथ) **पृथु प्रतीकमध्येधे अग्निः** (ऋ० ७.३६.१) 'विस्तृत सतह पर अग्नि प्रज्वलित की गई है' ।

अन्य भारोपीय भाषाओं में उपलब्ध 'अधि' के सजातीय शब्द इसकी प्राचीनता की पुष्टि करते हैं : उदाहरणार्थ, अवेस्तन **अइदी**; प्रा० उच्च जर्मन **आज्** (az); लैटिन, गॉथिक और इंगलिश **एड्** (ad) । रूसी भाषा में यह उपसर्ग नहीं मिलता ।

३. सं० अनु

क्रियाओं और संज्ञाओं से पूर्व उपसर्ग के रूप में इसका प्रयोग 'पीछे', 'साथ', 'पास', 'नीचे' आदि अर्थों में होता है ; जैसे कि, **अनुगम्** 'पीछे जाना', **अनुस्था** 'पास खड़ा होना', **अनुज** (पुं०) 'छोटा भाई' । संज्ञाओं के साथ, विशेषकर अव्ययीभाव समासों में यह 'के अनुसार', 'क्रमशः', 'बार-बार' अर्थों को व्यक्त करता है : **अनुदिवसम्** 'प्रतिदिन', **अनुक्रमम्** 'क्रमानुसार' ।

स्वतन्त्र सम्बन्धबोधक अव्यय (पूर्वसर्ग) के रूप में '**अनु**' द्वितीया विभक्ति के साथ आता है और कर्मप्रवचनीय माना जाता है। **मम चित्तम् अनु चित्तेभिरेत** 'अपने मन के साथ मेरे मन का अनुसरण करो'। इसका सजातीय उपसर्ग रूसी भाषा में नहीं मिलता।

४. सं० अप; रूसी पो (po)

संस्कृत '**अप**' पूर्वसर्ग और उपसर्ग दोनों रूपों में प्रयुक्त होता है। उपसर्ग के रूप में यह 'दूर' अर्थ का वाचक है : **अपयाति** 'दूर जाता है', **अपनयति** 'दूर ले जाता है'। इसके अतिरिक्त यह 'बुरा' एवं 'विना' अर्थ वाली अनेक संज्ञाएँ भी बनाता है और कुछ अर्थों में 'उप' और 'उद्' का विलोम है ; यथा, **अपकार** 'बुराई' (उपकार 'भलाई'), **अपकर्ष** 'पतन' (उत्कर्ष 'उन्नति'); **अपभी** 'निडर'। पृथक्करणीय अव्यय (पूर्वसर्ग) के रूप में '**अप**' 'से दूर', 'के विना' अर्थों में पञ्चमी विभक्ति के साथ प्रयुक्त होता है : **अप त्रिगर्तेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः** 'त्रिगर्त से परे वर्षा हुई'।

'**अप**' का रूसी सजातीय '**पो**'[११] है, जो क्रियाओं के पूर्व उपसर्ग के रूप में क्रिया के प्रारम्भ, किसी गुण अथवा विशेषता की प्राप्ति तथा क्रिया के थोड़े समय के लिए होने का भाव व्यक्त करता है, जैसे कि, **पबेज़ात्त्च्** (pobezat') 'दौड़ पड़ना', **पक्रास्नेत्त्च्** (pokrasnet') 'मुँह पर लाली छा जाना', **पस्पात्त्च्** (pospat') 'थोड़ी देर सो लेना'। नामपदों के योग में उपसर्ग 'पो' 'पा' में बदल जाता है। **पाम्यत्त्च्** (pamjat') स्त्री० 'स्मृति', किन्तु **पोम्नित्त्च्** (pomnit') 'याद करना'। तद्धित शब्दों से पूर्व उपसर्ग '**पो**' सामीप्य और साथ का वाचक है : **पबेरेज़्भ्निय्** (poberez nyj) 'तटवर्ती' (**ब्येरेग** 'किनारा'), **पपूत्चिक** (poputcik) 'सहपथिक' (**पूत्त्च्** 'रास्ता')। पूर्वसर्ग '**पो**' 'पर', 'साथ-साथ', 'के अनुसार', 'के कारण', 'तक', 'के बाद' आदि विभिन्न अर्थों में द्वितीया और चतुर्थी विभक्ति के साथ प्रयुक्त होता है।

विभिन्न भारोपीय भाषाओं में उपलब्ध संस्कृत '**अप**' और रूसी '**पो**' के सजातीय उपसर्ग इस प्रकार हैं : अवेस्तन **प** (जैसे कि, **पज़्दयेइति** [pa-zdaeiti] 'हटाता है' में); ग्रीक **अपो** (apo); लैटिन **ऐब** (ab) तथा **पो** (जैसे कि, positus 'रखा हुआ' में); गॉथिक **आफ़्** (af); इंगलिश **ऑफ़्** (of); लिथुआनियन **पो** (po)। फ़ास्मेर के अनुसार स्लावोनिक '**पो**' अंशतः भारोपीय **पोस्** (*pos) से भी सम्बद्ध है, जो लिथु० **पस्** (जैसे कि, **पस्तरस्** [pastaras] 'अन्तिम'); सं० **पश्चा (त्)** 'बाद में' तथा लैटिन **पोस्त्** (post) 'बाद' आदि शब्दों में उपस्थित है[१२]।

५. सं० अपि

संस्कृत '**अपि**' उपसर्ग के रूप में कम तथा समुच्चयबोधक अव्यय के रूप में 'भी' अर्थ में अधिक प्रयुक्त होता है। परवर्ती संस्कृत में इसके स्थान पर प्रायः 'अभि' का प्रयोग पाया जाता है। गत्यर्थक क्रियाओं के साथ **अपि** 'में', 'के अन्दर' अर्थ का द्योतक है : **अपिगम्** —'प्रवेश करना'। पूर्वसर्ग (वाक्य में स्थिति की दृष्टि से परसर्ग) के रूप में यह 'पर', 'के अतिरिक्त' अर्थों में सप्तमी विभक्ति के साथ प्रयुक्त होता है : **अयम् अग्ने त्वे अपि यं यज्ञं चकृमा वयम्** (ऋ० २.५.८) 'हे अग्नि यही वह आहुति है जिसे हमने तुम पर चढ़ाया है'। विभिन्न भारोपीय भाषाओं में इसके सजातीय शब्दों की उपस्थिति इसकी प्राचीनता को सिद्ध करती है : उदाहरणार्थ, अवेस्तन **अइपि**; ग्रीक **एपि** (epi) 'ऊपर'; जर्मन और इंगलिश **बी**, **बाइ** (be, bi, by) 'आसपास', 'बारे में'[१३]। कुछ विद्वान् रूसी '**पो**' को '**अपि**' से सम्बद्ध मानते हैं, किन्तु यह पूर्णतः स्पष्ट नहीं है।

६. सं० अभि ; रूसी ओ. ओब् ओबो (o, ob, obo)

संस्कृत में क्रियाओं एवं कृदन्त शब्दों के साथ **अभि** 'की ओर', 'ऊपर', 'के लिए', 'के विरुद्ध' आदि विविध अर्थों को व्यक्त करता है, जैसे कि, **अभिगम्** 'की ओर जाना', **अभिक्रन्द्** 'पर चिल्लाना', **अभिलष्** 'इच्छा करना', **अभिपत्** 'झपटना'। कभी-कभी, विशेषकर 'भू' धातु के साथ 'ऊपर' अथवा 'आधिक्य' के अर्थ में भी आता है : **अभिभू** 'हावी होना', **अभिकम्प्** 'बहुत काँपना'। विशेषणों और तद्धित शब्दों से पूर्व यह 'आधिक्य' अथवा 'प्राधान्य' का द्योतक है : **अभिनव** 'बिल्कुल नया', **अभिधर्म** 'प्रधान कर्त्तव्य'। पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में यह 'की ओर', 'की दिशा में', 'निकट', 'पहले', 'सामने' आदि अर्थों में द्वितीया से सम्बद्ध है : **उद् ईर्ष्व नारि ऽभि जीवलोकम्** (ऋ० १०.१८.८) 'उठो, हे स्त्री, जीवलोक की ओर'।

रूसी भाषा में संस्कृत '**अभि**' का सजातीय '**ओब्**' (**ओ, ओबो**)[14] है जो उपसर्ग भी है और पूर्वसर्ग भी। क्रियाओं तथा कृदन्त शब्दों के साथ लगकर यह निम्नलिखित अभिप्रायों को व्यक्त करता है :— (क) चारों ओर : **अब्लितेत्च्** (obletet') 'चारों ओर उड़ान करना', **अब्खोत्** (obchod) पुं० 'चक्कर, परिक्रमा'; (ख) भूल : **अपिचात्का** (opecātka) 'छापे की ग़लती'; (ग) आगे बढ़ जाना : **अबग्नात्च्** (obognāt') 'आगे निकल जाना', **अबिग्रात्च्** (obygrāt') 'हरा देना';(घ) हानि पहुँचाना : **अब्वेसित्च्** (obvesit') 'तोलने में धोखा करना', **अब्दिलीत्च्** (obdelit') 'किसी को उसके भाग से वंचित करना'; (ङ) क्रिया की निश्चित परिणाम-सहित पूर्णता : **अबुचीत्च्** (obucit') 'सिखा देना', **अब्निश्चात्च्** (obnisāt') 'गरीब हो जाना'। पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में 'ओब्' (ओ, ओबो) सप्तमी के साथ 'के विषय में' तथा द्वितीया के साथ 'से', 'पर' आदि अर्थों में प्रयुक्त होता है : **ओब् उचीतेल्ये** (सप्तमी) 'शिक्षक के बारे में'; **लोत्का उदारिलास् अ स्कलू** (द्वितीया) 'नाव चट्टान से टकरा गई'।

अन्य भारोपीय भाषाओं के साथ तुलना से स्पष्ट होता है कि संस्कृत '**अभि**' और रूसी '**ओब्**' मूल भारोपीय युग से सम्बन्ध रखते हैं। भाषाविदों के अनुसार संस्कृत 'अभि' में सम्भवतः दो मूल भारोपीय उपसर्ग ***अम्भि** (*m̥bhi) और ***ओभि** (*obhi) मिलकर एकाकार हो गये हैं। ***अम्भि** से ग्रीक **अम्फि** (ámphi) 'पास', 'चारों ओर'; लैटिन **ऐम्ब्** (amb) 'वही'; प्राचीन उच्च जर्मन **उम्बि** (umbi) 'चारों ओर' विकसित हुए हैं और ***ओभि** से लिथुआनियन **अबि** (abi); रूसी **ओब्** (ob), अवेस्तन **अइबि** (aibi); गॉथिक **बी** (bi); लैटिन **ओब्** और संस्कृत **अभि**। इसी प्रकार रूसी 'ओब्' भी दो मूल भारोपीय उपसर्गों ***ओभि** (*obhi) तथा ***ओपि/*एपि** (*opi/*epi) का प्रतिनिधित्व करता है (तु० क० लिथु० **अपिए्** (apie) 'के बारे में'; लातवियन **अप्** (ap) 'पास', 'चारों ओर'; सं० **अपि** 'भी', 'की ओर', 'में'; अवेस्तन **अइपि** 'भी', 'की ओर'; ग्रीक **एपि** (epi) 'पर'[15]।

७. सं० अव ; रूसी उ (u)

क्रियाओं और कृदन्त संज्ञाओं के साथ उपसर्ग के रूप में **अव** 'नीचे', 'दूर', 'आश्रय', 'अनादर', 'विषाद' आदि अनेक अर्थों को अभिव्यक्त करता है : **अवगम्** 'नीचे जाना'; **अवसृज्** 'बहाना', 'परे भेजना'; **अवसान** (नपुं०) 'आराम का स्थान', 'मृत्यु'; **अवज्ञा** (स्त्री०) 'अनादर'; **अवसाद** (पुं०) 'उदासी', 'पराजय'। कुछ शब्दों में यह प्रारम्भिक 'अ' के बिना भी मिलता है। "**पूर्वापरौ तोयनिधी वगाह्य**" (कुमार० १.१) नामयोगी पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में (जो अत्यधिक विरल और संदिग्ध है) यह 'से नीचे' के अर्थ में पञ्चमी से सम्बद्ध है : **वृष्टिम् अव दिव इन्वतम्** (ऋ० ७.६४.२) 'स्वर्ग से वर्षा को नीचे भेजो', **ये ते पन्थानो अव दिवः** (अथर्व० ७.५५) 'जो स्वर्ग से आने के तेरे

रास्ते हैं’। इन दोनों उदाहरणों में, विशेषकर दूसरे में पञ्चमी विभक्ति सीधे पूर्वसर्ग पर आधारित प्रतीत होती है।[१६]

‘अव’ का रूसी सजातीय **‘उ’** है जो पृथक्त्व, दूरी, आच्छादन, न्यूनता तथा उपलब्धि आदि अनेक अर्थों में क्रियाओं और कृदन्त संज्ञाओं के साथ समस्त होता है। उदाहरणार्थ, **उइती** (uiti) ‘चले जाना’, **उकूतत्त्** (ukūtat’) ‘लपेटना’, **उसोख्नुत्त्** (usochnut’) ‘सूख कर सिकुड़ जाना’; **उगवरीत्त्** (ugovorit’) ‘मना लेना’। कुछ शब्दों में ‘उ’ का मूल अर्थ लुप्त हो गया है; उनमें यह केवल क्रिया की पूर्णता को व्यक्त करता है: **उस्लीशत्त्** (usl^{iś}at’) ‘सुन लेना’, **उवीदित्त्** (uvidet’) ‘देख लेना’।

पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में **‘उ’** ‘के पास’, ‘से’ अर्थों में षष्ठी विभक्ति के साथ प्रयुक्त होता है। कुछ विभाषाओं में इसका उच्चारण **उव्** (uv) और कभी-कभी केवल **‘व्’** (v) होता है, जैसे कि, यूक्रेनी भाषा में : **ती व मेने ने व्तेचेश** ‘तू मुझसे बच नहीं सकेगा’; **उव् अत्सा** (uv otsā) ‘पिता के पास’[१७]। अन्य भारोपीय भाषाओं में ‘अव’ और ‘उ’ से सम्बद्ध शब्द इस प्रकार हैं: अवेस्तन **अव**; लिथुआनियन एवं लातवियन **अउ** (au) ‘से’; लैटिन **अउ** (au) ‘दूर’; ग्रीक **अउ** (au) ‘दूर’।

८. सं० आ

‘पास’, ‘ओर’, ‘पर’ आदि अर्थों का वाचक **‘आ’** संस्कृत में अत्यधिक प्रचलित उपसर्ग है। गत्यर्थक क्रियाओं के योग में द्वितीया के साथ यह गन्तव्य को सूचित करता है : **मातरा सीदतां बर्हिरा** (ऋ० १.१४२.७) ‘दोनों माताएँ शय्या पर बैठ जाएँ’, **एह्या नः** (अथर्व० २.५) ‘हमारे पास आओ’। इसके अतिरिक्त यह ‘नयनगमनदानार्थक’ धातुओं का अर्थ भी बदल देता है : **नय्** ‘ले जाना’, **आनय्** ‘लाना’; **गम्** ‘जाना’, **आगम्** ‘आना’; **दा** ‘देना’, **आदा** ‘लेना’। कुछ विशेषणों एवं कुछ संज्ञाओं से समस्त होकर ‘आ’ अल्पार्थवाची हो जाता है, जैसे—**आपाण्डुर** ‘कुछ-कुछ सफ़ेद’; **आकम्प** ‘हल्का कम्पन’।

पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में संज्ञाओं के साथ निकट सम्बन्ध में ‘आ’ द्वितीया विभक्ति के साथ ‘प्रयोजन’ को सूचित करता है : **योषम्** आ ‘आनन्द के लिए’, **वरम् आ** ‘प्रसन्नता के लिए’। किन्तु मूलतः और सामान्यतः आ ‘पर’, ‘को’, ‘में’, ‘के पास’ अर्थ में सप्तमी से सम्बद्ध है : **दधुष्ट्वा भृगवो मानुषेष्वा** (ऋ० १.५८.६) ‘भृगु तुझे मनुष्यों के पास लायें’। पञ्चमी के साथ भी वैदिक संस्कृत में सविभक्तिक पद के पूर्व ‘तक’ अर्थ में और सविभक्तिक पद के बाद ‘से’, ‘में से’ अर्थों में इसका बहुल प्रयोग मिलता है : **यती गिरिभ्य आ समुद्रात्** (ऋ० ७.९५.२) ‘पहाड़ों से समुद्र तक जाती हुई’; **आनिम्रुचः** (ऋ० १.१६१.१०) ‘सूर्यास्त तक’, किन्तु, **पर्वतात् आ** ‘पर्वत से’; **बहुभ्य आ** ‘बहुत में से’। अर्थ का यह वैपरीत्य सम्भवतः शब्दों के स्वाभाविक क्रम को उलट देने के कारण है[१८]। लौकिक संस्कृत में यह भेद नहीं रहा है और ‘आ’ बिना स्थान-भेद के ‘तक’ एवं ‘से’ दोनों अर्थों में प्रयुक्त होता है, जैसे कि, **आ कैलासात्** ‘कैलास पर्वत तक’, आ **जन्मनः** ‘जन्म से’। रूसी भाषा में इन अर्थों को दो भिन्न-भिन्न उपसर्गों ‘ओत्’ (से) और ‘दो’ (तक) द्वारा व्यक्त किया जाता है।

९. रूसी इज् (iz)

‘इज्’, जो अघोष स्पर्शों से पूर्व **‘इस्’** हो जाता है, रूसी भाषा में पूर्वसर्ग और उपसर्ग दोनों रूपों में बहुत प्रचलित है। क्रियाओं और कृदन्त शब्दों में यह ‘में से’ अर्थ का बोधक है : **इज्ब्रात्त्** (izbrāt’) ‘चुनना’, **इज्ग्नात्त्** (izgn$^{\bar{a}}$t’) ‘बाहर निकाल देना’। कुछ शब्दों में यह क्रिया की परिणति का संकेत करता है : **इज्झारित्त्** (izzh$^{\bar{a}}$rit’) ‘पूरी तरह तल देना’, **इज्लिचीत्त्** (izlec^{i}t’)

'अच्छा कर देना'। पूर्वसर्ग इज़् 'बाहर', 'में से' अर्थों में षष्ठी विभक्ति के साथ आता है और उत्पत्ति की दृष्टि से लिथुआनियन इश् (iś) 'में से'; प्रशियन इस् (iɔ); लातवियन इज़् (iz) से सम्बद्ध है। ग्रीक **एक्स्** (eks), **एक्** (ek) 'में से'; लैटिन **एक्स** (ex) 'पूर्व, बाहर' से भी इसका कोई सम्बन्ध है अथवा नहीं, यह निश्चयपूर्वक नहीं कहा जा सकता। संस्कृत में इसका सजातीय शब्द नहीं है।

१०. **सं० उद् ; रूसी वी** (vy)

नाम और धातुओं से पूर्व लगने वाला यह उपसर्ग संस्कृत में 'ऊपर की ओर', 'बाहर', 'से दूर', 'अतिशय' आदि अनेक अर्थों का परिचायक है, यथा, उन्नति, उत्कर्ष, उद्भव, उद्भिद्, उन्मद। पृथक् क्रियाविशेषण अथवा पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में इसका प्रयोग नहीं होता।

भाषाविदों के अनुसार '**उद्**' मूल भारोपीय ***ऊद्**, ***ऊत्** (*ūd, *ūt) से विकसित हुआ है और अवेस्तन **उस्**, **उज़्** (us, uz); गॉथिक **ऊट्** (ūt) 'से बाहर'; प्राचीन उच्च जर्मन **उज़्** (uz) 'वही'; ऐंग्लो-सैक्सन **ऊट्** (तु० क० **ऊटे** [ūte] 'दूर', **ऊटान** [ūtān] 'बाहर से'); इँगलिश **आउट** 'बाहर', 'पृथक्', 'अति'; जर्मन **आउस्** (āus) 'बाहर' तथा प्राचीन स्लावोनिक एवं रूसी **वी** (vy) 'बाहर' से सम्बद्ध है[१९]। **उद्** के समान रूसी '**वी**' भी केवल उपसर्ग के रूप में ही प्रयुक्त होता है, और अन्दर से बाहर की ओर उन्मुख गति, विच्छेद अथवा उपलब्धि का भाव व्यक्त करता है। **वीबिज़्हात्च्** (vybezhāt') 'बाहर भाग जाना', **वीर्वत्च्** (vyrvat') 'उखाड़ देना', **वीउचित्च्** (vyucit') 'सीख लेना', **वीइग्रत्च्** (vyigrāt'), 'बाजी जीत लेना'।

११. **सं० उप ; रूसी वोज़्, वोस्** (voz, vos)

'अभि' और 'आ' के समान संस्कृत '**उप**' भी क्रियाओं और संज्ञाओं से समस्त होकर 'सामीप्य' को व्यक्त करता है : **उपनयति** 'पास लाता है', **उपहरति** 'देता है', **उपगमन** 'पास जाना'। तद्धित शब्दों के साथ तथा समासों में यह सामीप्य, सादृश्य, स्थान, काल, संख्या और मात्रा की संसक्ति, हीनता एवं अधीनता की भावना का परिचायक है : **उपगङ्गम्** 'गंगा के पास', **उपधातु** 'घटिया धातु'।

पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में '**उप**' 'की ओर' अर्थ में मुख्यतः द्वितीया के साथ (प्रायः विभक्त्यन्त पद से पूर्व) आता है : **आ याहि...उप ब्रह्माणि वाघतः** (ऋ० १.३.५) 'उपासक की प्रार्थनाओं की ओर आओ'! 'बराबर में', निकट', 'ऊपर' आदि अर्थों में सप्तमी के साथ भी प्रयुक्त होता है : **या उप सूर्ये** (ऋ० १.२३.१७) 'जो सूर्य के निकट हैं', **उप सानुषु** 'पहाड़ों की चोटियों पर'। ऋग्वेद में केवल तीन बार तृतीया के साथ भी इसका प्रयोग मिलता है : **उप द्युभिः** (ऋ० ५.५३.३; ८.४०.८) 'दिन-प्रतिदिन'[२०]।

विद्वानों के अनुसार संस्कृत '**उप**' मूल भारोपीय ***उप्स्** ***उब्स्** (*ups *ubs) से विकसित हुआ है और ग्रीक **उपो** (hypo) 'नीचे'; लैटिन **सुब्** (sub) 'नीचे'; गॉथिक **उफ़्** (uf) 'पर'; ऐंग्लो-सैक्सन **उप्प** (upp) 'ऊपर'; इँगलिश **अप्** (up) 'ऊपर'; लिथुआनियन **उज्भ्** (uzh) 'पीछे' एवं रूसी **वोज़्** (voz) 'ऊपर', 'की ओर' से सम्बद्ध है[२१]। आधुनिक रूसी भाषा में 'वोज़्' केवल उपसर्ग के रूप में क्रियापदों और संज्ञाओं के साथ प्रयुक्त होता है, किन्तु प्राचीन रूसी भाषा में 'ऊपर की ओर', 'पास', 'के साथ-साथ', 'पीछे', 'के स्थान पर' आदि विभिन्न अर्थों में द्वितीया विभक्ति के साथ स्वतन्त्र पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में भी मिलता है : **वोज़् दुनाइ** (voz Dunāi) 'दुनाइ नदी के ऊपर की ओर'; **वोस् क्राइ**[२२] (vos krāj) 'छोर पर'। उपसर्ग के रूप में '**वोज़्**' 'ऊपर की ओर गति', 'क्रिया का प्रारम्भ अथवा परिणाम' तथा 'किसी काम को नये सिरे से करने' का भाव व्यक्त करता है[२३] : **वस्ख़दीत्च्** (voschobit') 'ऊपर चढ़ना', **वस्खोत्** (voschod) पुं०

'सूर्योदय'; **व्ज़्दूमत्च्** (vzdūmat') 'ख़याल आना', **वज़्मुज्झात्च्** (vozmuzhat')'बालिग हो जाना'; **वज़्रदीत्च्** (vozrodit') ·फिर से उत्पन्न करना'; **वज़्रज्झ्द्येनिये** (vozrozhdenie) नपुं० 'पुनर्जन्म'।

ऑस्टहौफ़ (Osthoff) तथा वाल्डे (Walde) के अनुसार रूसी **'वोज़्'** भारोपीय *__उद्__ (*ud) 'ऊपर की ओर' से सम्बद्ध है, न कि *उप्स् (*ups) से, और इसमें उपस्थित 'ज़्' अन्य स्लावोनिक उपसर्गों के अनुकरण पर आया है। किन्तु आर्मीनियन और बाल्तिक (तु० क० लिथुआनियन उज़्झ् [uzh]; लातवियन उज़् [uz]) सजातीय शब्दों से स्पष्ट होता है कि 'वोज़्' में उपस्थित यह ऊष्म व्यन्जन (ज़्) प्राक्स्लावोनिक है और वस्तुत: मूल भारोपीय *__उप्स्/उब्स्__ (*ups/*ubs) से ही विकसित हुआ है।[२४]

१२. रूसी ज़ा (zā)

रूसी उपसर्ग **'ज़ा'** क्रियाओं के साथ समस्त होकर 'पीछे', 'परे', 'ऊपर' आदि अर्थों को अभिव्यक्त करने के अतिरिक्त क्रिया के प्रारम्भ, उसके अतिशय तथा परिणाम की प्राप्ति को भी सूचित करता है। **ज़खदीत्च्** (zachodit') 'अस्त होना'; **ज़लायत्च्** (zalājat') 'भौंकने लगना', **ज़प्लाकत्च्**) (zaplākat') 'रो पड़ना'; **ज़वयेवात्च्** (zavoevāt') 'जीत लेना', **ज़लिवात्च्** (zalivāt') 'आप्लावित कर देना'। 'पार' अर्थ में 'ज़ा' कुछ तद्धित शब्दों के साथ भी लगता है : **ज़ारेच्चिये** (zārec'e) 'नदी पार' < **रिका** (rekā) स्त्री० 'नदी'; **ज़ाबलोतिये** (zābolot'e) 'दलदल के पार' < **बलोत** (boloto) नपुं० 'दलदल'।

पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में **'ज़ा'** 'के पास', 'से ज्यादा', 'के दौरान', 'के पहले', 'के बजाय', 'के हेतु' आदि अर्थों में द्वितीया विभक्ति के साथ और 'के पीछे', 'के पार', 'के बाहर', 'के लिए', 'के कारण' अर्थों में तृतीया के साथ आता है। उदाहरण क्रमश: निम्नलिखित हैं :

अ) द्वितीया के साथ : **ज़ा स्तोल** 'मेज़ के पास', **ज़ा पोल्नोच्** 'आधी रात के बाद', **ज़ा मीर** 'शान्ति के हेतु'।

आ) तृतीया के साथ : **ज़ा दोमम्** 'घर के पीछे', **ज़ा अकियानम्** 'महासागर के पार', **ज़ा वदोय्** 'पानी के लिए', **ज़ा निदस्तात्कम्** 'कमी के कारण'।

रूसी **'ज़ा'** उत्पत्ति की दृष्टि से लिथुआनियन **आज़्झु** (āzhu) 'पीछे' तथा लातवियन **आज़्** (āz) 'पीछे, पार' से सम्बद्ध है, किन्तु अन्य भारोपीय भाषाओं में इसके निर्विवाद सजातीय रूप नहीं मिलते।

१३. सं० दुस् (दूर्)

यह संस्कृत उपसर्ग प्राय: संज्ञाओं में ही लगता है। क्रियाओं और क्रियाविशेषणों में इसका प्रयोग विरल है। उत्पत्ति की दृष्टि से यह अवेस्तन दुश् (dus), गॉथिक **तुज़्** (tuz), प्राचीन उच्च जर्मन **त्सुर्** (zur) और ग्रीक **दुस्** से सम्बद्ध माना जाता है। स्वरों एवं घोष व्यन्जनों से पूर्व इसके स्थान पर 'दुर्' हो जाता है : **दुर्गम** 'कठिन'। यह 'बुराई', 'कठिनाई' का भाव व्यक्त करता है (तु० क० संस्कृत **दुर्दिन** 'बुरा दिन', 'मेघाच्छन्न दिन'; ग्रीक **दुसेन्तेरिया** (dus-entereā) 'पेचिश'; लैटिन **दीज़ेन्तेरिया** (dys-enteria) 'पेचिश'; इँगलिश **डीसेंन्ट्री** 'पेचिश' < **दुस्** (dus) 'बुरी'+ **एन्तेरा** (enterā) 'आँतें' (=सं० आन्त्र)। रूसी भाषा में 'दुस्' नहीं है, यद्यपि कुछ विद्वान् रूसी **दोज़्झ्द्** (dozhd') 'वर्षा' को मूल *dus-dius (**दुस्-दिउस्** अर्थात् 'बुरा दिन') से व्युत्पन्न मानकर

इसकी तुलना संस्कृत 'दुर्दिन' से करते हैं[२५], किन्तु यह तुलना पूर्णतः स्पष्ट नहीं है।

१४. रूसी दो (do)

रूसी भाषा में पूर्वसर्ग एवं उपसर्ग दोनों रूपों में अत्यधिक प्रचलित **'दो'** अवेस्तन **द** (जैसे कि **वएस्मन-द** [vaesmen-da] 'घर को'), ग्रीक **दे** (जैसे कि, **एन्थदे** [enthade] 'इधर', **ओइकोन्-दे** [oikon-de] 'घर को'), प्राचीन उच्च जर्मन **त्सुओ** (zuo), जर्मन **त्सु** (zu) और इँगलिश **'टु'** (to) का सजातीय है। उपसर्ग के रूप में यह क्रिया का लक्ष्य तक पहुँचना अथवा उसमें परिवर्द्धन सूचित करता है, जैसे कि, **दयेखत्च्** (doechat') 'पहुँचना', **दपिसात्च्** (dopisāt') 'अन्त तक लिख लेना', **दप्लतीत्च्** (doplatit') 'अतिरिक्त रकम अदा करना'। पूर्वसर्ग **दो** (do) 'तक', और 'पहले' इन दो अर्थों में षष्ठी विभक्ति के साथ प्रयुक्त होता है : द कन्त्सा (do kontrā') 'अन्त तक', **द वइनी** (do vojny) 'युद्ध से पहले'। यह संस्कृत में नहीं है।

१५. रूसी ना (nā)

'पर', 'के लिए', 'में' आदि विभिन्न अर्थों में प्रयुक्त रूसी **'ना'** की तुलना ग्रीक **अनो** (ano), **अन** 'ऊपर, ऊपर की ओर'; इँगलिश **ऑन** (on) 'पर'; गॉथिक **अन** (ana) 'पर'; लैटिन **अन्**; लिथुआनियन **नुओ** (nuo) तथा संस्कृत 'आ' से की जाती है। उपसर्ग के रूप में **'ना'** क्रिया के स्थान, क्रिया की पूर्णता अथवा आधिक्य को व्यक्त करता है : **नक्लेइत्च्** (nakleit') 'पर चिपकाना', **नब्रात्च्** (nabrāt') 'एकत्र करना', **नगवरीत्च्** (nagovorit') 'कान भरना'।

पूर्वसर्ग **'ना'** (nā) 'की ओर', 'के लिए' अर्थ में द्वितीया तथा 'में', 'पर' अर्थ में सप्तमी के साथ प्रयुक्त होता है : **ना युक्** (nā jug) 'दक्षिण की ओर', **ना मिनूतु** (nā minūtu) 'एक मिनट के लिए' (द्वितीया); **ना यूगे** (nā jūge) 'दक्षिण में' (सप्तमी)। इसके अतिरिक्त **'ना'** क्रियाविशेषणों की रचना में भी प्रयुक्त होता है : **नास्करॅ** (nāskoro) 'जल्दी से', **नास्म्येर्त्य्** (nāsmert') 'मृत्युपर्यन्त'। रूसी भाषा में **'ना'** का एक विस्तारित रूप **'नाद्'** (nād) 'ऊपर' भी स्वतन्त्र उपसर्ग के रूप में बहुत प्रचलित है। इसका उत्तरार्ध द् उपसर्ग **दो** (do) का संक्षिप्त रूप है अथवा कोई निपात, इस सम्बन्ध में कोई एक मत नहीं है। प्रेअब्राज्झेन्स्की के अनुसार यह एक परवर्ती रचना है और संभवतः **पोद्** (pod) 'नीचे' के विलोम के रूप में उसी के अनुकरण पर बना है।[२६]

१६. सं० नि ; रूसी निज़्, निस् (niz, nis)

संस्कृत में **'नि'** प्रायः क्रिया अथवा संज्ञा के साथ उपसर्ग के रूप में ही प्रचलित है; सम्बन्धबोधक अव्यय अथवा क्रियाविशेषण के रूप में इसका प्रयोग विरल है। 'नि' का प्रमुख अर्थ 'नीचे की ओर', 'अभ्यन्तर' है और यह अवेस्तन **नि** 'नीचे', जर्मन **नीडेर्** (nieder) 'नीचा', ऐंग्लो-सैक्सन **नीथेर्** (nither) क्रि० वि० 'नीचे', इंगलिश **नैदर्** (nether) वि० 'निचला', स्लावोनिक **निज़ु** (nizu) 'नीचे' से सम्बद्ध है। संज्ञाओं से पूर्व यह कभी-कभी 'विना, रहित' अर्थ को भी व्यक्त करता है : **निमन्यु** (वि०) 'क्रोधरहित, प्रसन्न'।

रूसी भाषा में मूल भारोपीय उपसर्ग ***नि** (*ni) ज़् के संयोग से विस्तारित हो गया है : **निज़्** 'नीचे'। अघोष व्यञ्जनों से पूर्व इसके स्थान पर **'निस्'** हो जाता है। संस्कृत **'नि'** के समान **'निज़्'** भी आधुनिक रूसी भाषा में केवल उपसर्ग के रूप में प्रयुक्त होता है, यद्यपि प्राचीन रूसी भाषा

में द्वितीया के साथ पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में भी इसके एक-दो उदाहरण मिलते हैं : **निजु स्त्येनु** (nizu stenu) 'दीवार के नीचे'।[२७]

१७. सं० निस् (निर्)

'विना','से रहित','से दूर','से बाहर' आदि अर्थों को प्रकट करने के लिए संस्कृत में इस उपसर्ग का प्रयोग होता है। सघोष व्यञ्जनों एवं स्वरों से पूर्व **'निस्'** के स्थान पर **'निर्'** हो जाता है : **निरुपम** 'अद्वितीय', **निर्बुद्धि** 'मूर्ख'। अर्थ की दृष्टि से **निस्** 'अ' और 'अन' का पर्याय तथा रूसी **वी** (vy) 'बाहर', 'में से' के समान है; तु० क० सं० **निर्वाचन** 'चुनाव'; रूसी **वीबर्** (vybor) 'चुनाव'; सं० **निर्गम** 'निकास'; रूसी **वीख़द्** (vychod) 'निकास'।

१८ सं० परा

'आगे', 'दूर', 'पीछे', 'उल्टे क्रम से', 'एक ओर' आदि विभिन्न अर्थों का सूचक **'परा'** संस्कृत में केवल क्रियाओं और संज्ञाओं के साथ उपसर्ग के रूप में ही मिलता है : **पराक्रम** 'शौर्य', **पराजित** 'हारा हुआ'। उत्पत्ति की दृष्टि से यह अवेस्तन **पर** (para), ग्रीक **परा** (parā), लैटिन **पेर्** (per) 'में से', 'आगे'; जर्मन **फ़ेर्** (fer) तथा इंगलिश **फ़ार्, फ़ोर्** (far,for) 'दूर, आगे' का सजातीय है और संभवतः पर, परस्, प्र से ही सम्बद्ध है।[२८]

१९. सं० परि; रूसी प्येरे (pere)

संस्कृत में क्रियाओं अथवा संज्ञाओं से पूर्व उपसर्ग के रूप में **परि** 'चारों ओर', 'आसपास', 'वहुत,' 'अत्यन्त' आदि अर्थों को अभिव्यक्त करता है : **परिक्रम्** 'इधर-उधर भ्रमण करना,' 'प्रदक्षिणा करना'; **परिगत** 'घेरा हुआ'; **परिकम्प** 'अत्यधिक कँपकँपी'; **परिगूढ़** 'दुर्बोध्य'। पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में **परि** द्वितीया के साथ 'की ओर', 'के सामने', 'क्रमशः' आदि अर्थों को सूचित करता है : **वृक्षं परि विद्योतते विद्युत्** 'पेड़ की दिशा में विजली चमक रही है'; **वृक्षं वृक्षं परि सिञ्चति** 'प्रत्येक वृक्ष को सींचता है'। पञ्चमी विभक्ति के साथ 'से', 'से दूर', 'में से', 'अतिरिक्त', 'के अनुसार' आदि विभिन्न अर्थों में प्रयुक्त होता है : **जातो हिमवतस्परि** 'हिमालय से उत्पन्न', **धर्मणस्परि** 'धर्म के अनुसार।'

परि भारोपीय युग से सम्बद्ध उपसर्ग है और अवेस्तन **पइरि** (pairi) 'लगभग', 'से'; ग्रीक **पेरि** (जैसे कि, peri-metros 'परिमाप'); गॉथिक **फ़ईर्** (fair); लिथुआनियन **पेर** (per) 'से होकर', 'अत्यन्त', चर्च-स्लावोनिक **प्रे** (pre) 'से होकर', 'से अधिक', रूसी **प्येरे** (pere) 'वही' का सजातीय है। जैसा कि प्राचीन स्लाव भाषा के ऐतिहासिक व्याकरण से विदित होता है, **'प्येरे'** चर्च-स्लावोनिक **'प्रे'** का रूसी रूपान्तर है। आधुनिक रूसी भाषा में **'प्येरे'** केवल उपसर्ग के रूप में प्रयुक्त होता है। इसका मूल अर्थ 'से होकर गुज़रना' था : **पिरिखदीत्च्** (perechodit') 'पार जाना', बाद में यह क्रिया की पुनरावृत्ति और आधिक्य को भी सूचित करने लगा : **पिरिनसीत्च्** (perenosit') 'टालना', **पिरिपिसात्च्** (perepisāt') 'नक़ल करना', **पिरिग्रुज़ीत्च्** (peregruzit') 'सीमा से अधिक लादना'। विशेषणों से पूर्व यह 'अत्यधिक', 'अत्यन्त' अर्थ में **'प्रे'** रूप में ही उपस्थित है : **प्रिक्रास्निय्** (prekrāsnyj) 'अत्यन्त सुन्दर', **प्रिमूद्रिय्** (premūdryj) 'अत्यधिक बुद्धिमान्'।

फ़ास्मेर के अनुसार संस्कृत **'परि'** एवं ग्रीक **'पेरि'** वस्तुतः सप्तमी एकवचन का रूप हैं, जिस प्रकार सं० **पुरस्** और ग्रीक **परोस्**(paros 'पहले')पञ्चमी एकवचन के और संस्कृत **पुरा** 'पहले' तृतीया

एकवचन का रूप हैं।[३०]

२०. रूसी पोद् (pod)

अर्थ की दृष्टि से रूसी **'पोद्'** संस्कृत 'उप' एवं लैटिन 'सुब' (sub) के समान है। भाषाविदों के अनुसार यह **नाद्** (nād) 'ऊपर' (<ना 'पर') तथा **ज़ाद्** 'पीछे' (<ज़ा 'पीछे') आदि उपसर्गों के अनुकरण पर **'पो'** 'पर' से बना नया स्लावोनिक उपसर्ग है।[३१] क्रियाओं से पूर्व उपसर्ग के रूप में यह किसी चीज़ के नीचे होने वाली गति अथवा नीचे से ऊपर की ओर उन्मुख गति, सामीप्य, परिवर्द्धन, क्रिया की क्रमशः पुनरावृत्ति एवं प्रयोजन को अभिव्यक्त करता है : **पद्रिवात्च्** (podryvāt') 'नीचे-नीचे खोदना', **पद्ब्रोसित्च्** (podbrosit') 'उछालना', **पद्लीत्च्** (podlit') 'और अधिक डालना', **पदइती** (podojti') 'पास जाना', **पद्गतोवित्च्** (podgotovit') 'तैयारी करना', **पदज्झदात्च्** (podozhdāt') 'प्रतीक्षा करना'। पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में **पोद्** 'नीचे', 'निकट', 'लगभग', 'पर' आदि अर्थों में द्वितीया एवं तृतीया विभक्ति के साथ आता है : **पद् वेचेर** (द्वितीया) 'शाम के आस-पास', **पद् मूज़िकु** (द्वितीया) 'संगीत की धुन पर', **पद् ईगम्** (तृतीया) 'जुए के नीचे', **पद् ईमेनेम्** (तृतीया) 'के नाम से'।

२१. सं० प्र ; रूसी प्रो, प्रा (pro prā)

संस्कृत में पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में **'प्र'** का प्रयोग विरल है, किन्तु क्रियाओं और संज्ञाओं के पूर्व उपसर्ग के रूप में यह अत्यधिक प्रचलित है, जिनमें यह 'आगे', 'सामने', 'आगे की ओर', 'पहले', 'दूर' आदि विभिन्न अर्थों के अतिरिक्त प्रारम्भ, उत्कर्ष, प्राथम्य, ख्याति और उत्पत्ति का भाव भी व्यक्त करता है : **प्रगम्** 'आगे जाना', **प्रस्था** 'दूर चले जाना', **प्रकर्ष** 'प्रमुखता', **प्रकीर्ति** 'यश', **प्रभव** 'स्रोत'। विशेषणों से पूर्व यह आधिक्य और अतिशय को सूचित करता है : **प्रचण्ड, प्रमत्त**। सम्बन्ध-सूचक संज्ञाओं में यह 'मूल' अथवा 'स्रोत' का परिचायक है : **प्रपितामह, प्रपौत्र**।

'प्र' के सजातीय उपसर्ग अनेक भारोपीय भाषाओं में मिलते हैं, जैसे कि, अवेस्तन **फ्र** (fra), ग्रीक **प्रो** (pro), लैटिन **प्रो** (pro), गॉथिक **फ़ाउर** (fāur), **फ़ाउरा** (faurā), जर्मन **फ़ोर** (vor), इंगलिश फ़ोर (fore), लिथुआनियन **प्रा** (prā), रूसी **प्रो, प्रा** (pro, prā)[३२]। इन सभी शब्दों का विकास मूल भारोपीय * pro/prā से हुआ है, जिसका मूल अर्थ था 'सामने', 'आगे', 'पहले'; तु० क० संस्कृत **प्रस्तृ** 'फैलाना', 'फैलना'; लैटिन **प्रोस्तेर्नो** (prosterno); प्रा० स्लावोनिक प्रोस्त्रेति (prostreti) 'फैलना, फैलाना[३३]।

रूसी उपसर्ग **प्रो** 'आगे की ओर', 'से होकर', 'के पास से', होने वाली गति, नैरन्तर्य, कमी, हानि तथा विनिमय आदि अनेक अर्थों का सूचक है, उदाहरणार्थ, **प्रत्येच्** (protec') 'से होकर बहना', **प्रख दीत्च्** (prochodit') 'से गुजरना', **प्रइग्रात्च्** (proigrāt') 'हार जाना'। कुछ संज्ञाओं से पूर्व, विशेषकर 'सुदूर-सम्बन्ध' अथवा 'प्रारम्भ' को व्यक्त करने वाले शब्दों में **'प्रो'** के स्थान पर **'प्रा'** मिलता है, जो सदैव उदात्त होता है : **प्राद्येद्** (prāded) 'परदादा', **प्राव्नुक** (prāvnuk) 'प्रपौत्र', **प्राप्रुद्** (prāprud) 'मूसलाधार वर्षा'।

पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में **'प्रो'** (pro) 'के बारे में' अर्थ में द्वितीया विभक्ति से सम्बद्ध है।

२२. सं० प्रति ; रूसी प्रोतिव (protiv)

मूल भारोपीय *proti से व्युत्पन्न संस्कृत **'प्रति'** ग्रीक **प्रोति** (proti), **प्रोस्** (pros) 'के विपरीत', 'पार्श्व में', 'की ओर' ; लैटिन **प्रेतिउम्** (pretium) 'कीमत'; लातवियन **प्रेत्, प्रेति** (pret, preti) पूर्वसर्ग एवं क्रि० वि० 'के विरुद्ध' से सम्बद्ध है। क्रियाओं तथा कृदन्त और तद्धित शब्दों से पूर्व उपसर्ग के रूप में **'प्रति'** 'की ओर', 'के पास', 'के विरुद्ध', 'के मुकाबले में', 'पुनः', 'के बदले में' आदि अनेक अर्थों को अभिव्यक्त करता है : **प्रति-ईक्ष्** 'की ओर देखना', 'की प्रतीक्षा करना' (प्रतीक्षते); **प्रति-इ** 'के आगे अथवा के विरुद्ध जाना' (प्रत्येति), **प्रति-वच्** 'उत्तर देना' (प्रति-वक्ति), **प्रति-वस्** 'पास में बस जाना' (प्रतिवसति), **प्रतिस्रोतम्** 'धारा के विरुद्ध'।

पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में **'प्रति'** मुख्यतः द्वितीया के साथ आता है : **अबोध्यग्निः प्रत्यायतीम् उषसम्** 'उदय होती हुई उषा से मिलने के लिए अग्नि को जगा दिया गया है'। कुछ स्थलों पर यह 'के स्थान पर' अर्थ में पञ्चमी के साथ भी मिलता है : **प्रद्युम्नः कृष्णात्प्रति** 'कृष्ण के स्थान पर प्रद्युम्न'।

'प्रति' का रूसी सजातीय **'प्रोतिव'** (protiv) 'सामने', 'के विरुद्ध', 'के मुक़ाबले में' आदि अर्थों में मुख्यतः पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में षष्ठी विभक्ति के साथ प्रयुक्त होता है। भाषाविदों के अनुसार यह मूल * proti से **'व'** प्रत्यय लगकर बना विशेषण है; मूल **'प्रोति'** रूसी में लुप्त हो गया है, किन्तु अनेक स्लाव भाषाओं में यह उपस्थित है।[34] कुछ संज्ञाओं से पूर्व **'प्रोतिव'** उपसर्ग के रूप में भी मिलता है: **प्रोतिवोरेचिये** (protivorecie) नपुं० 'प्रतिवाद', **प्रोतिवोतिचेनिये** (protivotecenie) नपुं० 'प्रति-स्रोतम्'।

२३. रूसी प्री (pri)

लिथुआनियन **प्रिये** (prie) 'पास', 'की ओर' ; लैटिन **प्राए** (prāe) 'पहले', 'पूर्व'; ग्रीक **परइ** (parai) 'पास' से सम्बद्ध रूसी **प्री** (pri) उपसर्ग एवं पूर्वसर्ग दोनों रूपों में प्रयुक्त होता है। पूर्वसर्ग **प्री** 'के पास', 'की उपस्थिति में' इन दो अर्थों में सप्तमी विभक्ति को नियन्त्रित करता है : **प्री दरोगे** (pri doroge) 'रास्ते के पास', **प्री वास्** (pri vās) 'आपकी उपस्थिति में'। क्रियाओं तथा कृदन्त एवं तद्धित शब्दों से पूर्व उपसर्ग के रूप में **'प्री'** सामीप्य, वृद्धि, क्रिया की परिणति और अपनी ओर उन्मुख गति को सूचित करता है : **प्रीगरत्** (prigorod) 'उपनगर' ; **प्रिस्त्रोइत्च्** (pristroit') 'और निर्माण करके बढ़ाना', **प्रियेख़त्च्** (priechat') 'आना, पहुंचना', **प्रिगतोवित्च्** (prigorvit') 'पकाना, तैयार करना'।

अर्थ की दृष्टि से संस्कृत में द्वितीया, पञ्चमी तथा सप्तमी के साथ प्रयुक्त होने वाला देश-कालवाची क्रियाविशेषण सं० **पुरस्** रूसी **'प्री'** का निकटतम उपसर्ग है।

२४. रूसी राज़्, रास् (rāz, rās)

'राज़्', जो अघोष व्यञ्जनों से पूर्व **'रास्'** में बदल जाता है, रूसी भाषा में केवल उपसर्ग के रूप में ही प्रयुक्त होता है। उदात्त अवस्था में इसके स्थान पर **रोज़्, रोस्** (roz, ros) हो जाता है। संज्ञाओं एवं विशेषणों से पूर्व यह **'प्रे'** उपसर्ग की भाँति प्रकृति अथवा गुण की उत्कृष्टता को व्यक्त करता है : **रज़ूम्निक** (razūmnik) 'अत्यधिक बुद्धिमान्', **रज़्वेस्योलिय्** (razvesjolyj) वि० 'अति प्रसन्न'। क्रियाओं से समस्त होकर **'राज़्'** (rāz) 'वियोजन' (जैसे **रज़रुबीत्च्** [razrubit']

'दो टुकड़े कर देना', **रज़र्वात्च्** [razorvat'] 'तोड़ देना'), विभिन्न अथवा विपरीत दिशाओं में होने वाली क्रिया (जैसे, **रज़्बेज़्झात्सा** [razbezhāt sā] 'इधर-उधर दौड़ जाना', **रस्प्लेस्ती** [rasplesti] 'बल खोलना') तथा क्रिया की सपरिणाम समाप्ति (जैसे कि, **रज़्बुदीत्च्** [razbudit'] 'जगा देना') आदि विभिन्न अभिप्रायों को प्रकट करता है।

भाषाविदों के अनुसार रूसी उपसर्ग **'राज़्'**, मूल स्लावोनिक ***ओर्ज़्** (*orz) से और स्लावोनिक ***ओर्ज़्** मूल भारोपीय *ordh, *ordh-z से विकसित हुआ है तथा संस्कृत **अर्ध** 'आधा, अंश', **ऋधक्** (अव्यय) 'पृथक्‌रूपेण'; अवेस्तन **अरॅद** (arəda) 'आधा'; लैटिन **ओर्दो** (ordo) 'क्रम'; **जर्मन ओर्त्** (ort) 'अंश' से सम्बद्ध है।[३५]

२५. रूसी व्, वो, व्न (v, vo, vn)

'अन्दर, अन्दर की ओर' अर्थ वाला रूसी उपसर्ग **'व्'** रूसी भाषा में उपसर्ग एवं पूर्वसर्ग दोनों रूपों में अत्यधिक प्रचलित है। यह मूल भारोपीय *on का प्रतिनिधित्व करता है और ग्रीक **अन** (ana) 'पर', अवेस्तन **अन** 'वही', गॉथिक **अन** (ana) 'पर', 'अन्दर', ऐंग्लो-सैक्सन **ऑन्** (on); लैटिन और जर्मन **अन्** (an) से सम्बद्ध माना जाता है। ब्रुगमान और मिक्लोशिच् के अनुसार मूल भारोपीय *on मूल स्लाव भाषा में **ॲन्** (un) और फ़िर **वॅन्** (vun) में बदल गया। बाद में अन्तिम व्यञ्जन का लोप हो जाने पर रूसी भाषा में इसके स्थान पर केवल **'व्'** ही शेष रह गया। किन्तु वोन्द्राक तथा फ़ास्मेर आदि कुछ विद्वान् रूसी **'व्'** को मूल ***अन्** (*n) से व्युत्पन्न मानकर इसे लिथुआनियन **ईं, इन्** (im,in) 'अन्दर', ग्रीक **एन्** (en); लैटिन **इन्** (in), गॉथिक और इँगलिश **इन्** (in) 'में', 'अन्दर' से सम्बद्ध करते हैं। उनके अनुसार मूल *n स्लाव भाषा में **'इॅन्'** में न बदलकर **'ॲन्'** में बदल गया।[३६] उपसर्ग **'व्'** प्रायः क्रियाविशेषणों तथा क्रियापदों से पूर्व लगता है: **व्दली** (vdali) क्रि० वि० 'दूर पर', **व्निज़ु** (vnizu)) क्रि० वि० 'नीचे'; **वइती** (vojti) 'अन्दर जाना'। पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में व् 'भीतर' अर्थ में सप्तमी के तथा 'अन्दर की ओर' अर्थ में द्वितीया के साथ आता है। संस्कृत में इसका सजातीय उपसर्ग नहीं है।

२६. संस्कृत वि

संस्कृत उपसर्ग **'वि'** सम्भवतः मूल **'द्वि'** (*dvi) 'दो भागों में' से विकसित हुआ है (तु० क० लैटिन **बी, बिस्** [bi, bis] > *duis) ऋग्वेद में यह द्वितीया के साथ 'से होकर' अथवा 'बीच में' अर्थ में पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में भी मिलता है, किन्तु सामान्यतः इसका प्रयोग क्रियाओं तथा उनसे व्युत्पन्न शब्दों के पूर्व उपसर्ग के रूप में ही होता है। रूसी उपसर्ग **'राज़्'** के समान संस्कृत **'वि'** भी विभाजन, वियोजन, वैपरीत्य और विशिष्टता का भाव व्यक्त करता है। कभी-कभी यह धातु के वास्तविक अर्थ को उल्टा कर देता है: **क्री** 'खरीदना', **विक्री** 'बेचना'; **स्मृ** 'याद करना', **विस्मृ** 'भूल जाना'। तद्धित शब्दों के योग में यह भिन्नता (जैसे, **विलक्षण**), परिवर्तन (जैसे, **विकार**), प्रकार (जैसे, **विविध**, **विचित्र**), वैपरीत्य (जैसे, **विलोम**), निषेध या अभाव (जैसे, **विधवा**) आदि अनेक अर्थों का द्योतक है। अर्थ की दृष्टि से सं० **'वि'** रूसी **राज़्** 'पृथक्', ग्रीक **डी** (di) < **डिस्** 'दुगना' (तु० क० disyllabic 'द्वयक्षर'), लैटिन **डिस्** (dis) 'पृथक्' के समान है।

२७. संस्कृत सम्; रूसी स्, सो (s, so)

क्रियाओं एवं कृदन्त शब्दों से पूर्व संस्कृत **सम्** 'के साथ' अर्थ को सूचित करता है: **संगम्** 'साथ जाना', **संयुज्** 'मिलना', **सम्भाषण** 'बातचीत'। कुछ धातुओं के साथ समस्त होकर यह 'पूर्णता',

'आधिक्य' अथवा 'तीव्रता' को भी व्यक्त करता है : **संतुष्** 'पूर्णत: प्रसन्न होना', **संतप्** 'बहुत तपना', **समुच्छेद** 'पूर्ण विनाश'।

लौकिक संस्कृत में पूर्वसर्ग के रूप में यह विरल है; इसके स्थान पर क्रिया-विशेषण 'सह' का तृतीया विभक्ति के साथ प्रयोग होता है। किन्तु वैदिक भाषा में पूर्वसर्ग **'सम्'** के कुछ उदाहरण मिलते हैं : **ते सुमतिभिः सम् पत्नीभिर्न वृषणो न सीमहि** 'हम तुम्हारे आशीर्वादों से उसी तरह मिलें, जैसे कि पुरुष पत्नियों से'।

सम् का रूसी सजातीय **'स्'** है जो पूर्वसर्ग एवं उपसर्ग दोनों रूपों में प्रचलित है। पूर्वसर्ग **स्** 'साथ' अर्थ में तृतीया के साथ, 'से' 'नीचे', 'से लेकर' अर्थ में षष्ठी के साथ, तथा 'के लगभग' अर्थ में द्वितीया के साथ आता है। संज्ञाओं से पूर्व उपसर्ग के रूप में यह अपने पूर्णरूप में विद्यमान है : **सत्रूद्निक** (sotrūdnik) पुं० 'सहकर्मी', **सचूस्त्वये** (socūvstvie) नपुं० 'समवेदना, सहानुभूति'।

स्वरूप तथा अर्थ दोनों दृष्टियों से संस्कृत **सम्** एवं रूसी **स्** **(सो)** अवेस्तन **'हम'** (hama); प्राचीन स्लावोनिक **सुन्, सु** (sun, su); लिथुआनियन **सन्, सँ** (san, saın); ग्रीक **सिन्** (syn); लैटिन **कोम्, कोन्** (com, con) 'सहित'; इँगलिश **को** (co) से सम्बद्ध हैं। ये सभी शब्द संभवत: मूल भारोपीय *kom से विकसित हुए हैं।

२८. संस्कृत सु; रूसी स् (s<*su)

संस्कृत में **'सु'** संज्ञा शब्दों, विशेषणों तथा क्रिया-विशेषणों से पूर्व जोड़ा जाने वाला निपात है, जो 'अच्छा', 'सुन्दर', 'ठीक प्रकार से', 'सुगमता से' आदि विभिन्न अर्थों में प्रयुक्त होता है, जैसे कि, **सुगन्ध** 'अच्छी गन्ध', **सुकेशी** 'सुन्दर बालों वाला', **सुलभ** 'आसानी से प्राप्त होने वाला'। अर्थ की दृष्टि से यह 'दुस्' का विलोम है।

आधुनिक रूसी भाषा में यद्यपि संस्कृत **'सु'** का सजातीय कोई स्वतन्त्र उपसर्ग अब नहीं है, तथापि कुछ शब्दों में इस प्राचीन उपसर्ग के अवशेष अवश्य देखे जा सकते हैं, जैसे कि, **ज्दरोविय्** (zdorov-yj) वि० 'स्वस्थ' = **सु+द्रोव** (su+drov) 'अच्छे काष्ठ के समान', 'सुदृढ़', 'स्वस्थ'; **स्म्येर्त्च्** (smert') स्त्री० 'मृत्यु'=**सु+मिर्ति** (su+mirti) 'सहज मृत्यु'; **स्वास्तिये** (seastie) नपुं० 'सौभाग्य'=**सु+ चास्त्च्** (su+cāst') 'अच्छा भाग्य'।

इस प्रकार संस्कृत तथा रूसी दोनों भाषाओं में उपसर्गों का व्यापक प्रयोग मिलता है। तथापि उपसर्गों के अर्थ की दृष्टि से संस्कृत की उपसर्ग-प्रणाली रूसी भाषा की तुलना में कहीं अधिक समृद्ध और विविध है। उपसर्गों और सोपसर्ग-शब्दों की संख्या में वृद्धि हो जाने के कारण न केवल इसका बाह्य स्वरूप विस्तृत हो गया है, अपितु उपसर्गों के अर्थ-विस्तार के फलस्वरूप उनका प्रयोग-क्षेत्र बढ़ जाने से आन्तरिक दृष्टि से भी इसका बहुमुखी विकास हुआ है। प्रारम्भ में उपसर्ग क्रियाओं और उनसे व्युत्पन्न शब्दों में अर्थ-वैशिष्ट्य लाने के लिए ही प्रयुक्त होते थे, किन्तु बाद में उनका प्रयोग तद्धित शब्दों के साथ भी होने लगा जिससे उनका शब्द-रचना-सम्बन्धी कार्य काफ़ी बढ़ गया। इसके विपरीत इन्हीं तत्त्वों के पूर्वसर्गात्मक प्रयोग तथा उपसर्गों के प्रयोजन (purpose) की दृष्टि से रूसी भाषा संस्कृत से कहीं आगे है। रूसी में उपसर्ग न केवल शब्द-निर्माण के साधन हैं, अपितु वे क्रिया की पूर्णता, अपूर्णता, दीर्घता, दिशा, काल और गति को भी व्यक्त करते हैं।

विभिन्न भारोपीय भाषाओं में उपलब्ध उपसर्गों के मूल अर्थों की तुलना से स्पष्ट होता है कि उपसर्ग मूलत: 'स्थान' से सम्बद्ध थे, 'काल' से नहीं। प्राय: सभी पूर्वसर्ग जो उपसर्गों के रूप में भी

प्रयुक्त होते हैं, स्थान-वाचक गतियों से व्युतपन्न हुए हैं, उदाहरणार्थ **उद्**, **प्र**, **उप**, **अनु**, **प्रति**, **आ** आदि संस्कृत उपसर्ग तथा **पद्** 'नीचे', **नाद्** 'ऊपर', **ज़ा** 'पीछे', **इज़्** 'में से', **वी** 'बाहर' आदि रूसी उपसर्ग मूलतः क्रिया के स्थान, गति और दिशा का ही बोध कराते हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त दोनों ही भाषाओं में उपसर्ग गति की विविधता, व्यापकता और तीव्रता को भी व्यक्त करते हैं।

टिप्पणियाँ

१. मेये, व्वेदेनिये व् स्रव्नीत्येल्नोये इज़ुचेनिये इन्दोयेव्रोपेइस्किख़ यज़िकोव, मस्क्वा लेनिनग्राद, १९३८, पृ० २०९.

२. प्रस्तुत लेख में 'प्रीपोज़ीशन' के लिए 'पूर्वसर्ग' शब्द का प्रयोग पारिभाषिक अर्थ में किया गया है, वाक्य में उसके स्थान की दृष्टि से नहीं।

३. वर्ख़ुदारोव, उच्योनिये ज़पीस्की इंस्तीतूता वस्तोकोवेदेनिया, १३ वाँ भाग, मास्को, १९५८, पृ० ६४.

४. बरो, दि संस्कृत लैंगुएज, पृ० २८३.

५. मैकडॉनल, वैदिक ग्रैमर, स्ट्रास्स्बर्ग, १९१०, पृ० ४१५.

६. वर्ख़ुदारोव, उच्योनिये ज़पीस्की इंस्तीतूता वस्तोकोवेदेनिया, १३वाँ भाग, पृ० ७१.

७. फ़ास्मेर, एतिमोलोगीचेस्किय् स्लवार्य् रुस्स्कोवो यज़िका, तीसरा भाग, पृ० १६८.

८. अनुदात्त स्थिति में रूसी 'ओत्' का उच्चारण 'अत्' होता है।

९. प्रेअब्राज़्ज़ेन्स्की, एटिमोलोजिकल डिक्शनरी ऑफ़ रशियन लैंगुएज, प्रथम भाग, पृ० ६७०-६७१.

१०. पतेब्न्या, इज़ ज़पीसक पो रुस्स्कोय् ग्रामातिके, चौथा भाग, पृ० २५६.

११. अनुदात्त स्थिति में 'पो' का उच्चारण 'प' होता है।

१२. फ़ास्मेर, एतिमोलोगीचेस्किय् स्लवार्य् रुस्स्कोवो यज़िका, तीसरा भाग, पृ० २९३.

१३. मोनियर विलियम्स संस्कृत-इँगलिश डिक्शनरी, पृ० ५५.

१४. अनुदात्त स्थिति में 'ओ' का उच्चारण 'अ' होता है।

१५. फ़ास्मेर, एतिमोलोगीचेस्किय् स्लवार्य् रुस्स्कोवो यज़िका, तीसरा भाग, पृ० ९६.

१६. मैकडॉनल, वैदिक ग्रैमर (स्ट्रास्स्बर्ग १९१०), पृ० ४१९ (६२०)।

१७. प्रेअब्राज़्ज़ेन्स्की, एटिमोलॉजिकल डिक्शनरी ऑफ़ रशियन लैंगुएज, तीसरा भाग, पृ० ३६.

१८. मैकडॉनल, वैदिक ग्रैमर (स्ट्रास्स्बर्ग १९१०), पृ० ४१९.

१९. फ़ास्मेर, एतिमोलोगीचेस्किय् स्लवार्य् रुस्स्कोवो यज़िका, पहला भाग, पृ० ३६६.

२०. मैकडॉनल, वैदिक ग्रैमर (स्ट्रास्स्बर्ग १९१०), पृ० ४२०.

२१. प्रेअब्राज़्ज़ेन्स्की, एटिमोलॉजिकल डिक्शनरी ऑफ़ रशियन लैंगुएज, पहला भाग, पृ० ९०.

२२. अघोष व्यञ्जनों से पूर्व 'ज़' के स्थान पर 'स्' हो जाता है।

२३. पोतिखा, काक रद्येलानि स्लवा व् रुस्स्कम् यज़िके, लेनिनग्राद, १९७४, पृ० १०३.

२४. फ़ास्मेर, एतिमोलोगीचेस्किय् स्लवार्य् रुस्स्कोवो यज़िका, पहला भाग, पृ० ३३३.

२५. वही, पृ० ५२१-५२२.

२६. प्रेअब्राज्झेन्स्की, एटिमोलॉजिकल डिक्शनरी ऑफ़ रशियन लैंगुएज, पहला भाग, पृ० ५८७.

२७. वही, पृ० ६०६.

२८. मोनियर विलियम्स, संस्कृत-इँगलिश डिक्शनरी, पृ० ५८६.

२९. अनुदात्त स्थिति में 'प्येरे' का उच्चारण 'पिरि' होता है।

३०. फ़ास्मेर, एतिमोलोगीचेस्किय् स्लवार्य् रुस्स्कोवो यज़िका, तीसरा भाग, पृ० २३६.

३१. वही, पृ० २९६.

३२. मोनियर विलियम्स, संस्कृत-इंगलिश डिक्शनरी, पृ० ६५२.

३३. प्रेअब्राज्झेन्स्की, एटिमोलॉजिकल डिक्शनरी ऑफ़ रशियन लैंगुएज, दूसरा भाग, पृ० १२०, १२८.

३४. वही, पृ० १३५-१३६.

३५. वही, पृ० १७४-१७५; तथा फ़ास्मेर, एतिमोलोगीचेस्किय् स्लवार्य् रुस्स्कोवो यज़िका, तीसरा भाग, पृ० ४९४.

३६. प्रेअब्राज़्झेन्स्की, एटिमोलॉजिकल डिक्शनरी ऑफ़ रशियन लैंगुएज, पहला भाग, पृ० १०१; तथा फ़ास्मेर, एतिमोलोगीचेस्किय् स्लवार्य् रुस्स्कोवो यज़िका, पहला भाग पृ० २६२.

THE STRUCTURE OF A ŚĀBDABODHA

V. N. JHA

Śābdabodha is a cognition caused by an expression. The content of such a cognition as presented and analysed by the ancient Indian philosophers of Sanskrit language namely, the Mīmāṃsakas, the Vaiyākaraṇas, and the Naiyāyikas, shows a definite structure. All these three schools of Indian thought agree that the content of a *śābdabodha* has a structure of the qualifier-qualificand type (*viśeṣaṇaviśeṣya-bhāvāpanna*). The meanings of the signs of an expression are arranged and related to one another in such a way that they assume this structure. The following example will make the point clear. Let us take the *śābdabodha* of the sentence '*devadattaḥ taṇḍulaṃ pacati*' (Devadatta cooks rice) as presented by the three schools one by one :

1. *devadattābhinnaikāśrayā taṇḍulakarmikā pākānukūlā bhāvanā*

This is what the Mīmāṃsakas will present. It means : 'the *bhāvanā* (i.e. the volitional effort) which is in the single agent namely, Devadatta, and which has rice as its object and which produces the softening of the rice'.

Here, the *bhāvanā* is presented as the main qualificand and the rest are the qualifiers of this b*hāvanā*.

The Vaiyākaraṇas will put it in the following way :

2. *devadattā*bhinnai*kakartṛkaḥ taṇḍulakarmakaḥ pākaḥ* (i.e. the *pāka* or the action of cooking which exists in the single agent Devadatta and which has rice as its object).

Here, *pāka* is presented as the main qualificand and the rest are the qualifiers of this *pāka*. The Naiyāyikas, on the other hand, will present the same in the following manner.

3. *taṇḍula-niṣṭha-viklittijana*kapā*kānukūla-kṛtimān devadattaḥ* (i.e. Devadatta possesses the volitional effort which produces the peculiar contact of fire which, in turn, produces softening of rice that exists in rice).

Here, the Naiyāyikas have presented Devadatta as the main qualificand which is qualified by *kṛti* (volitional effort) which, again, is qualified by *pāka* (the peculiar contact of fire with the rice) which, in turn, is qualified by *viklitti* (softening of rice) which is qualified by *taṇḍula* (rice). Another fact to be observed here is that Devadatta is the main qualificand with reference to *kṛti*. With reference to *pāka*, however, *kṛti* is also the qualificand. Similarly, with reference to *viklitti*, *pāka* is a qualificand and with reference to *taṇḍula*, *viklitti* is the qualificand. *Taṇḍula*, however, remains a qualifier only, whereas *Devadatta* remains only the qualificand.

One can observe that the text of the *śābdabodha* also reflects the relation by which a qualifier is related to a qualificand. Thus, taṇḍula is related to *viklitti* by the relation of *ādheyatā* (indicated in the text of the śābdabodha 3 as *niṣṭha* 'existent'), *viklitti* is related to *pāka* by the relation of *janakatā* (indicated there as *anukūla* 'cause'), and k*ṛti* is connected with Devadatta by the relation of *āśrayatā* (indicated there by the possessive suffix *mat*). (See *śābdabodha* 3)

Incidentally, another point is worth-noticing: that in a *śābdabodha* of a single sentence there can be only one main qualificand (*mukhyaviśeṣya*). In fact, the unity or extent of a sentence (*ekavākyatā*) is determined by these schools on the basis of this very criterion.

Whereas with regard to the structure of a *śābdabodha*, all the three schools have an identical view, they differ, however, in selecting the main qualificand; we can observe that in the verbal cognitions 1 to 3, given above, the main qualificands are respectively b*hāvanā*, *pāka* and *Devadatta*.

The Mimāṃsakas hold that in any *śābdabodha* of any sentence, the meaning of the personal suffix, namely, b*hāvana* or volitional effort should be the main qualificand. (See the *śābdabodha* 1). The Vaiyākaraṇas hold that the root-sense should occupy the place of the main qualificand. (See the *śābdabodha* 2). But the Naiyāyikas say that there cannot be any hard and fast rule in this matter; we should entirely depend on the usage, experience and the intention of the speaker (*tātparya*). At the same time they add that if it is not contradicted by the actual experience, we should accept the meaning of the nominative form in the sentence as the main qualificand. As a general rule they accept it. (See *śābdabodha* 3).

The Mīmāṃsakas and the Vaiyākaraṇas are of the opinion that there cannot be a sentence in Sanskrit without a verbal form. Thus, a verbal form is given a prominent position in a sentence. Even in the verbal form the personal suffix is given more importance by the Mīmāṃsakas. This is done because of a statement in the Yāska's Nirukta. The statement runs as follows :

Bhāvapradhānam ākhyātam (i.e. *ākhyāta* is that the *bhāva* of which is prominent). Upto this point the Mīmāṃsakas and the Vaiyākaraṇas have moved hand in hand. But they differ with regard to the meaning of the words *ākhyāta* and *bhāva* in the Nirukta passage. While the Vaiyākaraṇas take these two words to mean respectively a 'verbal root' and 'root-sense', the Mīmāṃsakas say that there is no proof on the part of the Vaiyākaraṇas to take *ākhyāta* to mean a verbal root, and it is not true all through that the word *bhāva* means a 'root-sense'. Thus, although the term *bhāva* in P. 3.3.18 (bhāve ghañ) can mean a 'root-sense', it cannot mean 'root-sense' in P. 5.1.119 (*tasya bhāvaḥ tva-talau*). Therefore, the Mīmāṃsakas say that the word *ākhyāta* should be taken in the sense of a 'personal suffix' and the word *bhāva* in the sense of *bhāvanā* (volitional effort). This is one of the reasons why the Mīmāṃsakas plead for *bhāvanā* as the main qualificand and why the Vaiyākaraṇas argue for the 'root-sense' to be the main qualificand in the verbal cognition.

Another reason for the Mīmāṃsakas to select *bhāvanā* as the chief qualificand all through is the maxim that a stem and the suffix attached to the stem *together convey* something; out of these two, the meaning of the suffix gets the prominent position (*prakṛti-pratyayau sahārthaṃ brūtaḥ tayos tu pratyayaḥ prādhānyena*).

The Naiyāyikas' thesis, on the other hand, is not based on anybody's ruling. It is their own experience and analysis which prompt the Naiyāyikas' thesis that if there is no contradictory knowledge, the meaning of the nominative form appears as the main qualificand in the verbal cognition. Moreover, the Naiyāyikas think that in Sanskrit to constitute a sentence the presence of a verbal form is not an absolute necessity. For instance, the sentence *trayaḥ kālāḥ* (there are three time-slabs) is an acceptable sentence in Sanskrit, say the Naiyāyikas. In the *śābdabodha* of this expression the meaning of *kālāḥ* will appear as the main qualificand, e.g.

4. *tritvasaṅkhyāviśiṣṭābhinna-kālāḥ*

(The slabs of time are three in number).

Thus, even though there are two nominative forms in this expression still the meaning of *kālāḥ* alone appears as the main qualificand and not that of *trayaḥ*.

Likewise, the *śābdabodha* of the sentence *bhūtale na ghaṭaḥ* can also be :

5. *bhūtalavṛttiḥ ghaṭābhāvaḥ*

(The absence of pot existent on the ground).

Here, although there is a nominative form *ghaṭaḥ* in the sentence, the place of main qualificand is given to the meaning of the negative particle, namely, 'the absence' in the verbal cognition as per the intention of the speaker and 'pot' is made subordinate to it. If, however, the speaker intends the *ghaṭa* as the main qualificand, the Naiyāyikas will present the *śābdabodha* as follows :

6. *bhūtalanirūpita-vṛttitvābhāvavān ghaṭaḥ*

(i.e. the pot which does not possess the existence conditioned by the ground, strictly speaking, conditioned by the *ādhāratā* existing in the ground).

Similarly, the *śābdabodha* of the sentence *caitreṇa supyate* (Caitra sleeps) will be as follows :

7. *caitrakartṛkaḥ svāpaḥ*

(Sleep by Caitra).

Here, the 'root-sense' is also presented as the main qualificand, in the verbal cognition by the Naiyāyikas.

Similarly, the meaning of a personal suffix is also accepted as the main qualificand in the verbal cognition if it is necessary. For example, the *śābdabodha* of the sentence *pacati bhavati* (cooking takes place) is given as—

8. *pākānukūlakṛtiḥ bhavanāśrayaḥ*

(i.e. the volitional effort causing the cooking is the abode of becoming or coming into existence).

When the *kṛti* qualified by *pāka* can be the abode of becoming or the coming into existence, it goes without saying that *pāk*a can also be the abode (i.e. the agent) of the coming into existence. Thus, the Naiyāyikas' explanation is quite in consonance with the statement of Patañjali also which runs as follows :

pacādayaḥ kriyāḥ bhavatikriyāyāḥ kartryo bhavanti (i.e. the actions of the roots *pac* etc. become the agents of the action expressed by the root *bhū* (in the case of *pacati bhavati*). See Mahābhāṣya on P. 1.3.1 (Kielhorn Edn. 1962, Vol. I, p. 256).

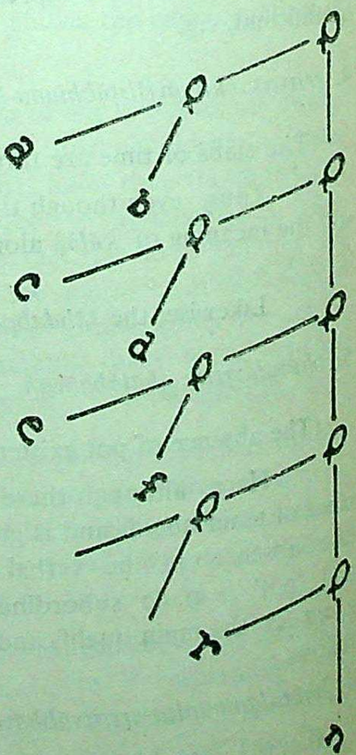
Thus, we conclude that :

(a) The structure of a *śābdabodha* is of the qualifier-qualificand type which can be rendered in the following simple notation :

Q (xy) for 'x qualified by y' where x stands for a qualificand and y for a qualifier.

We can also use the diagram, given aside, to show the structure of a *śābdabodha* :

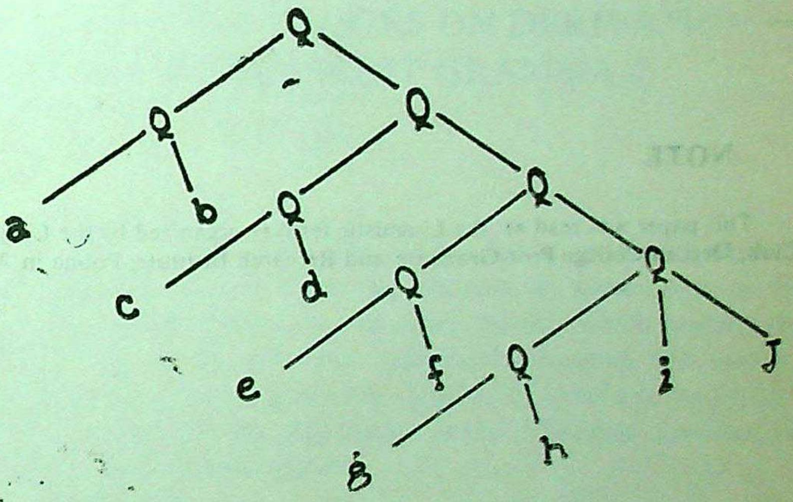
Where a, b, c, d, e, f, ...r, n are the elements of a *śābdabodha*.



Now if we expand the *śābdabodha* 3 in its full form as—

9. *taṇḍulatva-viśiṣṭa-taṇḍula-niṣṭha-viklittitva-viśiṣṭa-viklitti-janaka-pākatva-viśiṣṭa-pākānukūla-kṛtitva-viśiṣṭa-kṛti-mān devadattatva-viśiṣṭa-devadattaḥ.*

this can be shown diagrammatically as follows :



where, a=*devadatta* 'Devadatta'
b=*devadattatva* 'devadatta-ness'
c=*kṛti* 'volitional effort'
d=*kṛtitva* 'volitional-effort-ness'
e=*pāka* 'peculiar-contact of fire'
f=*pākatva* 'peculiar-(contact of fire)-ness'
g=*viklitti* 'softening'
h=*viklittitva* 'softening-ness'
i=*taṇḍula* 'rice'
and j=*taṇḍulatva* 'rice-ness'

This structure of a *śābdabodha* is acceptable to all the three schools of the Mīmāṃsakas, the Vaiyākaraṇas and the Naiyāyikas.

(b) These three schools, however, are not of the same opinion with regard to the selection of the main qualificand in the verbal cognition. While the Mīmāṃsakas and the Vaiyākaraṇas present the meaning of the personal suffix and the root-sense as the main qualificand respectively, the Naiyāyikas are against fixing any rigid norm in this matter. The Naiyāyikas' approach, thus, seems to be quite flexible.

NOTE

This paper was read at the Linguistic festival organized by the Linguistic Society of India Club, Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona in April 1979.

ON THE EARLIEST HANDBOOKS ON DERIVATION (PRAKRIYĀ) IN SANSKRIT GRAMMAR

S. D. LADDU

1. 1. To the question as to what the earliest Indian works in Sanskrit Grammar were, which concentrated on single departments of speech such as the Declension, Conjugation, Compounding etc., in other words, which marked the beginnings in specialised writing on different individual aspects of the Sanskrit Morphology or Phonology, the answer generally supplied by scholars, and which is a widely current view, is that it is the *Rūpāvatāra* in the Pāṇinian system, and the *Kātantra* among the non-Pāṇinian systems.

1.2. A few statements to this effect, representing their views on the question, may be recollected here.

Belvalkar (p. 44), before the publication of the *Rūpāvatāra*, says: "The earliest and on that ground the simplest of these recasts of the Ashṭādhyāyī that has come down to us is Rūpamālā of Vimalasarasvatī..."

A. P. Mishra (p. 11) notes:

"पाणिनीयव्याकरणेऽस्याः प्रक्रियाप्रणाल्याः सर्वप्रथमो ग्रन्थो बुद्धधर्मावलम्बिना धर्मकीर्तिना विरचितो 'रूपावतारः' इति ।"

S. K. Verma (pp. 304, 309, 311) refers to the *Rūpāvatāra* as the first *Prakriyā* book in the Pāṇinian system, through such words as 'आरम्भिक चरण', 'सबसे पहला', and 'सर्वप्रथम'.

Cardona's recent remark (p. 285) is this: "The earliest extant fully reordered commentary on the Aṣṭādhyāyī is the Rūpāvatāra by the Ceylonese Buddhist Dharmakīrti."

Noting that, outside the Pāṇinian circle, the *Prakriyā* mode started much earlier with the *Kātantra* (1st c.A.D.), and ran through the *Haima* and the *Mugdhabodha* schools of grammar, before it was adopted by the followers of Pāṇini, Suryakant Bali (p. 25) observes that "no earlier work of this type has come to the notice of the historians so far", and concludes : "Thus we find that Śarvavarman gives, perhaps for the first time, a method which was unknown before him; or if it was known at all, we do not now possess any record thereof."

K. P. Trivedi, Keith, H. P. Shastri, K. V. Abhyankar, Y. Mimamsaka, and M. D. Sharma do not have anything different to say in this matter in their works.

2. S. K. Verma (p. 304) has the suggestion that the Enumeration Tradition or 'Pārāyaṇa-paramparā', reflected in the expressions like *Nāmapārāyaṇa*[1] and *Śabdapārāyaṇa* or *Pratipadapāṭha*[2], gradually developed into the writing of *Prakriyā* texts :

"बाद में चलकर यही परम्परा 'रूपावतार' जैसे रूपसिद्धि करने वाले प्रक्रियाग्रन्थों का आधार बनी । **रूपों का प्रचलन** ही बाद में **रूपसिद्धि** की भावना जगाने का कारण बना ।"

This, however, appears unreasonable, as mere enumeration, which is only a kind of mnemotechnique, can have no connections with the word-formation or the derivational procedures.

3. S. D. Joshi (p. 55), while explaining the *Yathoddeśa* and *Kāryakāla* viewpoints as stated by Patañjali[3] and as amplified by Nāgeśa[4], points out that the former goes to the extent of admitting, in the *K. Pakṣa*, a change in the established order of Pāṇini's Sūtras and remarks : "Thus, for the study of Pāṇini's system, Patañjali mentions these two models which represent the two approaches-the study of Pāṇinian System according to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* arrangement, and the study of the system by changing the order of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, since it is conducive to application."

However, it would be too much to see in these two Modes, seeds of any well-built-up studies relating to individual derivational categories (*Prakaraṇas*). At best, the discussion in the *Mahābhāṣya* can be said to have been responsible for *inspiring* intelligent students of Pāṇini to work along the *Prakaraṇa* lines, but cannot provide us with any positive inkling into the concrete outcomes of their attempts.

4. Little attention has been drawn to the suggestion given by the historian V. S. Agrawala, in his famous work on Pāṇini. On Pāṇini's rule, *tasya vyākhyāna iti ca vyākhyātavyanāmnaḥ* (4.3.66), which enjoins addition of the suffix *aṇ* after the name of what requires to be explained and in the sense of "its commentary" (as well as in the sense of "occurring therein"[5]), the *Kāśikā* has supplied three examples : *Saupa* (from *sup*), *Taiṅa* (from *tiṅ*), and *Kārta* (from *kṛt*), which can be understood to be commentarial works respectively on Declension, Conjugation, and Primary Nominal Stem Formation. At least the first two of these three assume a readjustment in the rules of Pāṇini. Agrawala (p. 347), therefore, remarks : "Perhaps these names carry back the tradition of the arrangement of the grammatical words as found in the *Prakriyākaumudi* and *Siddhāntakaumudi* to a period anterior to the *Kāśikā*."

This is a very good suggestion based on proper reasoning, which has unfortunately escaped the notice of the scholars. It can on this ground be certainly assumed that the authors of the *Kāśikā* were well aware of Treatises which were Commentaries on independent Sections (*Prakaraṇas*) of Grammar such as the *Subantas, Tiṅantas*, and *Kṛdantas*. And has not the *Kātantra,* five or six centuries earlier, exhibited its sectioning of the grammar in these, besides in the *Sandhi ?*

5. But, curiously enough, of works along these lines and flowered into a commentarial activity, we find a reference the early character of which is startling. It is given by Pāṇini himself in his Sūtra, bearing the *anuvṛtti* of the same expressions (viz. *tatra bhavaḥ* 4.3.53, and *tasya vyākhyāna iti ca vyākhyātavyanāmnaḥ* 4.3.66) and enjoining the addition in these senses of the suffix *ṭhak*[6]. Among the words or word-types listed in this rule, *dvyajṛdbrāhmaṇarkprathamādhvarapuraścaraṇanāmākhyātāṭṭhak* (4.3.72), are found *nāman* and *ākhyāta*, which derive respectively the words *nāmika* and *ākhyātika* in the sense of Commentaries on works relating to Declension and Conjugation. Agrawala's remark (p. 347) on Pāṇini's noticing this as "two principal divisions comprising between them the full course on grammar" is rather hasty. Already Kātyāyana has detected that the word '*nāman*' can be taken care of by Pāṇini's reference in the same rule to *dvyac* 'disyllabic word', and that, therefore, Pāṇini's wording should be having reference to the collective expression ('*saṅghāta*') viz. '*nāmākhyāta*', in addition, as he suggests, to the trisyllabic word '*ākhyāta*' which is obtained on its division ('*vigṛhita*') : and so he gives the *Vārttika* (4.3.72.1), *nāmākhyātagrahaṇaṁ saṅghātavigṛhītārtham.* Haradatta in his *Padamañjarī* is the first to explain this intention behind Kātyāyana's Vārttika; he says : '*ākhyātārthaṁ vigṛhītagrahaṇam, nāmaśabdāt tu dvyactvād eva siddham.* Patañjali[7] has already illustrated the Vārttika by means of the three words, *nāmikaḥ, ākhyātikaḥ* and *nāmākhyātikaḥ*, conforming to Kātyāyana's suggestion.

Whatever the logic or convenience behind a linguistic description such as this (especially in the third kind referred to by Kātyāyana), this much has to be concluded that in Kātyāyana's observation there did then exist treatises, rather Commentaries, written on Declension and Conjugation together (*Nāmākhyātika*), on Conjugation alone (*Ākhyātika*), and probably also on Declension alone (*Nāmika*) as mentioned by Patañjali.

5.1. But before finally accepting the fact of composition of such treatises prior to Pāṇini, a further look into the matter from the point of usage may be necessary. *Nāman* was quite a commonly used term before Pāṇini; but what of *ākhyāta ?*

The word is derived by Kātyāyana with its specific mention[8], and by Pāṇini too from √*khyā* substituting √*cakṣ*[9]. To Kātyāyana the word was common as he is known to use it at 1.2.37.2 and in the well-known definition for a *vākya*[10]. But Pāṇini elsewhere uses only *ākhyātṛ* which is another derivative from the same root. Otherwise, we have a *Gaṇasūtra*, *ākhyātam ākhyātena kriyāsātatye*, on the Sūtra, *mayūravyaṁsakādayaś ca* (2.1.72); but we cannot be certain in vesting Pāṇini with its authorship.

In other early literature, we find it used in the *Ṛkprāt.* (12.5,8) which is pre-Pāṇinian[11]; the *Bṛhaddevatā* (1.39, 2.94, 2.121, 8.85) which is also such[12], the *Gopatha Br.*[13] (1.1.24,27), the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* (2.10.28), the *Jaimini-Sūtra* (2.1.4), the *Atharvaveda Prāt.* (or *Śaunakīyā Caturadhyāyikā* 1.1, 4.1), and above all, in the *Nirukta* of Yāska if it is not doubted to be post-Pāṇinian[14].

Lines from the last one of these texts, in particular, may be quoted for their importance.

(*a*) Sense being the "Verb" :

1.1 चत्वारि पदजातानि नामाख्याते चोपसर्गनिपाताश्च ।
1.1 भावप्रधानमाख्यातम्, सत्त्वप्रधानानि नामानि ।
6.28 उदात्तं त्वेवमाख्यातमभविष्यत् ।
7.1 तत्र परोक्षकृताः......प्रथमपुरुषैराख्यातस्य ।

(*b*) Sense being the "Root" :

1.12 तत्र नामान्याख्यातजानीति शाकटायनो नैरुक्तसमयश्च ।
7.14 अग्निः......त्रिभ्य आख्यातेभ्यो जायत इति शाकपूणिः ।

Lastly, reference may be made to the supposed occurrence of the term in the pre-Pāṇinian Aindra School of Grammar, which, however, has to be neglected, as Burnell (p. 19) himself, who notes it, is not sure of that.

5.2. The mass of attestation of the term *ākhyāta* noted above is impressive enough to assure us of the currency of the term in its technical (grammatical) sense, and thereby to prove composition,

1. before Pāṇini, of a Commentary on a Work explaining both Declensional and Conjugational forms (and perhaps of no. 2 also); and
2. before Kātyāyana, of a Commentary on a Work explaining only Conjugational forms, and (on Patañjali's evidence) of a Commentary on a Work explaining only Declensional forms.

5.3. It is not, however, clear from the Rule of Pāṇini, nor from the Comments of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, whether (*i*) the term *nāmika* denoted the '*Saupa*' i.e. an explanation on the Declension or Nominal Inflexion (*Subantas*), or (*ii*) it denoted the '*Kārta*' or the '*Taddhita*' i.e. an explanation either on the Primary Nominal Stem Formation (*Kṛdantas*) or on the Secondary Nominal Stem Formation (*Taddhitas*). Since the term *ākhyātika* could only be an explanation on the Conjugation or Verbal Inflexion (*Tiṅantas*), by the force of the principle of *Sāhacarya*[15], *Nāmika* would rather stand for a Commentary on the Nominal Inflexion or Declension. That also suggests that to Pāṇini the terms *ākhyāta* and *nāman* denoted a verbal stem (*dhātu*) and a nominal stem (*prātipadika*) respectively.

6. There is one more suggestion from Agrawala (p. 347) that in the word '*sāmastika*' Patañjali[16] has referred to a grammatical work dealing with Compounds. Kaiyaṭa has referred to *sāmasta*, which is at its base, to be a kind of science[17]. But '*sāmasta*' is nowhere attested; and '*samasta*' (which can be another base for *sāmastika*) is not found used by Pāṇini, Kātyāyana or Patañjali, it is used only at *Ṛk Prāt.* (18.22) and *Atharva Prāt.* (3.4.3=3.78). Not being on a sure ground of attestation here, we cannot thus see a definite possibility of such a *prakaraṇagrantha* being composed before Patañjali.

7. Definite proof being thus found for the composition of three such *prakaraṇa-granthas* before the time of Pāṇini, the erstwhile notions on the background for the rise of such treatises get heavily shaken, and, at least, need some modification.

7.1. Among the situations that were found responsible in bringing about a number of *Prakaraṇa* or *Prakriyā* Works long after the composition of the *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, the following have been suggested and are also commonly accepted :

1. Cessation of Sanskrit as a spoken language, and rise of new mother tongues[18].
2. Difficult nature of study in the *Aṣṭ.* or the *Kāśikā* order[19].
3. Differences from the *Mahābhāṣya* expressed at places in the *Kāśikā*[20],
4. Illustrations, in the *Kāśikā*, of antiquated usages[21].
5. Reshaping of the methods in linguistic research at the hands of what may be called the 'Indian Junggrammatiker'[22].
6. Meeting the threat posed[23] by the *Kātantra* System of Grammar[24].

7.2. Now, behind the long movement in re-arrangement of the Grammar of Pāṇini, the working of none of the above factors can be disputed as they were the facts of the situation throughout. What needs to be realised newly, in the light of our knowledge of the pre-Pāṇinian history of *Prakriyā*-works, is that there occurred such a development far earlier than is commonly believed, and *even in the absence of the factors* that later brought about such works. What then could be the other factors that were responsible for and behind the composition of such works before that of the difficult work of Pāṇini and *even while* Sanskrit was still in common parlance ?

Our answer to this question, without any historical information but without the possible play of any of the above motivating factors, has to be probably only this :

Comparable to the irrepressible zest for deep researches in the Phonetics of the Sanskrit language on the part of Indians in that golden age of history, there was side by side also an urge to build up linguistic studies coherently applied to different types of formations taken individually such as Declension and Conjugation. This can be called an activity of word-building in the grammatical writings. If this surmise happens to be corroborated on further evidence coming to light, that will be proof of the skill in Classification and Synthesising on the part of the ancient Indian Linguisticians, beside their skill in Analysing of which abundant evidence has already been supplied to the world.

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NOTES

1. Which, together with *Dhātupārāyaṇa*, is referred to in the *Maṅgala-śloka* 1 of the *Kāśikā-Vṛtti*.
2. Referred to in the *Mahābhāṣya*, I. 5.23, 25f. (Kielhorn's ed.).
3. *Mahābhāṣya*, I. 66. 26-27. 1, 68. 20-23.
4. *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* on *Pari*. 2 and 3 (B.O.R.I. ed., 1962), pp. 2,5-6.
5. By *anuvṛtti* of *tatra bhavaḥ* 4.3.53.
6. i.e. *ika* by *ṭhasyekaḥ* 7.3.50.
7. *Mahābhāṣya*, II. 312. 23f.
8. *niṣṭhā-natvam ākhyāte* 2.4.54.5, which assumes suggestions at 2.4.54.1-3.
9. *cakṣiṅaḥ khyāñ* 2.4.54.
10. *ākhyātaṁ sāvyayakārakaviśeṣaṇaṁ vākyam* 2.1.1.9.
11. For the relative chronology of the Prātiśākhyas, vide S. Varma, p. 21.
12. Vide A.A. Macdonell, p. xxiif.
13. Anterior to the *Nirukta*, according to Keith (1909), p. 25f., fn. 4 and P.D. Gune, pp. 43-53.
14. For references to such suggestions, vide S.D. Laddu (1967), p. 58.
15. On this, vide S.D. Laddu (1973).
16. *Mahābhāṣya* II. 295. 13, deriving it from '*sāmasta*' with *ṭhañ*.
17. सामस्तं नाम शास्त्रम् ।
18. Cp. K.V. Abhyankar (p. 396), S.K. Bali (p. 35), and Keith (p. 430 : "But Pāṇini could not teach Sanskrit, for which end his grammar was not written. For such purpose re-writing and re-arrangement were essential...").
19. Cp. (*i*) H.P. Shastri (p. xcv) : "What with Brahmanic and what with Buddhistic commentaries, the study of Pāṇini became very cumbersome, and so it was thought desirable to recast the Aṣṭādhyāyī and give it a practical shape...".
    (*ii*) A.P. Mishra ("भूमिका", p. 'ज') :

"सत्यामपि काशिकावृत्तौ उदाहरणप्रत्युदाहरणमुखेन सूत्राणामर्थस्य सम्यगवबोधेऽपि बहुसूत्रनिष्पाद्ये एकस्मिन् प्रयोगेऽपेक्षितानामनेकाध्यायस्थसूत्रवृत्तोनामन्वेषणम् आलस्य-पिशाचग्रस्तानामद्यतनानां जनानां दुष्करम् इति मत्वा पाणिनीयव्याकरणस्य प्रक्रियाक्रम आरब्धः..." (Also, Ch. I "ऐतिहासिकी पृष्ठभूमिः", under 'प्रक्रिया-क्रमस्याविर्भावः', p. 11).

See also : S.R. Ray and K.R. Ray (Introduction, pp. 10-13), K.V. Abhyankar (p. 110), S.V. Iyer (Introduction, p. 2), and M.D. Sharma (p. 44f).

20. Cp. K.V. Abhyankar (p. 110).
21. Ibid.
22. Cp. S.K. Bali (p.34), being the first to bring this to fore : "But with the dawn of the thirteenth century A.D. the Sanskrit world, with a commendably keen desire to bring in new methods, changed the time-honoured *Sūtras* into *navya* methods".
23. Cp. S.K. Bali (p. 34), again being the first to provide this historical perspective: "Gradually, the *Kātantra*-school grew more and more popular, so much so that it would pose a great danger to the very existence of Pāṇini's school. The followers of Pāṇini rose to the occasion and by adopting the *Prakriyā*-method of the *Kātantras* for the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* itself, they successfully re-established the supremacy of Pāṇini over others".
24. This can be found reflected in the ancient Bhāṇa, *Padmaprābhṛtakam* (ed. by Motichandra and Agrawala, with other Bhāṇas under the title, '*Sṛṅgārahāṭa* or *Caturbhāṇī*, Bombay, 1959, p. 17; and, independently as a cri. ed. by J.R.A. Loman, Amsterdam, 1956, p. 29), through the mouth of a Pāṇinian grammarian, as "एषोऽस्मि बलिभुग्भिरिव संघातबलिभिः कातन्त्रिकैरवस्कन्दितः ।......का चेदानीं मम वैयाकरणपारशवेषु कातन्त्रिकेष्वास्था ।"

विशेषार्थक से सामान्यार्थक

केशवराम पाल

किसी विशेष वस्तु, क्रिया, भाव आदि को लक्षित करने वाले शब्द बहुधा कालान्तर में उस प्रकार की किसी सामान्य वस्तु क्रिया, भाव आदि को लक्षित करने लगते हैं। इस प्रकार वे विशेषार्थक से सामान्यार्थक बन जाते हैं। यहाँ ऐसे शब्दों के अर्थ-परिवर्तनों का विवेचन किया गया है जो विशेषार्थक से सामान्यार्थक हुए हैं। इनको तीन परिच्छेदों में रक्खा गया है :—

(क) सर्वाधिकतासूचक से सामान्यार्थक
(ख) गोयुक्त शब्दों में अर्थ का सामान्यीभाव
(ग) अन्य विविध सामान्यार्थक शब्द

(क) सर्वाधिकतासूचक से सामान्यार्थक

मूलतः सर्वाधिक का भाव रखने वाले, अर्थात् बहुतों में से एक का अतिशय प्रकट करने वाले, विशेषण शब्द बहुधा कालान्तर में सामान्य विशेषण के रूप में प्रयुक्त होने लगते हैं। संस्कृत में भी कुछ शब्द ऐसे हैं जो मूलतः सर्वाधिक का भाव रखते थे, किन्तु कालान्तर में जिनमें से सर्वाधिकता का भाव लुप्त हो गया और जो सामान्य विशेषण के रूप में प्रयुक्त होने लगे।

ज्येष्ठ

मैकडॉनेल[1] के अनुसार 'ज्येष्ठ' वि० शब्द √ज्या 'जीतना' धातु से सर्वाधिकतासूचक 'इष्ठ' प्रत्यय लगकर बना है। पाणिनि तथा उसके अनुयायी भारतीय वैयाकरण इसे 'प्रशस्य' और 'वृद्ध' शब्दों में 'इष्ठन्' प्रत्यय लगकर निष्पन्न मानते हैं। पाणिनि के अनुसार अजादि (इष्ठन्, ईयसुन्) प्रत्यय परे होने पर 'प्रशस्य'[2] और 'वृद्ध'[3] को 'ज्य' आदेश हो जाता है। 'ज्येष्ठ' शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति 'प्रशस्य' और 'वृद्ध' शब्दों से नहीं हो सकती। इसकी व्युत्पति √ज्या धातु से अथवा इससे सम्बद्ध किसी शब्द से (जो बाद में प्रचलित नहीं रहा) ही हो सकती है। ऋग्वेद में 'ज्येष्ठ' वि० शब्द का प्रयोग 'सर्वोत्तम, सबसे अच्छा', 'प्रथम', 'मुख्य', 'आयु में सबसे बड़ा' आदि अर्थों में पाया जाता है। बाद के साहित्य में भी इन अर्थों में 'ज्येष्ठ' शब्द का प्रयोग होता रहा है। 'ज्येष्ठ' शब्द के

अर्थ में से सर्वाधिकता का भाव ऋग्वेद-काल में ही लुप्त होने लगा था, क्योंकि ऋग्वेद २.१६.१, ६.६७.१ आदि में दूसरे सर्वाधिकतासूचक तम (तमप्) प्रत्यय से युक्त 'ज्येष्ठतम' शब्द का प्रयोग मिलता है। लौकिक संस्कृत साहित्य में बहुधा तर (तरप्) प्रत्यय से युक्त 'ज्येष्ठतर' शब्द का भी प्रयोग मिलता है। आजकल हिन्दी में 'ज्येष्ठ' शब्द का प्रयोग, अधिकतर बड़े भाई के लिये, भाई के वाचक शब्दों के विशेषण के रूप में किया जाता है, जैसे —ज्येष्ठ भ्राता।

बलिष्ठ

'बलिष्ठ' वि० शब्द 'बलिन्' (शक्तिशाली) शब्द में सर्वाधिकता-सूचक 'इष्ठ' (इष्ठन्) प्रत्यय लगकर बना है। अतः इसका मूल अर्थ है 'सबसे अधिक शक्तिशाली'। वैदिक साहित्य में 'बलिष्ठ' शब्द का प्रयोग 'सबसे अधिक शक्तिशाली', 'अत्यधिक शक्तिशाली' आदि अर्थों में पाया जाता है। रघुवंश में 'बलिष्ठ' शब्द का प्रयोग तुलनात्मक रूप में 'से अधिक शक्तिशाली' अर्थ में भी हुआ है।[४] 'बलिष्ठ' शब्द से सर्वाधिकता के भाव का लोप वैदिक साहित्य में ही होता हुआ दिखाई पड़ता है, क्योंकि ऐतरेयब्राह्मण में 'सबसे अधिक शक्तिशाली' अर्थ में दूसरे सर्वाधितासूचक तम (तमप्) प्रत्यय से युक्त 'बलिष्ठतम' शब्द का प्रयोग मिलता है[५]। आजकल हिन्दी में 'बलिष्ठ' शब्द सर्वाधिकता के भाव से रहित सामान्य रूप में 'बलशाली', 'शक्तिशाली' अर्थ में प्रचलित है।

श्रेष्ठ

'श्रेष्ठ' वि० शब्द का मूल अर्थ 'सबसे अधिक सुन्दर, सबसे अधिक अच्छा' है। मोनियर विलियम्स,[६] मैक्डॉनेल[७] आदि विद्वान् इसे √श्रि या √श्री 'चमकना' धातु से 'इष्ठ' (इष्ठन्) प्रत्यय लगकर निष्पन्न मानते हैं, किन्तु पाणिनि आदि संस्कृत वैयाकरणों के अनुसार इसे 'प्रशस्य' शब्द में 'इष्ठन्' प्रत्यय लगकर व्युत्पन्न माना जाता है, 'प्रशस्य' को 'श्र' आदेश हो जाता है[८]। 'श्रेष्ठ' शब्द की 'प्रशस्य' से व्युत्पत्ति मानना सर्वथा असंगत है। वस्तुतः 'श्रेष्ठ' शब्द के एक अत्यन्त प्राचीन शब्द होने के कारण पाणिनि आदि संस्कृत वैयाकरणों द्वारा, अन्य अनेक शब्दों की भाँति, इसकी ठीक व्युत्पत्ति प्रस्तुत नहीं की जा सकी। अतः उपर्युक्त कल्पना की गई। 'श्रेष्ठ' शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति √श्रि या √श्री 'चमकना' धातु से मानी जा सकती है। ध्वनि और अर्थ के साम्य की दृष्टि से यह तो स्पष्ट ही प्रतीत होता है कि इसका सम्बन्ध संस्कृत के 'श्री' (स्त्री०) 'सौन्दर्य, कान्ति', और अवेस्तन के 'स्री' (सौन्दर्य) शब्द से है। ऋग्वेद में 'श्रेष्ठ' शब्द का प्रयोग 'सबसे अधिक सुन्दर',[९] 'सबसे अधिक अच्छा' अर्थ में उपलब्ध होता है।[१०] धीरे-धीरे प्रयोगातिशय के कारण इस शब्द में से सर्वाधिकता का भाव लुप्त होता गया और यह सामान्य रूप में 'उत्कृष्ट, अच्छा' अर्थ में प्रयुक्त होने लगा। ऋग्वेद में ही इस शब्द का सामान्य अर्थ विकसित हो गया था और बहुधा पुनः सर्वाधिकतासूचक तम (तमप्) प्रत्यय लगाकर 'श्रेष्ठतम' शब्द का प्रयोग किया जाने लगा। महाभारत आदि ग्रन्थों में तुलना-सूचक तर (तरप्) प्रत्यय से युक्त 'श्रेष्ठतर' शब्द का भी प्रयोग मिलता है। आजकल हिन्दी में भी 'श्रेष्ठ' शब्द में सर्वाधिकता के भाव को न समझे जाने के कारण 'सबसे अच्छा, सर्वोत्कृष्ट' के लिये पुनः सुर्वाधिकतासूचक 'तम' प्रत्यय लगाकर 'श्रेष्ठतम' शब्द का प्रयोग किया जाता है।

नेदिष्ठ

'नेदिष्ठ' वि० शब्द 'अन्तिक'[११] के स्थान पर माने गये 'नेद' में सर्वाधिकतासूचक 'इष्ठ' (इष्ठन्) प्रत्यय लगकर बना है। अतः इसका मूल अर्थ है 'सबसे अधिक निकट'। ऋग्वेद आदि

वैदिक ग्रन्थों में तथा लौकिक संस्कृत में 'नेदिष्ठ' शब्द इस अर्थ में पाया जाता है। किन्तु ऋग्वेद में इसके अर्थ में सामान्यीभाव भी दिखाई पड़ता है, क्योंकि ऋग्वेद में दूसरे सर्वाधिकतासूचक तम (तमप्) प्रत्यय से युक्त 'नेदिष्ठतम' का प्रयोग 'सबसे निकट' अर्थ में मिलता है।

प्रेष्ठ

'प्रेष्ठ' वि० शब्द 'प्रिय' शब्द में सर्वाधिकतासूचक 'इष्ठ' (इष्ठन्) प्रत्यय लगकर बना है। अतः इसका मूल अर्थ है 'सबसे अधिक प्रिय'। ऋग्वेद में 'प्रेष्ठ' शब्द का प्रयोग इस अर्थ में पाया जाता है। 'प्रेष्ठ' शब्द का अर्थ 'सबसे अधिक प्रिय' होने के कारण संस्कृत में इसका प्रयोग पुं० में 'प्रेमी, पति' के लिये, और स्त्री० में ('प्रेष्ठा' का) 'पत्नी' के लिये पाया जाता है। 'प्रेष्ठ' शब्द के साथ भी भागवतपुराण में सर्वाधिकतासूचक 'तम' (तमप्) प्रत्यय का प्रयोग मिलता है[12]। स्पष्टतः 'प्रेष्ठ' का अर्थ सामान्य रूप में 'प्रिय' मानकर ही ऐसा प्रयोग किया गया होगा।

(ख) गो-युक्त शब्दों में अर्थ का सामान्यीभाव

बहुत से ऐसे शब्दों में, जिनमें 'गो' शब्द विद्यमान है, अर्थ का सामान्यीभाव हो गया है, अर्थात् ऐसे शब्दों का निरन्तर प्रयोग होते रहने से उनमें 'गो' का भाव नहीं रह गया है, वे सामान्य अर्थ को लक्षित करने लगे हैं।

प्राचीन भारतीय आर्यों का प्रमुख व्यवसाय पशुपालन और कृषिकर्म होने के कारण 'गो' (गाय, बैल) उनका सबसे प्रमुख पशु रहा है। उनके जीवन में 'गो' के महत्त्व का उनकी शब्दावली पर भी पर्याप्त प्रभाव पड़ा। विभिन्न प्रकार की अभिव्यक्तियों के लिये 'गो' से युक्त शब्द बने। संस्कृत में ऐसे शब्दों की काफ़ी संख्या है, जिनमें 'गो' शब्द विद्यमान है। कालान्तर में ऐसे शब्दों में अर्थ का सामान्यीभाव हो गया। यहाँ ऐसे कुछ शब्दों को प्रस्तुत किया जा रहा है।

गोयुग

'गोयुग' नपुं० शब्द का मूल अर्थ है 'बैलों का जोड़ा'। कालान्तर में यह शब्द सामान्य रूप में 'पशुओं का जोड़ा' अर्थ में प्रयुक्त होने लगा और इससे 'गो' (बैल) का भाव सर्वथा लुप्त हो गया, यहाँ तक कि संस्कृत में 'बैलों के जोड़े' के लिये 'गो-गोयुग' शब्द का प्रयोग मिलता है। 'घोड़ों के जोड़े' के लिये 'अश्वगोयुग', 'ऊंटों के जोड़े' के लिये 'उष्ट्रगोयुग', 'गधों के जोड़े' के लिये 'खरगोयुग' आदि का प्रयोग मिलता है। संस्कृत व्याकरण में द्वित्व के अर्थ में 'गोयुगच्' प्रत्यय की कल्पना कर ली गई है।[13] महाभाष्य में ५.२.२९ की व्याख्या में कहा गया है—गोयुगशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्य इति। गोयुगम् गोयुगम्। यथा गोस्तद्वदुष्ट्रस्य उष्ट्रगोयुगम्।

षड्गव

'षड्गव' नपुं० शब्द का मूल अर्थ है 'छः बैलों का जोड़ा' (६ बैलों का समुदाय)। इस अर्थ में 'षड्गव' शब्द का प्रयोग तैत्तिरीयसंहिता, काठकसंहिता, शतपथब्राह्मण, श्रौतसूत्रों आदि में पाया जाता है। बाद में इसके अर्थ में सामान्यीभाव हो गया और यह सामान्य रूप में '६ पशुओं के समुदाय' का वाचक हो गया। महाभारत में 'षड्गव' शब्द का इस अर्थ में प्रयोग मिलता है।

संस्कृत में '६ घोड़ों के समुदाय' के लिये 'अश्वषड्गव', '६ हाथियों के समुदाय' के लिये 'हस्तिषड्गव' '६ बैलों के समुदाय' के लिये 'गोषड्गव' आदि का प्रयोग मिलता है। संस्कृत व्याकरण में 'षट्त्व' के अर्थ में 'षड्गवच्' प्रत्यय की कल्पना कर ली गई है।[१४]

गोष्ठ

'गोष्ठ' शब्द का मूल अर्थ है 'गायों के खड़े होने का स्थान, गायों का बाड़ा'। कालान्तर में इसके अर्थ में सामान्यीभाव हो गया और यह सामान्य रूप में 'पशुओं के बाड़े' के लिये प्रयुक्त होने लगा[१५]। ऋग्वेद, अथर्ववेद आदि ग्रन्थों में भी 'गोष्ठ' शब्द 'पशुओं के बाड़े' के लिये प्रयुक्त हुआ है। अन्य पशुओं के वाचक शब्दों के साथ बहुधा 'गोष्ठ' शब्द का प्रयोग उनके बाड़े को लक्षित करने के लिये मिलता है, जैसे—अविगोष्ठ (भेड़ों का बाड़ा), अश्वगोष्ठ (अश्वशाला)। 'गायों के बाड़े' के लिये यद्यपि 'गोष्ठ' शब्द का ही प्रयोग पर्याप्त है, तथापि 'गोष्ठ' शब्द के अर्थ में सामान्यीभाव हो जाने पर 'गायों के बाड़े' के लिये 'गोगोष्ठ' का प्रयोग मिलता है। मनुस्मृति (४.५८) में 'गायों के बाड़े' के लिये 'गो' शब्द के साथ 'गोष्ठ' का प्रयोग किया गया है। 'गोष्ठ' शब्द के अर्थ में सामान्यीभाव देख कर 'गोयुग' आदि के समान 'गोष्ठच्' एक प्रत्यय मान लिया गया है। अष्टाध्यायी ५.२.२९ पर एक वार्तिक मिलता है—गोष्ठादय: स्थानादिषु पशुनामादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम्। महाभाष्य में इस उपसंख्यान-वार्तिक का विवेचन करते हुए कहा गया है—गोष्ठादय: प्रत्यया: स्थानादिष्वर्थेषु पशुनामादिभ्यो वक्तव्या:। गवां स्थानं गोगोष्ठम्। अविगोष्ठम्। आगे प्रत्याख्यान-वार्तिक 'उपमानाद्वा सिद्धम्' का विवेचन करते हुये महाभाष्य में कहा गया है—उपमानाद्वा सिद्धमेतत्। गवां स्थानं—गोष्ठम्। यथा गवां तद्वदुष्ट्राणाम्।

गविष्टि

'गविष्टि' स्त्री० शब्द का मूल अर्थ था 'गायों की इच्छा'। ऋग्वैदिक आर्यों का मुख्य व्यवसाय पशुपालन था। 'गाय' ही उनका मुख्य धन होती थी। अत: गायों को अधिकाधिक प्राप्त करने की उनकी इच्छा रहती थी। कालान्तर में 'गविष्टि' शब्द के अर्थ में सामान्यीभाव हो गया और यह सामान्य रूप में 'इच्छा, उत्कट इच्छा' को भी लक्षित करने लगा। गायों के ऊपर आर्यों में परस्पर, अथवा अनार्यों के साथ, लड़ाई-झगड़े होते रहते थे। इसलिये 'गविष्टि' शब्द का अर्थ 'गायों के लिये लड़ाई-झगड़ा' विकसित हुआ और फिर सामान्यीभाव होकर यह शब्द 'लड़ाई' अथवा 'झगड़े' को भी लक्षित करने लगा। ऋग्वेद[१६], अथर्ववेद[१७] आदि में 'गविष्टि' शब्द का 'लड़ाई' या 'झगड़ा' अर्थ में प्रचुर प्रयोग पाया जाता है।

गोपति

'गोपति' पुं० शब्द का अर्थ है 'गायों का स्वामी'। कालान्तर में इस शब्द के अर्थ में सामान्यीभाव हो गया और यह सामान्य रूप में 'स्वामी, अधिपति' को लक्षित करने लगा। ऋग्वेद[१८] में 'स्वामी' अर्थ में 'गोपति' शब्द का प्रचुर प्रयोग पाया जाता है, जैसे—यो अश्वानां यो गवां गोपतिर्वशी (ऋ० १.१०१.४)। संस्कृत में 'गोपति' शब्द के साँड, सूर्य (किरणों का स्वामी), चन्द्रमा (तारों का स्वामी), राजा (पृथ्वी का स्वामी) आदि अर्थ भी पाये जाते हैं।

गोप

'गोप' पुं० शब्द का मूल अर्थ है 'गायों का रक्षक'। कालान्तर में इस शब्द के अर्थ में सामान्यीभाव हो गया और यह सामान्य रूप में 'रक्षक' अर्थ में प्रयुक्त होने लगा। ऋग्वेद[19] तथा बाद के कुछ ग्रन्थों में 'गोप' शब्द का प्रयोग 'रक्षक' अर्थ में उपलब्ध होता है। 'गोप' के स्त्री० 'गोपी' शब्द का प्रयोग रघु० ४.२० में 'रक्षा करने वाली' अर्थ में मिलता है।[20]

गोपा

'गोपा' शब्द का मूल अर्थ है 'गायों का रक्षक' (गाः पाति इति)। ऋग्वेद[21] में 'गोपा' शब्द इस अर्थ में उपलब्ध होता है। कालान्तर में 'गोपा' शब्द के अर्थ में सामान्यीभाव हो गया और यह सामान्य रूप में 'रक्षक' का वाचक हो गया। ऋग्वेद में ही 'गोपा' शब्द का 'रक्षक' अर्थ में प्रचुर प्रयोग पाया जाता है, जैसे—जनस्य गोपा 'लोगों का रक्षक' (५.११.१); त्वं हि नस्तन्वः सोम गोपा 'क्योंकि हे सोम, तू हमारे शरीर का रक्षक है' (८.४८.९); गोपावत्—'रक्षकों से युक्त' (७.६०.८) आदि। 'रक्षक' अर्थ में 'गोपा' शब्द अधिकतर वैदिक साहित्य में ही पाया जाता है, लौकिक संस्कृत साहित्य में यह शब्द अन्य आकारान्त पुं० शब्दों के समान अप्रचलित हो गया।

[यह उल्लेखनीय है कि 'गोपा' शब्द के 'रक्षक' अर्थ में प्रचलित हो जाने पर इसका नामधातु 'गोपाय' के रूप में प्रयोग किया जाने लगा, जैसे ऋग्वेद ६.७४.४; १०.१५४.५ आदि में। इस प्रकार के प्रयोगों ने 'गुप्' धातु की कल्पना को जन्म दिया। यह माना गया है कि सार्वधातुक प्रत्ययों से पूर्व इसमें 'आय' निश्चित रूप से और आर्धधातुक प्रत्ययों से पूर्व विकल्प से जुड़ता है। ऋग्वेद[22] में ही 'गुप्' धातु का प्रयोग 'रक्षा करना, बचाना' अर्थ में पाया जाता है। संस्कृत में 'रक्षक' अर्थ में प्रचलित 'गोप्तृ' शब्द भी 'गुप्' धातु से निष्पन्न माना जाता है, जिसका सर्वप्रथम प्रयोग अथर्ववेद (१०.१०.५) में मिलता है।]

गोपीथ

वैदिक भाषा में 'गोपीथ' पुं० शब्द दो अर्थों में मिलता है—१. दुग्धपान अथवा सोमपान, २. गायों की रक्षा, रक्षा (क्योंकि 'पीथ' में 'पा' = 'पीना', अथवा 'पा' = 'रक्षा करना' धातु मानी जा सकती है)। 'गोपीथ' शब्द का 'रक्षा' अर्थ इसके मूल अर्थ 'गायों की रक्षा' से सामान्यीभाव के कारण विकसित हुआ है। वैदिक साहित्य में 'रक्षा' अर्थ में 'गोपीथ' शब्द का प्रचुर प्रयोग पाया जाता है।[23]

गवेषण

'गवेषण' नपुं० शब्द का मूल अर्थ है 'गायों की इच्छा'। वैदिक काल में गायों की बहुत अधिक चाह की जाती थी। चोरी चले जाने पर उनकी उत्कटतापूर्वक खोज की जाती थी। गायों की प्राप्ति के लिये सदैव लड़ाई-झगड़े होते रहते थे। इसी कारण 'गायों की इच्छा' के वाचक 'गवेषण' शब्द के साथ लड़ाई-झगड़े के भाव का भी साहचर्य हो गया और कालान्तर में यह शब्द 'लड़ाई की इच्छा' को भी लक्षित करने लगा। इसी कारण ऋग्वेद (७.२०.५), अथर्ववेद (५.२०.११) में 'गवेषण' पुं० का प्रयोग 'लड़ाई का इच्छुक' अर्थ में मिलता है। गायों की चाह में उनकी खोज की जाने के कारण 'गायों की इच्छा' के वाचक 'गवेषण' शब्द के साथ खोज के भाव का भी

साहचर्य हो गया और कालान्तर में यह शब्द 'गायों की खोज' को भी लक्षित करने लगा। बाद में इस अर्थ में सामान्यीभाव हो गया और यह सामान्य रूप में 'खोज' को लक्षित करने लगा। रामायण (६.१०६.४) और कथासरित्सागर आदि में 'गवेषण' शब्द 'खोज' अर्थ में मिलता है।

गवेषणा

'गवेषण' का ही स्त्री० 'गवेषणा' शब्द है। अतः इसका भी मूल अर्थ 'गायों की इच्छा' है। इसके 'गायों की इच्छा' अर्थ से सामान्यीभाव होकर 'गवेषण' के समान ही इसका भी 'खोज' अर्थ विकसित हुआ है। लौकिक संस्कृत साहित्य में 'गवेषणा' शब्द का प्रयोग 'खोज' अर्थ में मिलता है, जैसे—सखि किमर्थगवेषणया गिरम् (किरति) (नैषध०४.१०७)। संस्कृत में 'गवेषणा' शब्द का 'खोज' अर्थ पाया जाने के कारण ही आजकल हिन्दी आदि भाषाओं में इसे 'अनुसन्धान' (अंग्रेज़ी 'रिसर्च') अर्थ में प्रयुक्त किया जाने लगा है।

गोमय

'गोमय' नपुं० (कभी-कभी पुं०) शब्द मूलतः 'गाय के गोबर' को लक्षित करता था। इस अर्थ में 'गोमय' शब्द का प्रयोग शतपथब्राह्मण (१२), आश्वलायन-गृह्यसूत्र, कौशिकसूत्र, मनुस्मृति आदि में पाया जाता है। बाद में इसके अर्थ में सामान्यीभाव हो गया और यह सामान्य रूप में 'गोबर' को लक्षित करने लगा। मोनियर विलियम्स ने 'गोमय' शब्द के सामान्य रूप में 'गोबर' अर्थ में प्रयोग के विषय में वराहमिहिर की बृहत्संहिता का उल्लेख किया है।

यह उल्लेखनीय है कि 'गोबर' शब्द भी 'गोव्र' नपुं० का तद्भव है, जो मूलतः 'गाय के गोबर' का वाचक था।

(ग) अन्य विविध सामान्यार्थक शब्द

प्रस्तुत परिच्छेद में अन्य विविध प्रकार के ऐसे शब्दों के अर्थ-परिवर्तनों का विवेचन किया गया है जो पहले किसी विशेष वस्तु अथवा भाव को लक्षित करते थे, किन्तु कालान्तर में उस प्रकार की सामान्य वस्तु अथवा भाव को लक्षित करने लगे हैं।

अजिन

संस्कृत में 'अजिन' नपुं० शब्द का प्रयोग अधिकतर व्याघ्र, सिंह, हाथी आदि, विशेषकर काले मृग, की खाल के लिये पाया जाता है, जिसका उपयोग आसन के रूप में या ओढ़ने के वस्त्र के रूप में किया जाता था। वस्तुतः 'अजिन' शब्द मूलतः 'बकरे की खाल' को लक्षित करता था, जैसा कि इसमें विद्यमान 'अज' (बकरा) शब्द से प्रकट होता है। कालान्तर में 'अजिन' शब्द के अर्थ में सामान्यीभाव हो गया और यह सामान्य रूप में 'खाल' (चर्म) को लक्षित करने लगा। अथर्ववेद ५.२१.७ में 'अजिन' शब्द का प्रयोग 'मृगचर्म' के लिये हुआ है। शतपथब्राह्मण ३.९.१.१२ में 'अजिनवासिन्' विशेषण शब्द 'मृगचर्म पहिने हुये' के लिये प्रयुक्त हुआ है। वैदिक[२४] साहित्य में काले मृग के चर्म के लिये 'कृष्णाजिन' शब्द का प्रचुर प्रयोग हुआ है। लौकिक संस्कृत साहित्य में व्याघ्र, सिंह, हाथी[२५], मृग[२६] आदि के वाचक शब्दों के साथ 'खाल' (चर्म) अर्थ में 'अजिन' शब्द का प्रचुर प्रयोग पाया जाता है।

कुछ अन्य भारत-यूरोपीय भाषाओं में भी 'खाल' के वाचक ऐसे शब्द पाये जाते हैं जो पहले किसी पशु-विशेष की खाल (जैसे 'बकरे की खाल') के वाचक थे[२७]। चर्चस्लैविक, सर्बोक्रोशियन और रूसी भाषाओं में *koza* शब्द और बोहेमियन भाषा में *kuze* शब्द 'खाल'(*skin, hide*)के लिये पाये जाते हैं। इनका मूल अर्थ 'बकरे की खाल' था, क्योंकि ये *koza* से निष्पन्न हैं, जिसका अर्थ है 'बकरा'।

चर्चस्लैविक भाषा में 'चमड़े' (leather) के लिये *azno* और *jazno* शब्द पाये जाते हैं, जो कि संस्कृत के 'अजिन' शब्द के सजातीय हैं[२८]। इनमें स्पष्टतः 'अज' का सजातीय रूप विद्यमान है।

तैल

'तैल' नपुं० शब्द का मूल अर्थ है 'तिल का तेल'। इस अर्थ में 'तैल' शब्द अथर्ववेद (१.७.२) में मिलता है। अथर्ववेद (२०.१३६.१६) में 'तैलकुण्ड' शब्द के प्रयोग से पता चलता है कि तिल के तेल को कुण्डों में रक्खा जाता था। शाङ्खायन आरण्यक (११.४) में तिल के तेल से मालिश करने का उल्लेख मिलता है। कालान्तर में 'तैल' शब्द के अर्थ में सामान्यीभाव हो गया और यह सामान्य रूप में किसी भी पदार्थ के तेल[२९] को लक्षित करने लगा, जैसे—सर्षपतैलम् 'सरसों का तेल'। संस्कृत में 'तैल' शब्द के अर्थ में सामान्यीभाव के कारण संस्कृत व्याकरण में 'तैलच्' एक प्रत्यय मान लिया गया। अष्टा० ५.२.२९ पर एक वार्तिक मिलता है—'विकारे स्नेहने तैलच्'। महाभाष्य में भी उल्लेख है—'तैलशब्दश्च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यः'। प्रत्याख्यान-वार्तिक 'उपमानाद् वा सिद्धम्' का विवेचन करते हुये महाभाष्य (५.२.२९) में कहा गया है—'प्रकृत्यन्तरं तैलशब्दो विकारे वर्तते, एवं च कृत्वा तिलतैलमित्यपि सिद्धं भवति। लौकिक संस्कृत में 'तैल' शब्द का प्रयोग सामान्य रूप में 'तेल' अर्थ में ही हुआ है, जैसे नीति० ५, याज्ञ० १.२८३, रघु० ८.३८ आदि में।

सनाथ

लौकिक संस्कृत में 'सनाथ' शब्द का प्रयोग 'रक्षक से युक्त'[३०], 'स्वामी से युक्त'[३१] 'से युक्त'[३२] आदि अर्थों में पाया जाता है। स्त्री के लिये पति ही उसका रक्षक और स्वामी होता है, अतः 'सनाथा' का अर्थ 'पति से युक्त' भी समझ लिया जाता है। संस्कृत में 'सनाथ' शब्द का प्रयोग 'रक्षक से युक्त', 'स्वामी से युक्त' अर्थों में होते रहने के कारण कालान्तर में उसके अर्थ में सामान्यीभाव हो गया और वह सामान्य रूप में 'से युक्त' अर्थ में भी प्रयुक्त होने लगा, जैसा कि पाद-टिप्पणी ३२ के उदाहरणों में है। इस अर्थ में रक्षक, स्वामी आदि का भाव सर्वथा लुप्त हो गया है।

परिकर

संस्कृत में 'परिकर' पुं० शब्द का प्रारम्भिक अर्थ है 'परिचारकों का समूह, अनुयायियों का समूह'। कालान्तर में इसके अर्थ में सामान्यीभाव हो गया और यह शब्द सामान्य रूप में केवल 'समूह' को भी लक्षित करने लगा, जैसे—सन्ध्याकृष्टावशिष्टस्वकरपरिकरस्पृष्टहेमारपङ्क्तिः (रत्नावली ३.५)।

कुशल

संस्कृत में 'कुशल' वि० शब्द 'चतुर' अर्थ में पाया जाता है। 'कुशल' शब्द का मूल अर्थ 'कुशों को काटने वाला' (कुशान् लाति इति) माना जाता है। संस्कृत में 'कुशल' शब्द के इस अर्थ में

प्रयोग के उदाहरण नहीं मिलते। आप्टे, मोनियर विलियम्स आदि ने भी अपने कोशों में यह मूल भाव नहीं दिया है, किन्तु संस्कृत वैयाकरणों के अनुसार 'कुशल' शब्द का मूल अर्थ 'कुशों को काटने वाला' ही माना जाता है, जो सम्भव प्रतीत होता है। इस अर्थ से 'चतुर' अर्थ का विकास हो सकता है। कुशों को काटने के लिए काफ़ी चतुराई की आवश्यकता होती है, क्योंकि थोड़ी सी भी असावधानी से कुश की नोक चुभने से हाथ, पैर आदि आहत हो सकते हैं। अतः 'कुशों को काटने वाला' के वाचक 'कुशल' शब्द के साथ चतुर होने के भाव का भी साहचर्य हो गया और सम्भवतः कार्यविशेष अर्थात् 'कुशों को काटने में चतुर' को लक्षित करने वाला 'कुशल' शब्द कालान्तर में सामान्य रूप में किसी भी कार्य में 'चतुर' को लक्षित करने लगा।

प्रवीण

संस्कृत में 'प्रवीण' वि० शब्द 'निपुण अथवा चतुर' अर्थ में पाया जाता है। 'प्रवीण' शब्द का मूल अर्थ 'वीणावादन में चतुर' (प्रकृष्टो वीणायाम्) माना जाता है। दुर्गाचार्य द्वारा निरुक्त (२.१) की टीका में 'प्रवीण' शब्द के अर्थ-विकास पर प्रकाश डालते हुए कहा गया है कि 'प्रवीण' शब्द का मुख्य अर्थ 'वीणा-वादन में चतुर' है। यह शब्द अपने अभिधेय अर्थ गन्धर्व-विद्या-सम्बन्धी चतुरता को छोड़कर चतुरता-मात्र को सामान्य रूप में लक्षित करने लगा है। जो व्यक्ति जिस कार्य में कुशल हो जाता है उसी में प्रवीण कह दिया जाता है, जैसे 'व्याकरण में प्रवीण', 'निरुक्त में प्रवीण'[३३]। 'प्रवीण' शब्द के 'वीणा-वादन में चतुर' अर्थ में प्रयोग के उदाहरण नहीं उपलब्ध होते। आप्टे और मोनियर विलियम्स आदि के कोशों में भी इस अर्थ में प्रयोग के उल्लेख नहीं मिलते। किन्तु संस्कृत वैयाकरणों के विभिन्न उल्लेखों के अनुसार 'प्रवीण' शब्द का मूल अर्थ 'वीणा-वादन में चतुर' माना जाता है। कालान्तर में इसी से सामान्यीभाव होकर यह सामान्य रूप में 'चतुर' का बोधक बन गया प्रतीत होता है।

साल

'साल' पुं० शब्द, जो 'शाल' के स्थान पर अशुद्ध रूप में लिखा जाने से प्रचलित हुआ, संस्कृत में 'साल वृक्ष', 'वृक्ष' आदि अर्थों में पाया जाता है। इसका मुख्य अर्थ 'साल नाम का वृक्ष' था। इस अर्थ में 'साल' शब्द का प्रयोग भागवतपुराण ८.२.१२ आदि में पाया जाता है। कालान्तर में इसके अर्थ में सामान्यीभाव हो जाने से यह वृक्ष-मात्र का वाचक हो गया। वृक्ष-विशेष के वाचक 'रसाल' (आम्र) आदि शब्दों के साथ इसका प्रयोग 'वृक्ष' अर्थ में पाया जाता है, जैसे—रसालसालः समदृश्यतामुना (नैषध० १.८६)।

दक्षिणा

संस्कृत में 'दक्षिणा' स्त्री० शब्द अधिकतर 'यज्ञादि कर्म अथवा किसी अन्य शुभावसर पर ब्राह्मण अथवा पुरोहित को दी जाने वाली भेंट' के लिये पाया जाता है। √ दक्ष् 'समर्थ होना' धातु से निष्पन्न होने के कारण संस्कृत में 'दक्षिणा' स्त्री० वि० शब्द का मूल अर्थ था 'समर्थ, योग्य'[३४]। 'समर्थ, योग्य' अर्थ में 'दक्षिणा' शब्द का प्रयोग सर्वप्रथम ऐसी गाय के लिये पाया जाता है जो 'बछड़े देने एवं खूब दूध देने योग्य'[३५] हो। ऋग्वेद तथा अथर्ववेद में 'दक्षिणा' शब्द के इस अर्थ में प्रयोग के अनेक उदाहरण पाये जाते हैं।[३६]

ऋग्वेद में 'दक्षिणा' शब्द का प्रयोग 'पुरोहित को दी जाने वाली भेंट' अर्थ में भी पाया जाता है। ऋग्वेद के एक सम्पूर्ण सूक्त (१०.१०७) में 'दक्षिणा' की स्तुति की गई है। यह उल्लेखनीय

है कि पहिले पुरोहित को यज्ञ में जो भेंट (दक्षिणा)[३७] दी जाती थी, वह गाय के रूप में ही होती थी। ऋग्वेद ८.२४.२९ में कहा गया है—

आ नार्यस्य दक्षिणा व्यश्वाँ एतु सोमिनः स्थूरं च राधः शतवत्सहस्रवत् ॥

"नार्य की दक्षिणा सोम पीने वाले व्यश्व-पुत्रों (हम लोगों) के पास आये और वह स्थूल धन सैकड़ों, हज़ारों में हो।"

यह स्पष्ट है कि प्रस्तुत ऋचा में दक्षिणा के रूप में मिलने वाले धन को सैकड़ों, हज़ारों में कहने से सैकड़ों, हज़ारों गायों से ही तात्पर्य है। कात्यायन-श्रौतसूत्र (१५.२.१३) और लाट्यायन-श्रौतसूत्र (८.१.२) में दक्षिणा-विषयक नियम में कहा गया है कि जहाँ स्पष्ट उल्लेख न हो वहाँ गाय ही दक्षिणा होती है। इससे यह स्पष्ट है कि पहिले पुरोहित को यज्ञ में भेंट के रूप में गाय ही दी जाती थी।

यज्ञ में पुरोहित को दी जाने वाली भेंट के दुधारु गाय[३८] के रूप में होने के कारण 'दुधारु गाय' के वाचक 'दक्षिणा' शब्द के साथ 'भेंट' के भाव का भी साहचर्य हो गया और कालान्तर में 'दक्षिणा' शब्द सामान्य रूप में 'पुरोहित को दी जाने वाली भेंट' को लक्षित करने लगा, चाहे उसमें गाय न भी हो। स्पष्टतः पहिले गाय की भेंट को ही 'दक्षिणा' कहा जाता था, बाद में इसके अर्थ में विस्तार हो गया और अन्य वस्तुओं (अश्व, अलंकार, वस्त्र, रुपये-पैसे आदि) की भेंट को भी सामान्य रूप में 'दक्षिणा' कहा जाने लगा।

संस्कृत में 'दक्षिणा' शब्द का प्रयोग पुरोहित के अतिरिक्त गुरु आदि को दी जाने वाली 'भेंट' के लिये भी पाया जाता है, जैसे 'गुरु-दक्षिणा',[३९] 'प्राणदक्षिणा', आदि। यह अर्थ हिन्दी में भी प्रचलित है।

संस्कृत में 'गाय' अथवा 'दुधारु गाय' के वाचक 'धेनु' स्त्री० शब्द का भी 'गाय के स्थान पर अथवा गाय के रूप में ब्राह्मणों को दी जाने वाली भेंट' अर्थ विकसित पाया जाता है, जैसे गुडधेनु घृतधेनु, तिलधेनु, जलधेनु, क्षीरधेनु, मधुधेनु, शर्कराधेनु, दधिधेनु, रसधेनु आदि (मत्स्यपुराण)।

यह उल्लेखनीय है कि अंग्रेज़ी के *fee* शब्द के 'पारिश्रमिक, फ़ीस' अर्थ का विकास भी 'दक्षिणा' शब्द के समान ही हुआ है। *Fee* शब्द का मौलिक अर्थ 'पशु' था। *Fee* शब्द संस्कृत के 'पशु' शब्द का सजातीय है। इसका विकास भारत-यूरोपीय **peku* शब्द से माना जाता है। 'पशु' के सजातीय शब्द आज भी बहुत सी भारत-यूरोपीय भाषाओं में 'पशु' अथवा किसी 'पशुविशेष' के अर्थ में पाये जाते हैं। प्राचीन हाई जर्मन *fehu*, *fihu*, मध्यकालीन हाई जर्मन *vihe*, आधुनिक हाई जर्मन *vieh* शब्दों का अर्थ 'पशु' (cattle) ही है। प्राचीन सैक्सन *fehu*, प्राचीन फ्रीजियन *fia*, ऐंग्लो सैक्सन *feoh*, प्राचीन आइसलैण्डिक *fe* शब्दों के अर्थ 'पशु' और 'धन अथवा सम्पत्ति' दोनों हैं। मध्यकालीन अंग्रेज़ी में fee शब्द का प्रयोग 'पशु' अर्थ में पाया जाता है (यथा—*ne for or fee* = nor for our cattle, Curson Mundi, 14th century)। गोथिक में *faihu* शब्द का अर्थ केवल 'धन अथवा सम्पत्ति' ही पाया जाता है। आधुनिक अंग्रेज़ी में *fee* शब्द 'शुल्क, पारिश्रमिक' (किसी सेवा के बदले में दिया हुआ धन) अर्थ में प्रचलित हैं। प्राचीन काल में पशुओं के ही धन-सम्पत्ति के रूप में होने के कारण संसार की बहुत सी भाषाओं में पशु-वाचक शब्द 'धन' के वाचक बन गये हैं।[४०]

पंक्ति

संस्कृत में 'पंक्ति' स्त्री० शब्द का मौलिक अर्थ है 'पांच का समूह'। मोनियर विलियम्स ने 'पंक्ति' शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति 'पञ्चन्' (पांच) से मानी है, जो स्वाभाविक प्रतीत होती है। आप्टे के कोश में 'पंक्ति' शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति √पञ्च् = 'विस्तार करना, विस्तृत होना' धातु से क्तिन् प्रत्यय लगकर मानी गई है, जो पक्ति शब्द के बाद में विकसित हुये अर्थ को दृष्टि में रखकर गढ़ी गई प्रतीत होती है। यह निस्सन्दिग्ध है कि 'पंक्ति' शब्द का मूल अर्थ 'पांच का समूह' था। ऋग्वेद में 'पंक्ति' नाम का एक छन्द भी पाया जाता है, जिसमें आठ-आठ अक्षरों के पांच पाद होते हैं। स्पष्टतः इसमें पांच पाद होने के कारण ही इसे 'पंक्ति' नाम दिया गया। वैदिक साहित्य में 'पांच का समूह' और 'पाँच' इन अर्थों में 'पंक्ति' शब्द के प्रयोग के उदाहरण मिलते हैं, जैसा कि मोनियर विलियम्स द्वारा दिये गये अथर्ववेद तथा ब्राह्मणग्रन्थों आदि के निर्देशों से पता चलता है।

'पांच के समूह' को लक्षित करने वाले 'पंक्ति' शब्द के अर्थ में क्रमशः विस्तार हुआ और कालान्तर में यह शब्द संख्या-विशेष (पांच) के समूह को ही न लक्षित करके सामान्य रूप में किसी भी संख्या के 'समूह' को लक्षित करने लगा। समूह कई प्रकार का हो सकता है, जैसे एक रेखा में रक्खी हुई वस्तुओं का समूह, किसी क्रम से रक्खी हुई वस्तुओं का समूह, एक प्रकार की वस्तुओं का एक स्थान पर एकत्र श्रेणी के रूप में समूह, आदि। इसलिये 'समूह' के वाचक 'पंक्ति' शब्द के साथ 'रेखा' एवं 'श्रेणी' आदि के भावों का भी साहचर्य हुआ और कालान्तर में यह शब्द 'रेखा', 'क्रमगत श्रेणी', 'श्रेणी' आदि के भावों को भी प्रकट करने लगा।

'क्रमगत श्रेणी' अर्थ में 'पंक्ति' शब्द का प्रयोग रॉथ के अनुसार ऋग्वेद (१०.११७.८) में भी पाया जाता है। तैत्तिरीय आरण्यक (१०.३८, ३९) में किसी व्यक्ति के पूर्वजों की क्रमगत श्रेणी को 'पंक्ति' कहा गया है। लौकिक संस्कृत साहित्य में 'रेखा'[४१], 'क्रमगत श्रेणी'[४२], 'समूह' आदि अर्थ तो पाये ही जाते हैं, इनके अतिरिक्त 'एक ही जाति के व्यक्तियों की भोजन के लिये बैठी रेखा'[४३], 'प्रसिद्धि', 'यज्ञ' आदि अर्थ भी पाये जाते हैं। आजकल हिन्दी में 'पंक्ति' शब्द का 'रेखा, कतार' अर्थ ही सबसे अधिक प्रचलित है।

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४. मोनियर विलियम्स, संस्कृत-इंगलिश डिक्शनरी।
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६. वही।
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१३. द्वित्वे गोयुगच्। अष्टा० ५.२.२९ पर वार्तिक।

१४. प्रकृत्यर्थस्य षट्त्वे षड्गवच्। अष्टा० ५.२.२९ पर वार्तिक।

१५. 'गोष्ठ' शब्द से विकसित हुआ तद्भव 'गोठा' शब्द अब भी ग्रामीण बोलियों में भेड़, बकरी आदि पशुओं के बाड़े या घर के लिये प्रयुक्त होता है।

१६. १.६१.२३; ३.४७.४; ५.६३.५; ६.३१.३ आदि।

१७. ४.२४.५ आदि।

१८. ४.२४.१; ६.४५.२१; ७.१८.४ आदि।

१९. १०.६१.१० आदि।

२०. शालिगोप्यो जगुर्यशः।

२१. यो गोपा अपि तं हुवे (१०.१९.४); १०.१९.५ आदि।

२२. ७.१०३.९ आदि। गुपित-'रक्षित' (ऋग्वेद १०.८५.४; १०.१०९.३)।

२३. ऋग्वेद ५.६५.६; १०.३५.१४; अथर्ववेद; तैत्तिरीयसंहिता २ आदि।

२४. अथर्व० ९.६.१७; तैत्तिरीयसंहिता २४.९.२; ५.४.४.४; शतपथब्राह्मण १.१.१.२२ आदि।

२५. गजाजिनं शोणितबिन्दुवर्षि च। कुमार० ५.६७; नृत्तारम्भे हर पशुपतेरार्द्रंनागाजिनेच्छाम्। मेघ० ३८.

२६. वसानमेणाजिनमञ्जनद्युति। शिशु० १.६.

27. "A few show generalization from the skin of a particular animal, namely 'goatskin'." Buck, C.D., *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-Europea, Languages* (4.12), p. 200.

२८. वही (६.२९) पृष्ठ ४०८.

२९. यह उल्लेखनीय है कि हिन्दी का 'तेल' शब्द भी 'तैल' से ही विकसित हुआ तद्भव शब्द है।

३०. सनाथा इदानीं धर्मचारिणः (शाकु० अंक १); सनाथः संवृत्तः (विक्रम० अंक २)।

३१. त्वया नाथेन वैदेही सनाथा ह्यद्य वर्तते। रामायण।

३२. लतासनाथ इव प्रतिभाति (शाकु० अंक १); शिलातलसनाथो लतामण्डपः (विक्रम० अंक २)।

३३. प्रकृष्टो वीणायां प्रवीणो गान्धर्वे। अत्र ह्यस्य मुख्या वृत्तिः। स एव स्वमर्थमभिधेयं गान्धर्वमुत्सृज्याभ्यासपाटवमात्रसामान्यमाश्रित्य सर्वत्रैवाभिप्रवृत्तः। यो हि यस्मिन् कृतयत्न उत्पन्नकौशलो भवति स तत्रोच्यते प्रवीण इति। यद्यथा 'प्रवीणो व्याकरणे,' 'प्रवीणो निरुक्ते' इति।

३४. मिलाइये, सं० दक्षिण' (समर्थ, चतुर, दाहिना, दक्षिण दिशा में स्थित); 'दक्ष' (समर्थ, योग्य, चतुर, शक्तिशाली)।

३५. मोनियर विलियम्स, संस्कृत-इंगलिश डिक्शनरी:

Daksiṇā---'able to calve and give milk', a prolific cow, good mich-cow; RV.; AV.

३६. नूनं सा ते प्रति वरं जरित्रे दुहीयदिन्द्र दक्षिणा मघोनी। ऋग्वेद २.११.२१.

37. "A fee or present to the officiating priest (consisting originally of a cow)," Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

"*Dakṣiṇā* appears repeatedly in the Rigveda and later as the designation of the gift presented to the priests at the sacrifice, apparently because a cow—a prolific (dakṣiṇa) one—was the usual 'fee' on such an occasion." Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names & Subjects*, Vol. I, p. 336.

३८. प्राचीन काल में बछड़े वाली तथा खूब दूध देने वाली गाय ही पुरोहित को भेंट के रूप में दी जाती थी, इसका कारण यह था कि प्राचीन भारतीय धर्माचार्यों ने, जो कि प्राय: ब्राह्मण पुरोहित ही होते थे, अपने लाभ की दृष्टि से पुरोहितों को बछड़े वाली और खूब दूध देने वाली गाय को ही भेंट के रूप में देने का विधान कर रखा था। ऐसा न करने पर यजमान को अनिष्ट-फल का भय दिखाया गया था। कठोपनिषद् (१.१.२-४) में नचिकेता अपने पिता द्वारा जीर्ण-शीर्ण गायों को पुरोहितों को भेंट के रूप में दी जाती देखकर ही अनिष्ट-फल की आशंका से अभिभूत होकर अपने पिता को वैसा करने से रोकने के उद्देश्य से कहता हैं—'हे तात, आप मुझे किस ऋत्विग्विशेष को दक्षिणा के रुप में देंगे'।

३९. रघु० ५.२०.

४०. लैटिन के *pecūnia* (धन, सम्पत्ति), और अंग्रेज़ी के *pecuniary* (धन-सम्बन्धी, आर्थिक) शब्दों के भी मूल में 'पशु' का सजातीय शब्द विद्यमान है।

४१. पक्ष्मपंक्तिः (रघु० २.१९); पदपंक्तिः (वेणी० ४.१६) आदि।

४२. कुमार० ४.१५; रघु० ६.५ आदि।

४३. इसी अर्थ के वाचक 'पंक्ति' शब्द का तद्भव 'पंगत' शब्द आज भी हिन्दी में पाया जाता है। अन्तर केवल इतना है कि 'पंगत' के अर्थ में एक ही जाति का भाव नहीं रह गया है। उसमें विभिन्न जातियों के व्यक्ति भी हो सकते हैं।

SECTION III

LITERATURE AND RHETORICS

THE INFLUENCE OF MESOPOTAMIA AND GREECE ON THE PAÑCATANTRA

FRANCISCO R. ADRADOS

1. State of the Question

The time has come to re-examine the fable in India, and in particular the *Tantrākhyāyika* and the *Pañcatantra*, in the light of our present improved knowledge of the fable in the ancient Near East and in Greece. Thus we shall be in a much better position to investigate the origins of the Hindu collections, including the various recensions of the *Pañcatantra*. My purpose here is to give some idea of the principal conclusions which we can now reach in this area. In doing so I shall anticipate matters discussed in greater detail in my forthcoming study, *Historia de la fabula greco-latina* (to be published by the press of the *Universidad Complutense*, Madrid).

Let us briefly note the state of the question as regards the *Pañcatantra* in its various recensions, including the oldest, the *Tantrākhyāyika*. (Other Hindu texts containing fables will not be considered here. These are the *Mahābhārata*, the *Jātaka* and other lost texts, which have penetrated into medieval European collections of fables).

It is now universally acknowledged that the *Tantrākhyāyika* represents the oldest extant recension of the *Pañcatantra*, a recension preserved in Kashmir, an outlying state of India. On the other hand, the *Tantrākhyāyika* is itself derived from an older prototype, which can perhaps be dated to about 200 B.C.[1] or 300 B.C.[2] However, no such unanimity exists as regards the relationships of the various recensions of both Hindu collections mentioned above, though there is some general agreement.[3] Certainly, there remain numerous unsettled questions. For example, according to Hertel 16 fables of the *Tantrākhyāyika* are fables which may have been added to the original prototype. Geib reduces this number considerably, but his own view on the matter is itself open to discussion.

Another question is that of the origin of the fables which have been added to the later collections, especially the medieval collections (the so-called *textus ornatior*, the *simplicior* and the *Hitopadeśa*). Are all these fables late inventions ? Or do some at least date from antiquity, having been taken from collections or various texts independent of the *Tantrākhyāyika*? The problem has not yet been resolved. One encounters a similar difficulty regarding various Hindu fables that stem from a tradition independent of the *Pañcatantra*.

Again, there are many problems regarding the origin and date of the collections and their various recensions, regarding the *stemma* of these recensions and the preparation of a critical edition. Properly speaking, there is no edition of the *South Pañcatantra*. Nor does there exist a generally accepted reconstruction of the original *Pañcatantra* despite Edgerton's attempt.[4] Moreover, still more uncertain is the relation of the Hindu fable, as found in the collections mentioned above, to the fables of other literatures.

Traditionally, this last problem has been presented in the form of an alternative: is the Hindu or the Greek fable the more ancient? This was greatly to oversimplify the problem. Moreover, any possible answer was made much more difficult by our ignorance of the history of the Hindu fable and by the lack of chronological evidence for the various collections of Greek fables.

The "solution" that has generally found favor is that of Benfey and certain of his followers, who suppose that the Greek fable is the earlier.[5] For the most part, this view is based on the medieval Hindu collections, not on the *Tantrākhyāyika* nor on other ancient texts. In fact, there is much that is arbitrary in this view and much that relies of purely a-priori reasoning. On the other hand, an attempt to answer this question on the basis of sounder evidence was made by the Hellenist, A. Hausrath, editor of the so-called Aesopic collections of Greek fables. In his article "Fable," which appears in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopedie* 6.2 (1909) 1704ff, Hausrath suggested that when two thematically related fables occur in Greek collections and in the *Pañcatantra*, the Greek is the model of the Hindu, if the former is known to the Greeks at an earlier date.

For example, "The Stag, the Fox and the Lion" is the 95th fable in the collection of Greek fables attributed to Babrius. There is also a remarkably similar Hindu fable, which substitutes a donkey for the stag.[6] Now this fable is found in Greek literature as early as Archilochus, that is, in the seventh century B.C. Hausrath's conclusion is that the Greek version is the model of the Hindu fable.

This form of argument leads Hausrath to postulate a Greek model for only seven fables of the *Pañcatantra*, and does not convince. Admittedly, it is very unlikely that the Hindu fable had already influenced Greek tradition in the seventh century B.C., if we keep in mind that after Alexander the Great's conquest of North-West India, Greek fables could easily have been imitated by Hindu fabulists——a process which probably did take place. However, the following hypothesis is also possible: that the ancient Near Eastern fable influenced both the Greek and Hindu traditions. In any case, to postulate that out of more than 500 Greek fables only seven were imitated in India, is a singularly unfruitful mode of argument.

Nor does Edgerton take us much farther.[7] Only in the case of the fable cited above and in that of "The Donkey in the Panther's Skin,"[8] does he note any relationship between a Greek and a Hindu fable. For reasons which remain obscure, he suggests that the model in both cases is the Hindu version. In all other cases, according to this scholar, Greek tradition is independent of the Hindu.

Research then on the relation of the Hindu fable to the traditions of other peoples, in particular that of the Greeks, has reached a point where little or no progress is being made. Let us now consider how we may best proceed, at a time when our knowledge of both the Greek and Mesopotamian fables has advanced considerably. The facts which we must keep in mind are the following (only a brief summary can be given here):

(*a*) The Mesopotamian Fable

We now possess a fairly detailed knowledge of the fables of ancient Mesopotamia from the time of Sumer to that of Assyrian literature in the seventh century B.C. These fables are essentially similar to animal-proverbs, maxims and proverbs in general. Nor do they differ much from tales or anecdotes. They are found in the so-called collections of proverbs and in literary genres where proverbs and fables are presented within a "frame." They occur also in epic poetry in the form of examples. Although much of this material remains unpublished, a considerable amount has been edited.[9] For a general view of this Mesopotamian wisdom literature the reader may turn to an article by Gordon.[10]

Thus we are in a position to make a comparative study of the Hindu fable not only with Greek but also with Mesopotamian tradition: that is, the fables of Sumer, Akkad, Babylon and Assyria. Here we may note that scholars now generally believe that the Mesopotamian fable influenced Greek tradition. This is particularly clear in the case of the Greek fable "The Eagle and the Fox," which derives from a fable of the Akkadian *Etana*.[11] The same holds true for the fable of "The Gnat and the Bull" (Babrius, fab. 84), which corresponds to the Babylonian fable of "The Mosquito and the Elephant," published by Ebeling in 1927.[12] Admittedly, the latter's view that all Greek fables have Mesopotamian origins cannot be accepted.

A far greater number of Mesopotamian fables have very close equivalents in Greek tradition. The natural inference is that these Near Eastern fables were the models for thematically similar Greek fables as early as the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.—precisely the same process that took place in the realm of myth, cosmogonies, lyric poetry, etc. On the other hand, it must be emphasized that not all Greek fables have Mesopotamian ancestors. On the contrary, the Greek fable is firmly rooted in the tradition of Greek iambic poetry and in the religious festivals which were the natural setting for this poetry. The Greek fable then evolved in a Greek setting but at the same time was open to influence from the Near East.

This relationship between Greece and Mesopotamia suggests the following question. Could there have been similar Mesopotamian influence on the Hindu fable? Themes common to both Greek and Hindu fables could then be explained by postulating a double influence of Mesopotamian models. We can not say exactly when this took place regarding India and the Near East, but attested contact between the two areas strengthens the possibility of such influence. Persia always afforded a route between India and Mesopotamia, and there are Indian or Indo-Iranian names of gods in Babylon at the time of the Kassite dynasty—a dynasty which was probably Indo-Iranian (seventeenth century B.C.). In addition, we know of Hindu names given to the kings of the Mitanni, a people to the north of Mesopotamia, in the fifteenth century B.C. Reference may also be made to Hindu terms found in the tablets of Capadocia (fourteenth century B.C.) and in the Hittite hippiatric treatises. However, the imitation of Near Eastern fables in India could have occurred at a later date, when the Persians under Darius controlled both Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley.

(*b*) The Greek Fable

It is useful to summarize the extent of our knowledge of the Greek fable. (A far more detailed account is given in my forthcoming study cited above). First, in the development of the fable in ancient Greece we should distinguish the following stages :

1. In the earliest period the fable is used as an example especially in iambic poetry. Later it is similarly used in the prose writings of the Sophists and the Socratic philosophers. The fable in this period is appied to a particular situation and has no epimythium (or moral). It generally ends with a statement by one of the characters, which gives the point of the fable. This concluding statement we call the "closing." Beginning in the fifth century B.C. fables are sometimes attributed to a figure of Near Eastern origin called Aesop. (The Greeks thus knew of the influence of the Near East.) Again we find the fable *qua* example, which continues to flourish in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

2. About 300 B.C. Demetrius of Phalerum, a Peripatetic philosopher, published the first known collection of fables, numbering about 100. He set himself the task of collecting the fables occuring in earlier works of Greek authors. These he rendered in a prose of uniform style. The fables in this collection were called "Aesopic" and had no epimythia.

3. During the third century B.C. the Cynic philosophers took advantage of this collection for the purpose of satire and instruction. They took

Demetrius's fables and rewrote them in choliambic verse, adding new fables composed in the same meter. These Cynic fables had neither epimythia nor promythia. Ancient motifs were used with slight modifications and new motifs were introduced to present Cynic ideas with didactic and satiric intent. The main themes included fortune, nature, etc. Greed, vain beauty, ambition, folly were alike attacked; the simple life, praised. Utter candor and impudence characterized Cynic censure of women, doctors, athletes, etc. Various anecdotes and tales were also included in the Cynic collections.

4. In the second century B.C. the Cynics rewrote their fables in prose, adding still more new material. But now they introduced an important innovation. If the point of a fable were unclear, they added a moral at the beginning (promythium) or at the end (epimythium). This process continued during the first century B.C. Some later collections retained this mixture of fables with epimythia, fables with promythia and fables with neither (Phaedrus and Babrius). Others regularly used promythia (the fables of the Rylands Papyrus) or epimythia (the "Aesopic" collections).

We may now compare the fables of the oldest known Hindu collections (the *Tantrākhyāyika* or its predecessors) with definite stages in the development of the Greek Fable, whose characteristics of form and content are well-known. Given the close contact between Hindus and Greeks especially in the third and second centuries B.C., one cannot exclude the possibility that both traditions influenced each other. And this influence could have operated in either direction at different times or in both directions in the same period. Moreover, this process can now be examined with greater clarity in the light of our improved knowledge of the texts involved.

2. Some Suggestions

(*a*) The Fables of Mesopotamia and India.

We begin with the hypothesis that certain Hindu fables derive from Mesopotamian sources—fables which may or may not have Greek counterparts. Only a few examples may be given here, since a detailed account would take us far beyond our present purpose.

As noted above, the Greek fable of "The Eagle and the Fox" derives from the Akkadian fable of "The Eagle and the Snake." But now we must add that a very similar theme occurs in two fables of the *Tantrākhyāyika*, where the characters are (1) two crows and a snake and (2) a crab and a snake.[13] The theme is the violation of friendship and the punishment of the wrongdoer. However, in the Hindu fables the "bad" animal is the snake, whereas in the *Etana* the contrary is the case. (In the Greek fable a fox replaces the "good" snake). Note also "The Eagle and the Turtle" (fab. 259 Hausrath). This fable may be compared to *Tantrākhyāyika* I. 11 (pp. 41ff Hertel) and parallels the theme of a "castle" carried on high by eagles—a theme found in the Assyrian *Achiqar*.

Striking similarities are also found between Mesopotamian and other Hindu fables apart from the *Tantrākhyāyika.* For example, consider the fable of "The Oak and the Reed" (fab. 71 Hausrath; cf. fab. 239), a passage in *Achiqar* (II. 65) and another in the *Pañcatantra* (p. 76 Ryder). The theme is always the same: the tree tries to fight a torrent and is uprooted. Again, the fable of "The Elephant and the Mosquito," occurring with variants in the Mesopotamian and Greek traditions, finds an echo at p. 103 Ryder: "the lion, king of the jungle, who can kill an elephant with his claws, scorns to kill a mosquito."

Elsewhere we find parallel Greek and Hindu fables, where there is no attested Mesopotamian model. In the case of Greek fables that are found in pre-Hellenistic authors or contain archaic motifs with no trace of Cynic or Hellenistic influence, we may suggest that here too there was a common Mesopotamian source. This is probably true of the fable mentioned above ("The Stag and the Lion"), found in Archilochus and at *Tantrākhyāyika* IV. 2, as well as various other fables. But an account of these cannot be given here, and the reader is referred to my forthcoming study cited at the beginning of this paper.

In other cases we find similarity of specific themes or fabulistic elements rather than overall coincidence. For example, Archilochus uses the fable of "The Lion and the Fox": the fox refuses to enter the lion's cave, because he sees tracks of animals going in but not coming out. Elements of this fable occur in two different Hindu versions. *Tantrākhyāyika*, Ap. III (pp. 156ff Hertel) tells of a jackal who cleverly makes a lion betray his presence in a cave and so refuses to enter. And at p. 453 Ryder we find the theme of the animal-tracks: here it is a monkey who thus escapes the clutches of a demon.

Other Greek motifs can also be traced in Hindu fables. These are "the grateful eagle," "the animal whose nature does not change, though he acquires human form," "the disguise that in no way alters the character of an animal," "the grateful mouse," etc., etc. The occurrence of these themes in both Hindu and Greek traditions can also be explained by postulating a common Mesopotamian source which is more or less probable depending on the particular instance. But that it is always a possible explanation of similarities between Hindu and Greek fables can be shown in two ways. First, in some cases the model actually exists, as we have seen. The second, however, is perhaps the more important.

Here we are concerned with certain significant elements of the ancient Near Eastern fable found in both Greek and Hindu traditions. Take, for example, the theme of the Lion's kingdom seen on a decorated lyre of the first dynasty of Ur (about 2500 B.C.). This is a theme which recurs in Greek and especially in Hindu fables. Again, in the Mesopotamian fable the lion appears as an animal of unquestionable power. One such fable tells of a "contest" between a lion, a dog, a wolf and a fox (the fable is edited by Lambert among others). Here the fox shrewdly arranges matters to get out of trouble with the lion. In other fables the fox plays a similar role regarding the wolf. This theme of the animal-servant, the animal who is shrewd, when the occasion requires, begins in Mesopotamia and later develops in Greece and India, where the fox (or the jackal) is the leading player. In both Greek and Hindu traditions the "servant" has several functions, one of which is to stir up trouble among powerful animals. This feature also seems to be a common inheritance.

There is another characteristic of the Mesopotamian fable which appears to have been preserved in India. (It is not found in the Greek fable). I refer to the literary device of inserting fables within a "frame"—a device which has a long tradition in India. For example, the whloe of the *Pañcatantra* is set within a "frame": the Brahmin Viśṇuśarman instructs the sons of King Amaraśakti by means of fables. Moreover, each book contains a central fable which serves as a "frame" for others, which in turn serve as "frames" for still others, etc. Now the placing of fables, proverbs, etc. within a "frame" either of biographical or other type, is common in Mesopotamian literature. It occurs not only in *Achiqar* but also in several passages *apud* Lambert. The "frame" found wide acceptance in India apart from the *Pañcatantra*. Consider, for example, the *Jātaka*, the *Milindapañha* and other works whose roots lie in Hindu tradition, such as *Sendebar*, *The Thousand and One Nights, etc.*

The Hindu fable often adds a proverb or maxim at the beginning or the end. This practice also derives from Mesopotamian literature. The animal-narrator may, for example, declare : "Make friends, make friends, be they strong or weak. Remember the captured elephants who were freed by mice" (p. 273 Ryder). Elsewhere the "closing" is a maxim uttered by an animal. Now similar combinations of fables and proverbs/maxims are found in Mesopotamia.

The considerations urged above are not intended to suggest that there are no original Hindu fables. For there certainly are. But the fables deriving from Mesopotamia were an important addition later transformed by Hindu fabulists. Mesopotamia contributes not only certain fables and specific motifs but also the device of setting the fables in a "frame"—a device unknown to the Greeks. This practice, as noted above, has a long tradition in India.

(*b*) The Greek and Hindu Fable

Ancient Near Eastern literature is not sufficient to explain all the foreign elements occurring in the Hindu collections. Here one may sometimes postulate that a Hindu fable derives from a Greek model. Let us consider why this hypothesis is preferable to supposing that Hindu fables influenced Greek tradition. The fundamental point is that apart from isolated motifs both Greek and Hindu fables contain a series of common features that owe their origin to Greek culture and thought. I refer to the idea itself of collecting fables and to the occurrence within the collections of motifs deriving from Cynic philosophy. These Greek innovations found in India fertile soil for their propagation and were the point of departure for further, specifically Hindu developments.

At this time it is useful to give a brief account of the relations between Greece and India in the centuries following the death of Alexander the Great. If these relations were close in the third century B.C. (the time of Candragupta and Aśoka), they were even closer in the following century, when India not only had the kingdom of Bactria as its neighbor but contained the Indo-Greek kingdoms of Demetrius and Menander within its own borders. However, we cannot give a detailed historical account here. What is in fact of greater use is to concentrate on certain general features common to both Hindu and Greek cultures, which form the background against which we may be able to understand Greek influence on the Hindu fable.

We note, for example, the syncretic Greco-Buddhist art of Gandhara as well as certain characteristics common to Hellenistic and Hindu religion in the period (*sc.*, that of the *Bhagavatas*).[14] In addition, a comparable concept of kingship is found in the edicts of Aśoka and in the Hellenistic Greek philosophers[15]. Again a literature which can be called Indo-Greek begins at this time. This is sometimes written in Greek (*e.g.*, the *Dialogue between Alexander and the Gymnosophists*, included in the *Historia Alexandri Magni* of Pseudo-Callisthenes and also transmitted independently), sometimes in Indian dialects (e.g., the *Milindapañha* in Pali).

This literature reveals that certain ascetic sects of India (including Buddhism) were identified to some extent with Greek Cynicism. Indeed Tarn has shown that the Greeks who arrived in India were treated as *kṣatriyas*, encountered fierce resistance from the Brahmins and therefore sought an accomodation with the Buddhists.[16] Moreover, beginning with Megasthenes and Onesicritus the Greeks used the term "gymnosophists" ("naked philosophers") to refer to every type of Hindu ascetic, which they identified with the Cynics. There were of course certain common traits such as contempt for wealth and power, a life in accordance with nature, etc. It is hardly surprising that under these circumstances the collections of Greek fables, heavily influenced by the Cynics, were well received in India. In my view, it was precisely the influence of the Greek collections that gave rise to their Hindu counterparts, although the Hindu fables had been set within a frame—an inheritance from the Near East, as noted above.

The *Tantrākhyāyika*, just as its later derivative, the *Pañcatantra*, is defined as a work of *nīti*, as opposed to *śāstra*. Its purpose is instruction and in particular political instruction. But it is not a systematic form of teaching based on fixed rules, such as occurs in *śāstra*. Its goal is the possible, not perfection; and it employs examples that stress the role of cleverness as well as that of deceit. And these examples are fables. Satire and criticism of ignorant and foolish conduct are also found in this teaching. Thus its purpose is similar to that of the Cynic collections.

The latter were almost certainly the model for the Hindu collections, despite the fact that the device of the "frame" had been introduced and had undergone considerable development in India, and despite the fact that certain essentially Indian features had also been introduced (*e.g.*, the use of verse for the maxims, combined with prose). The idea of making collections of this kind could hardly have been conceived in India without Greek influence. In Greece this practice begins about 300 B.C. and is part of a general tendency in Hellenistic literature to create anthologies of myths, maxims, epigrams, popular sayings, etc.—all taken from archaic and classical Greek literature.

It is unlikely that the Greek collection which served as a model was that of Demetrius, since many fables in the Hindu collections are closely related to Cynic fables. Neither could the choliambic fables of the third century B.C. have been the model—and this for two reasons. First, the Hindu collections are essentially in prose (except for stanzas which are sometimes inserted). Second, the fables in these collections occasionally have promythia or epimythia. The model must then be the Cynic collections written in prose in the second (or possibly the first) century B.C. Here too promythia or epimythia are occasionally employed.

The question of promythia or epimythia leads to the following consideration. In *Tantrākhyāyika* I, when the lion hesitates to kill the bull, the jackal says that he knows a few verses that suit the situation admirably: "One can accomplish things by trickery that cannot be achieved by mere heroism. The crow killed the black snake with the help of a golden necklace." Then comes the narrative, which concludes with the opening maxim. Thus we have both promythium and epimythium, surely a Hindu innovation. The text continues, "And when he finished the story, he added 'He who has cleverness has also strength. How could a fool have strength? Look! The lion, who has natural strength, was destroyed by a hare". Again the corresponding fable follows.

There is then a procedure characteristic of Greek collections which was adapted to create a type of composition characteristically Hindu. But this is not the only element deriving from Greek models. Another is the inclusion of anecdotes and brief tales, which occur both in the Greek collections and in the *Pañcatantra*, often with the same misogynistic themes, criticism of religion, etc.

In general the Hindu collections give special emphasis to ideas that are very common in the Cynic fable. We find, for example, the theme of Nature, from which comes the motif of the disguised animal who nevertheless does not change his character. The same theme (Nature) also yields another motif: the inevitable conflict between land-animals and sea-animals or between land-animals and birds of the air. Other themes are Fortune, Wealth (as the cause of suffering), Pride, Blindness and Folly (as causes of misfortune), Noble Rank (insufficient to achieve success), Opportunity, in addition to misogyny and the censure of religion (both noted above). We cannot give examples of all these themes, but anyone familiar with Hindu fables will readily agree with the account given here.

Henceforth the dependence of the Hindu fable—or more precisely, of certain Hindu fables—on Greek tradition ceases to be a matter of random speculation and is instead supported by real evidence. The Hindus began their collections in the manner of *niti* by adapting their ancient tradition with its Mesopotamian echoes to the new Greek model, that is, to the collections of fables reworked by the Cynics in the second century B.C., the most probable date for the origin of the Hindu collections, as was previously known.

Clearly the matter requires more detailed study. We are concerned not only with themes and fable-motifs but with specific fables in which they occur. To be sure, Greek fables have often been recast to suit their new environment in India, and indeed the principal motifs of these fables have sometimes served as the central point of other, quite different fables. In any case, the fables containing similarities that reveal a definite relationship are quite numerous. For example, in a Greek fable a dog carrying meat loses it when he mistakenly assumes that his own reflection in the river is another dog with another piece of meat (fab. 136 Hausrath). In the *Pañcatantra* (p. 413 Ryder) a jackal loses a piece of meat by trying to catch a fish. The theme is the same: the mishaps caused by greed. Moreover, the motif of an animal deceived by its own reflection in the water occurs in another fable of the *Pañcatantra*: "The Hare and the Lion."

This example shows that there is detailed as well as general correspondence between Hindu and Greek fables. On the other hand, certain differences may be attributed to the probability that a given Greek fable known in India differed from the version which has come down to us. Take, for example, the fable of the bird who wanted to dry up the sea, because the latter had carried off its eggs (p. 145 Ryder). This fable differs in certain respects from its Greek counterpart, "The kingfisher" (fab. 25 Hausrath), but is identical with a fable found on an Egyptian demotic papyrus. Clearly, there was a Greek model for the Egyptian and Hindu fables, now lost. The same is also true in other cases.

As we said at the start, our purpose here has been to give only a general survey of the subject at hand. We have found that the number of corresponding Greek and Hindu fables is much greater than was previously supposed; that the striking coincidences between these fables, far from being accidental, is due to the existence of common Mesopotamian sources later modified in Greece and in India, and to the existence of Greek models imitated in India in the Hellenistic period. The latter are almost always fables and anecdotes containing well-known Cynic ideas. In India they undergo a series of changes which in general can be easily explained. Much more could be added to the instances discussed here, but this is reserved for the full-length study already mentioned. Still, what has been said is enough to permit anyone familiar with the Hindu fable to find many more examples of coincidence by consulting the Greek collections.[17]

NOTES

1. Cf. J. Hertel's earlier studies : "Ueber das *Tantrākhyāyika*, die kassmirische Rezension des *Pañcatantra*," *ASGW* 22 (1904) ; "*Tantrākhyāyika*. Die "alteste Fassung des *Pañcatantra*," *AKGWG* (1910) ; *Tantrākhyāyika. Einleitung* (Leipzig and Berlin 1909). So also F. Edgerton, "The Hindu Beast Fable in the Light of Recent Studies," *AJP* 36 (1915) 44ff, 253ff.
2. Cf. Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra. Seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung* (Leipzig 1914) 9ff, 20ff. Hertel's view here is based on supposed quotations of Kauṭilya in the *Tantrākhyāyika* : contrast O. Stein, "Megasthenes und Kauṭilya," *SAWW* 191 (1922) 12ff, 297ff ; and R. Geib, *Zur Frage nach der Urfassung des Pañcatantra* (Wiesbaden 1969) 51ff.
3. Cf. the works of Hertel, Edgerton and Geib cited above.
4. The *Pañcatantra* (Poona 1930).
5. Cf. the study which precedes Benfey's edition of the *Pañcatantra* (Leipzig 1859, reprinted Hildesheim 1966).
6. Cf. pp. 395ff of A. W. Ryder's translation of the *Pañcatantra* (Chicago 1964). The version in question is that of the *textus ornatior of* Pūrṇabhadra (1199 A. D.)—a version very close to that of the *simplicior* followed by Benfey and Hausrath. Moreover, the fable occurs in the *Tantrākhyāyika*, IV. 2 (= pp. 145ff of Hertel's translation).
7. Cf. *The Pañcatantra* (Poona 1930) p. 9.
8. PP. 409ff Ryder. The equivalent Greek fable is "The Donkey in the Lion's Skin" (fab. 199 in Hausrath's edition of the "Aesopic" collections of Greek fables).
9. See especially the collections edited by N. S. Kramer, *From the Tablets of Sumer* (Indian Hills, Colorado 1956 ; ed. 2, 1968). Cf. also F. I. Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs* (University of Pennsylvania 1959 ; ed. 2, New York 1968) ; and W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford 1960). Also of importance is the *Book of Achiqar* : cf. the translation of R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudoepigrapha of the Old Testament* II (Oxford 1913 ; reprinted 1971) 728ff.
10. "A New Look at the Wisdom of Sumer and Akkad," *Bibl. Orientalis* 17 (1960) 122-152.
11. Cf. Adrados, "El tema del āguila de la épica acadia a Esquilo," *Emerita* 32 (1964) 267-282, where the reader will find the relevant bibliography.
12. Cf. E. Ebeling, *Die Babylonische Fabel* (Leipzig 1927).
13. Cf. I. 4 (pp. 22ff Hertel) and I. 16 (pp. 53ff Hertel).
14. Cf. "Indian and Greek Philosophy," *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* (Poona 1977-1978) 1ff.
15. Cf. G. Pugliese Carratelli, *Gli editti di Asoka* (Florence 1960) 12.
16. Cf. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge 1928) 176ff.
17. I wish to express my thanks to Professor John Vaio of the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle for his English translation of the original Spanish version of this paper.

FUNCTION OF SVABHĀVOKTI

SHIV PRASAD BHARADWAJ

From the point of charm in expression, the figure of speech *Svabhāvokti* (Natural expression) has been treated as a minor one as compared with those called the major ones, viz. Simile, Metaphor, Hyperbole, Poetic fancy, Concise speech, and the like. Extremists among rhetoricians who attached much importance to poetic figures in poetry and were generally known as *Alaṅkāravādins*, raised a great hue and cry against recognition being given to this alaṅkāra on the plea that it lacked the real charm of expression which is the central key-point of an alaṅkāra[1]. The definition of an alaṅkāra acceptable to most of the rhetoricians, is that an alaṅkāra is a charming mode of expression[2]. Consequently, it is an indirect speech catering to the taste of literary people (*Sahṛdayas*) only. If one describes an ox in a general way that an ox is an offspring of a cow, it eats grass with its mouth[3], etc., such a description will have no charm at all and can never be treated as *kāvya*, which must be something other than a common-man-saying[4]. On the contrary, a description of a man, a creature or their acts, form, dress and adornment or of an inanimate thing, place or scenery in its true form as it really exists in nature, comes under the category of *Svabhāvokti*.[5] In such a description nothing is found new or uncommon (*lokottara*) which should bring *Svabhāvokti* at par with Simile, Metaphor or other alaṅkāras.

Apparently, such a view seems to be quite correct to some extent. A simple talk without any touch of exaggeration or imagination can hardly create any charm or impression on the mind of a reader or a listener.[6] Yet the poetic figure *Svabhāvokti* is an exception to this general rule. It has a unique faculty of presenting the object in a vivid and conspicuous manner to the vision of a reader or listener. For example, description of the running antelope in the opening scene of *Śākuntala* of Kālidāsa is so natural and skillfully painted that we feel, as if it were true.[7] This peculiar characteristic of *Svabhāvokti* induced Daṇḍin to declare it a distinct genre of *Kāvya*[8]. The example of this alaṅkāra given by him presents a true picture of parrots having curbed beaks, green wings and neck with three coloured lines on it.[9]

If we compare this concept of *Svabhāvokti* with that of the poetic Imagery in the poetic criticism of the West, we would happily find close affinity of the ideas there too. Western critics treat such a visual description as an essential feature of poetry, and call it by the name of *Poetic Imagery.* From Aristotle upto the modern critic E.A. Richard, all of them have discussed it at length in their respective works.

According to C. D. Lewis 'A poetic image is a kind of picture of an object described or drawn in words.'[10] With the touch of feeling or emotion, a poet presents the object so precisely that it becomes embodied and lifelike, moves before the inner vision of a reader or a listener.[11]

The main agency through which a poet can produce an image, is the poetic imagination (*pratibhā*),[12] with the exclusive help of this power, a poet succeeds in creating a world of his ideas of which he is deemed to be the sole creator (*Prajāpati*)[13]. His success is, however, judged from the embodiment and visualization of his creation.

Nature of *Svabhāvokti* also is stated to be of the same type. The poet describes movements, actions, or habits of a child or an animal which are noticed by everyone in one's day to day life but which remain unnoticed from that point of view from which he notices it.[14] Unlike a lay-man, his observations are not confined to the outer aspects of the object with which he has nothing to do in isolation. He dives deeper into the heart of the creature, peeps inside and tries to identify it with his impulse—the sole force propelling all his actions.[15] People, therefore, find poet's sentiments reflected in the object described.[16]

Thus it becomes clear that there is close similarity of opinions among the ctitics of east and west over the significant role of poetic images and that the apparent difference is merely in the nomenclature of the technique. Whereas western scholars call it Imagery, Indians call it *Svabhāvokti.*

Through this poetic device, not only objects of this gross world but also those pertaining to the imaginary world become manifested. Recognizing this unique faculty of *Svabhāvokti*, Mahimabhaṭṭa came forward to defend its position as an alaṅkāra. He praises this alaṅkāra for its power of vivifying objects even of three worlds.[17] Udbhaṭa,[18] Rudraṭa[19] and Bhoja[20] all these rhetoricians recognized this chief nature of *Svabhāvokti* working sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly.

But it is strange that Bhāmaha while giving example of *Svabhāvokti,* failed to note it in the verse in which a cowherd-boy is described as weeping and cursing his companions, running here-about and driving away his cows from the corn-field.[21] Otherwise, he should not have been averse to its recognition as an alaṅkāra.

Daṇḍin, of course, seems to be aware of this unique faculty of this figure of speech, because, he calls it the first alaṅkāra giving it the name of Jāti[22]. He does not talk of making the described object eonspicuous, nevertheless, his commentator Taruṇa Vāchaspati while explaining the words रूपं साक्षाद् विवृण्वती as प्रत्यक्षमिव दर्शयन्ती[23] throws light on this aspect of *Svabhāvokti*. And Hṛdayānanda interprets the word साक्षात् as अव्याजेन.

Here Raghavan holds the view that the word *Jāti* implies that no artificial aid of a figurative flourish shall be used in this poetic figure.[24] This conclusion, however, proves to be untenable in the light of so many instances of *Svabhāvokti* where other poetic figures like Simile, Poetic Fancy, are frequently used. For example, description of the forlorn heroine in *Meghadūta*, is a fine case of this alaṅkāra. It presents the pitiable condition of the lady longing in separation from her darling. She has become so lean and weak in continuous miseries and grief that lying on her sick-bed from one side, looks like the crecent moon visible in the eastern horizon.[25] In this verse the word-picture becomes clearer with the help of simile which makes leanness of the heroine more comprehensive. In other verse the same heroine is painted in a fairer colour. There the hero imagines some sign of good omens to the heroine in the form of throbbing of her left eye at the time the cloud-messenger would be closer to her.[26] Her eye with its winks covered with the scattered fore-locks and without application of collirium and having forgotten playing with brows in intoxication due to abandoning of the use of liquor is expected to throb from upside down suggesting for some hope of hearing something about her spouse. The condition of throbbing eye is compared to the blue lily shaken by the moving fish under water. This picturesque description of the eye of heroine is just like a short snap from one side. The sad face of the grief-striken lady and throbbing eye are described through *Svabhāvokti* whereas the simile makes the picture clearer. Same thing can emphatically be stated about the description of the deceased Puṇḍarika in *Kādambari*.[27] This description, presenting the lying body of the unfortunate youth who passed away of unsuccessful longing for the beloved—Mahāśvetā, just before some minutes, too, is a fine instance of the poetic figure *Svabhāvokti* and is very vivid and picturesque. Here, too, Bāṇa has frequently used the poetic figures like Poetic Fancy along with the Concealment (अपह्नुति) and alike.

Not stretching further, we conclude this paper with the remarks that the main function of the poetic figure *Svabhāvokti* is to create an image of the matter under description. Viśvanātha, while rejecting the recognition of *Arthavyakti* as a separate *guṇa*, places the same argument in favour of his stand that the very purpose of *Arthavyakti* is served by *Svabhāvokti* itself.[28] And Narendraprabha sūri putting forth a verse from *Kumārasambhava* as an example of *Svabhāvokti*, observes that *Kāma* must have been in the same pose as described in the verse concerned.[29] As there is no possibility of aesthetic experience in absence of vivification of the ingredients of *Rasa*,[30] the poetic figure *Svabhāvokti* proves to be much helpful in experience of *Rasa* by making the whole atmosphere more conspicuous. In a drama, scenery painted on the curtain, dressing and make-up of the actors make the scene of an incident vivid ; but in the audible poetry (*Śravyakāvya*) all that is absent. In such condition *Svabhāvokti* alone helps the listener to notice the whole scene as true one. A description in poetry is nothing more than narrative unless it is made graphic.[31] And this purpose is served forcefully with the help of *Svabhāvokti*.

NOTES

1. अलंकारकृतां येषां स्वभावोक्तिरलङ्कृतिः।
अलंकार्यतया तेषां किमन्यदवशिष्यते ।। Kuntaka, *Vakroktijivita*.
2. अभिधानप्रकारविशेषाश्चालंकाराः। Ruyyaka, *Alaṅkārasarvasva*, *1.* and अलंकारत्वं च रसादिव्यङ्ग्यभिन्नव्यङ्ग्यत्वे सति शब्दार्थान्यितरनिष्ठा या विषयिता सम्बन्धावच्छिन्ना चमत्कृतिजनकतावच्छेदकता तदवच्छेदकत्वम्। *Alaṅkāracandrikā* on Kuvalayānanda NS. 2.
3. गोरपत्यं बलीवर्दस्तृणमत्ति मुखेन सः। Bhoja, *Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa* 1.49 (Example).
4. Cf. लोकोत्तरवर्णनानिपुणं कविकर्म। *Kāvyaprakāśa 1.*
5. स्वभावोक्तिस्तु डिम्भादेः स्वक्रियारूपवर्णनम्। *Ibid., 10. 111.*
6. Cf. सैषा सर्वत्र वक्रोक्तिरनयार्थो विभाव्यते।
यत्नोऽस्यां कविना कार्यः कोऽलंकारोऽनया विना ।। Bhāmaha, *Kāvyālaṅkāra 2.85.*
7. ग्रीवाभंगाभिरामं मुहुरनुपतति स्यन्दने बद्धदृष्टि :
पश्चार्धेन प्रविष्टः शरपतनभयाद् भूयसा पूर्वकायम्।
दर्भैरर्धावलीढैः श्रमविवृतमुखभ्रंशिभिः कीर्णवर्त्मा
पश्योदग्रप्लुतत्वाद् वियति बहुतरं स्तोकमुर्व्यां प्रयाति ।। *Śākuntala* 1.7.
8. भिन्नं द्विधा स्वभावोक्तिर्वक्रोक्तिश्चेति वाङ्मयम्। *Kāvyādarśa* 2.360.
9. तुण्डैराताम्रकुटिलैः पक्षैर्हरितकोमलैः।
त्रिवर्णराजिभिः कण्ठैरेते मञ्जुगिरः शुकाः ।। *Ibid.*, 2.9.
10. *The Poetic Image*, p. 18.
11. Certainly the poet must try to see things as they really are; but nothing is real in isolation, pure and self-sufficient; reality involves relationship, and as soon as you have relationship, you have, for human beings, emotion; so that the poet cannot see things as they really are, cannot be precise about them, unless he is also precise about the feelings which attach him to them. It is this need for expressing the relationship between things and the relationship between things and feelings, which compels the poet to metaphor; and it is the same need, I suggest, which demands that within the poem the images should be linked by some internal necessity stronger than the mere tendency of words to congregate in patterns. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.
12. The faculty which creates or transmits poetic images is the imagination. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
13. अपारे काव्यसंसारे कविरेकः प्रजापतिः।
यथास्मै रोचते विश्वं तथैतत् परिवर्तते ।। Ānandavardhana, *Dhvanyāloka* 3.

14. स्वभावोक्तिदुरूहार्थस्वक्रियारूपवर्णनम् । दुरूहयोः कविमात्रवेद्ययोः……। *Sāhityadarpaṇa*,10.93.

15. That poetry's truth comes from the perception of a unity underlying and relating all phenomena, and that poetry's task is the perpetual discovery, through its imaging, metaphor-making faculty of new relationships within this pattern, and the rediscovery and renovation of old ones. *The Poetic Image*, p. 34.

16. कवेरन्तर्गतं भावं भावयन् भाव उच्यते । Bharata, *Nāṭyaśāstra* 7.2.

17. कथं तर्हि स्वभावोक्तेरलंकारत्वमिष्यते ।
नहि स्वभावमात्रोक्तौ विशेषः कश्चनाऽनयोः ॥
उच्यते वस्तुनस्तावद् द्वैरूप्यमिह विद्यते ।
तत्रैकमत्र सामान्यं यद् विकल्पैकगोचरः ॥
स एव सर्वशब्दानां विषयः परिकीर्तितः ।
अत एवाऽभिधेयं ते श्यामलं (ध्यामलं) बोधयन्त्यलम् ॥
विशिष्टमस्य यद् रूपं तत्प्रत्यक्षस्य गोचरः ।
स एव सत्कविगिरां गोचरः प्रतिभाभुवाम् ॥
अस्य स्वभावस्योक्तिर्या साऽलंकारतया मता ।
यतः साक्षादिवाभान्ति तत्रार्थाः प्रतिभाऽर्पिताः ॥ *Vyaktiviveka* (Saṅgrahaśloka) 2.113-19.

18. क्रियायां संप्रवृत्तस्य हेवाकानां निबन्धनम् ।
कस्यचिन्मृगडिम्भादेः स्वभावोक्तिरुदाहृता ॥ *Kāvyālaṅkārasārasaṅgraha* 3.8.

19. जातिस्तु अनुभवं जनयति यत्र परस्थं स्वरूपं वर्ण्यमानमेव अनुभवमिवैतीति स्थितम् ।*Kāvyālaṅkāra* 8.10.

20. नानावस्थासु जायन्ते यानि रूपाणि वस्तुनः ।
स्वेभ्यः स्वेभ्यो निसर्गेभ्यस्तानि जातिं प्रचक्षते ॥
तत्र स्वरूपं सस्थानमवस्थानं तथैव च ।
वेषो व्यापार इत्याद्यैः प्रभेदैर्बहुधा स्थितम् ॥ *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* 3.4,7.

21. आक्रोशन्नाह्वयन्नन्यान् आधावन् मण्डलैरुदन् ।
गा वारयति दण्डेन डिम्भः शस्यावतारिणीः ॥ *Kāvyālaṅkāra 2.94.*

22. स्वभावोक्तिश्च जातिश्चेत्याद्या साऽलंकृतिर्यथा । *Kāvyādarśa 2.8.*

23. Quoted by V. Raghavan, *Some Concepts of Alaṅkāraśāstra, p. 103.*

24. Ibid., p. 103.

25. आधिक्षामां विरहशयने संनिषण्णैकपार्श्वां
प्राचीमूले तनुमिव कलामात्रशेषां हिमांशोः । *Meghadūta 2.28.*

26. रुद्धापांगप्रसरमलकैरञ्जनस्नेहशून्यं
प्रत्यादेशादिव च मधुनो विस्मृतभ्रूविलासम् ।
त्वय्यासन्ने नयनमुपरिस्पन्दि शंके मृगाक्ष्या
मीनक्षोभाच्चलकिसलयश्रीतुलामेष्यतीति ॥ Ibid., 2.34.

27. सरस्तीरसमीपवर्तिनि शिशिरशीकरासारस्राविणि शशिमणिशिलातले विरचितं कुमुदकुवलयकमलत्रिविधवनकुसुमसुकुमारं मृणालमयं कुसुमशरसायकमयमिव शयनमधिशयानम् अतिनिष्पन्दतया मत्पदशब्दमिवाकर्णयन्तम् अन्तःकोपशमितमदनसंतापतया तत्क्षणलब्धसुखप्रसुप्तमिव··अतिस्फुरितप्रभेण 'त्वत्कृते ममेयमवस्थे'ति कथयन्तमिवाऽधरेण, इन्दुद्वेषपरिवर्तितदेहतया पृष्ठभागनिपतितैर्मदनदहनविह्वलन्यस्तहस्तनखमयूखच्छलेन च्छिद्रितमिव शशिकिरणैः, उच्छुष्कपाण्डुरया, स्वविनाशोत्पन्नया मदनचन्द्रकलयेव चन्दनलेखिकया रचितललाटिकम् ईषदालक्ष्यपरिवृत्ततारकेणाऽनवरतरोदनताम्रेण प्राणोत्सर्गोपजाताश्रुक्षयतया

रुधिरमिव क्षरता मदनशरशल्यवेदनाकूणितत्रिभागेण नातिनिमीलितेन लोचनयुगलेन 'मत्तोऽतिप्रियतरस्तवाऽपरो जनो जात' इति कुपितेनेव जीवितेन परित्यक्तम्……रचितचन्दनललाटिकात्रिपुण्ड्रकम्, धृतसरसबिससूत्र-यज्ञोपवीतम्, अंसावसक्तकदलीगर्भपत्रचारुचीरम्……अविरलामलकर्पूरक्षोदधवलम्,…किञ्चिद्-विवृताधरतया जीवितमपहर्तुमन्त:प्रविष्टैरिवेन्दु किरणैर्विनिर्गच्छद्भिर्दशनांशुभिर्धवलितपुरोभागम्……कपिञ्जलेन…कण्ठे परिष्वक्तंत…त्क्षणगतजीवितं…तमहं महाभागमद्राक्षम् । *Kādambari* (N. S. Press) pp. 305-7.

28. अर्थव्यक्तिः स्वभावोक्त्यालङ्कारेण तथा पुनः ।…
अंगीकृत इति सम्बन्धः । अर्थव्यक्तिर्वस्तुस्वभावस्फुटत्वम् । *Sāhityadarpaṇa 8.15.*

29. न खलु वस्तुस्वरूपमात्रवर्णनमलङ्कारस्तत्त्वे सर्वत्रालङ्कारप्रसंगात् । सूक्ष्मः कविमात्रा (तत्र गोचरो) यो वस्तुनः सन् विद्यमानो भावः परिस्पन्दविशेषस्तस्य वर्णनं सुधासोदरया गिरा प्रकाशनं सा पुनः स्वभावोक्तिः ।
स दक्षिणापांगनिविष्टमुष्टिं नतांसमाकुञ्चितसव्यपादम् ।
ददर्श चक्रीकृतचारुचापं प्रहर्तुमभ्युद्यतमात्मयोनिम् ॥ K.S. *3.70.*
अत्र धनुर्धरसंस्थानम् ईदृगेव स्यादिति । *Alaṅkāramahodadhi 8.82.*

30. काव्येऽपि नाट्यायमान एव रसः । काव्यार्थविषये हि प्रत्यक्षकल्पसंवेदनोदये रसोदय इत्युपाध्यायाः । यदाह काव्यकौतुके—प्रयोगत्वमनापन्ने काव्ये नाऽऽस्वादसंभवः । इति, and
वर्णनोत्कलिता भोगप्रौढोक्त्या सम्यगर्पिताः ।
उद्यानकान्ताचन्द्राद्या भावाः प्रत्यक्षवत् स्फुटाः ॥ *Abhinavabhārati* (Gaek. edn.)
V. I, pp. 240-1.

31. नहि कवेरितिवृत्तनिर्वहणेन किञ्चित् प्रयोजनम् । इतिहासादिनैव तत्सिद्धेः । *Dhvanyāloka 3.*

शाकुन्तलम् में शासकीय आदर्श

कर्णसिंह

संस्कृत-साहित्य में महाकवि कालिदास को सर्वोपरि प्रतिष्ठा से सभी सहमत हैं। उनके काव्य में हृदयतत्त्व और बुद्धितत्त्व का समुचित समन्वय हुआ है। कालिदास का काव्य हृदय को रसाप्लावित करने के साथ ही बुद्धि को भी चमत्कृत करता है।

कालिदास की रचनाओं में 'अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलम्' को सर्वोत्कृष्ट कृति स्वीकार किया जाता है। यों तो 'अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलम्' की प्रत्येक पंक्ति, उसका प्रत्येक वाक्य ही पाठकों का ध्यान अपनी ओर आकर्षित करने में समर्थ है, तथापि यहाँ हम पाठकों का ध्यान पाँचवें अंक की उस सूक्ति की ओर ले जाना चाहते हैं, जिसमें कालिदास ने 'लोकतन्त्राधिकार' को अपनी अभिव्यक्ति का विषय बनाया है। इस सूक्ति के अतिरिक्त भी, कवि ने यहाँ कुछ ठहरकर 'लोकतन्त्राधिकार' विषय पर अपने विचार अभिव्यक्त किये हैं। ये विचार यद्यपि मात्रा में बहुत अधिक नहीं हैं, तथापि इस दृष्टि से पर्याप्त हैं कि इस विशेष विषय की ओर हमारा ध्यान आकृष्ट हुए विना नहीं रहता है। वैसे भी किसी विषय को विस्तार से कहने की अपेक्षा उसे संक्षिप्त एवं सार-रूप में, विशदतया कहने को ही विद्वानों ने वाग्मिता माना है।[१]

महाकवि कालिदास के लोकतन्त्राधिकार-विषयक विचारों को स्पष्ट करने से पूर्व यहाँ 'लोकतन्त्र' शब्द के विषय में कुछ कहना आवश्यक है। और वह यह कि कालिदास ने 'लोकतन्त्र' शब्द का प्रयोग 'अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलम्' में उस अर्थ में बिल्कुल नहीं किया है, जिस अर्थ में इसका प्रयोग आजकल हो रहा है। राजधर्म की कर्त्तव्य-भावना को स्पष्ट करने के लिए भी उन्होंने 'राजतन्त्र' शब्द के स्थान पर 'लोकतन्त्र' शब्द का व्यवहार नहीं किया है।[२] प्रस्तुत प्रकरण में 'लोकतन्त्राधिकार' से तात्पर्य है—लोकेषु तन्त्रम्=लोकतन्त्रम्, तस्य अधिकारः, अर्थात् लोक पर शासन करने का उत्तरदायित्व। 'अधिकार' शब्द भी यहाँ कर्तव्य अर्थ में ही अभिप्रेत है[३]। 'अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलम्' के सम्पूर्ण वातावरण से, तथा कालिदास की अन्य कृतियों में अभिव्यक्त विचारों से भी यह तथ्य तो सर्वथा स्पष्ट ही है कि तत्कालीन शासन-प्रणाली लोकतन्त्रात्मक न होकर राजतन्त्रात्मक ही थी।

अस्तु, लोकतन्त्राधिकार विषय पर अपने विचार व्यक्त करते हुए महाकवि कालिदास ने उसे—"अविश्रमोऽयं लोकतन्त्राधिकारः" कहा है[४]। यहाँ 'अविश्रमः' विशेषणपद विशेषरूपेण विचार-

णीय है । अत्यधिक व्यस्त होने के कारण जब राजा दुष्यन्त इच्छा और आवश्यकता होते हुए भी विश्राम का अवसर प्राप्त नहीं कर पाता तथा कर्त्तव्य-भावना से विवश होकर उसे लोक-शासन के कार्य में निरन्तर लगे रहना पड़ता है, तब राजा की उस दशा को अभिव्यक्ति देने के लिए कवि ने 'अविश्रम:' विशेषण का उपयोग किया है। किन्तु, 'अविश्रम:' विशेषण की भी अपनी सीमाएँ हैं, वह केवल अमूर्त भाव को ही कह सकने में समर्थ है । अत: उपर्युक्त लघुवाक्य में लोकतन्त्राधिकार की पूर्ण परिभाषा कर देने के उपरान्त भी 'बलवदपि शिक्षितानामात्मन्यप्रत्ययं चेत:'[२] के प्रत्ययी कवि को भी सम्भवत: अपनी संक्षिप्त सारभूता अभिव्यक्ति पर सन्तोष नहीं हुआ । कवि ने अनुभव किया कि 'अविश्रम:' से अभिव्यक्त अमूर्त भाव को उनके सभी पाठक उस तीव्रता के साथ अनुभव नहीं कर पायेंगे, अत:, राजा की व्यस्तता को, उसके द्वारा वहन किये गये लोकतन्त्र के उत्तरदायित्व की भावना को कुछ इस रूप में व्यक्त किया जाये, जिससे सर्वसाधारण के सम्मुख भी राजकर्त्तव्य का एक चित्र-सा अंकित हो जाये । कवियों की इसी शैली को समीक्षकों ने 'बिम्ब-विधान' कहा है । उपर्युक्त सूक्ति के भाव को मूर्तता प्रदान करने के लिए महाकवि कालिदास ने बहुत ही उत्कृष्ट बिम्ब-विधान का संयोजन किया है :—

भानु: सकृद्युक्ततुरंग एव
रात्रिन्दिवं गन्धवह: प्रयाति ।
शेष: सदैवाहितभूमिभार:
षष्ठांशवृत्तेरपि धर्म एष: ।।[१]

यहाँ महाकवि कालिदास ने उत्तरदायित्व-पालन का बहुत ही स्पष्ट चित्र अंकित कर दिया है । भानु, गन्धवह (पवन) तथा शेष (नाग)--ये तीनों ही उत्तरदायित्व-पालन करने वालों के लिए आदर्श हैं । उत्तरदायित्व को स्वीकार करने के उपरान्त इन तीनों में से किसी ने भी, एक पल को भी, विश्राम नहीं किया है। भानु ने जब से अपना रथ जोता है, तब से वह निरन्तर उस पर सवार होकर ब्रह्माण्ड में घूम रहा है, प्राणियों को प्रकाश एवं ऊर्जा प्रदान कर रहा है। पवन ने जब से बहना प्रारम्भ किया है, वह भी निरन्तर, बिना विश्राम किये बह रहा है, प्राणियों का प्राण बना हुआ है । शेषनाग ने भी जब से पृथ्वी का भार उठाया था, वह निरन्तर उसे उठाये हुए है। इस प्रकार देवत्व को प्राप्त ये तीनों प्राकृतिक तत्त्व अपने-अपने उत्तरदायित्व का पालन अथक रूप से कर रहे हैं। ये कभी विश्राम की इच्छा भी नहीं करते हैं । ठीक इसी अविश्रम-रूप से राजा को भी अपने लोक-शासन के उत्तरदायित्व का पालन करना चाहिए ।

अविश्रम-रूप से अपने उत्तरदायित्व का पालन करने के अतिरिक्त भी भानु, पवन तथा शेषनाग अपने-अपने कार्य, गुण और महत्त्व की दृष्टि से भी राजा के लिए बहुत ही सुन्दर एवं उपयुक्त उपमान हैं । भानु का तेज, पवन का वेग और शेष की शक्ति—इन तीनों का राजा में होना आवश्यक है । सूर्य की ऊष्मा, पवन की प्राणशक्ति तथा शेष की सहिष्णुता भी राजा के आवश्यक गुण हैं । फिर, इन तीनों का ही सबके लिए समान व्यवहार तो राजा के लिए अवश्य ही अनुकरणीय है ।

उपर्युक्त पद्य में राजा के लिए प्रयुक्त 'षष्ठांशवृत्ति:' शब्द भी अत्यधिक व्यञ्जना-पूर्ण है । कवि का अभिप्राय है कि जब भानु, पवन और शेष, देवता होते हुए भी, बिना कुछ लिए ही भूतमात्र की सेवा निरन्तर करते हैं, अपने उत्तरदायित्व का निर्वाह इतनी तत्परता से करते हैं, तो जो राजा मनुष्य है तथा प्रजा से उसकी आय का छठा भाग वृत्ति के रूप में लेता है, उसे तो और भी अधिक तत्परता से अपने उत्तरदायित्व का पालन करना ही चाहिए ।

राजपद की प्राप्ति अपने आपमें एक बहुत बड़ा आकर्षण है। महाकवि कालिदास ने इस आकर्षण के प्रति भी बहुत ही सन्तुलित विचार पाँचवें अंक में प्रकट किये हैं। तदनुसार राज्य केवल, स्वयं धारण किये गये छाते के अतिरिक्त और कुछ नहीं है। स्वयं छाता धारण करने वाला व्यक्ति जहाँ एक ओर धूप से बचने के सुख का अनुभव करता है, वहीं दूसरी ओर उसे उस छाते को अपने हाथ में पकड़े रहने का श्रम भी करना पड़ता है। ठीक उसी प्रकार राज्य-प्राप्ति से राजपद-प्राप्त व्यक्ति की केवल एक उत्सुकता की ही शान्ति होती है।[7] बस इतना ही सुख उसे मिलता है कि मैं राजा हो गया हूँ। इसके अतिरिक्त तो प्राप्त राज्य के पालन में उसे कष्ट-ही-कष्ट उठाना पड़ता है, जो मानसिक भी होता है और शारीरिक भी। इस प्रकार कालिदास के अनुसार राजपद की प्राप्ति सुख-दु:ख का एक मिला-जुला अनुभव है। अपितु, इस प्रसंग में कवि का झुकाव कष्ट की अधिक प्राप्ति की सम्भावना की ओर ही अधिक है, क्योंकि दुष्यन्त के मुख से उसने कहलाया है—"सर्वः प्रार्थितमर्थमधिगम्य सुखी संपद्यते जन्तुः। राज्ञां तु चरितार्थता दु:खोत्तरैव।"[8]

लोकतन्त्राधिकार तथा लोकतन्त्राधिकार-प्राप्त राजा के विषय में उपर्युक्त सैद्धान्तिक विचारों के साथ ही कवि कालिदास ने राजा दुष्यन्त के रूप में लोकतन्त्राधिकार का व्यावहारिक पक्ष भी प्रस्तुत किया है। इस रूप में उन्होंने राजा की तुलना पादप से की है। सम्पूर्ण कष्ट पादप स्वयं सहता है तथा सम्पूर्ण सुख वह अपने आश्रितों को प्रदान करता हैं[9]। पादप तो, पानी भी पृथ्वी से अपने पैरों से ही खींचता और पीता है, पानी-जैसी साधारण वस्तु भी वह किसी से नहीं लेता है। वृक्षों की इसी सेवा-भावना से मुग्ध होकर कालिदास ने उन्हें मानव-परिवार का ही सदस्य 'अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलम्' में बना लिया है। इससे अधिक उत्तम आदर्श राजा के लिए और क्या हो सकता है। यहाँ अन्य समानार्थी शब्दों की अपेक्षा 'पादप' शब्द का चुनाव, निश्चय ही कवि की कुशलता का परिचायक है। रात-दिन खड़े रहकर उत्तरदायित्व-पालन की जो व्यञ्जना यहाँ 'पादप' शब्द से हो रही है वह तरु, शाखी, विटपी, वृक्ष आदि में से किसी भी अन्य शब्द से सम्भव नहीं है।

राजा अथवा शासक के उपर्युक्त आदर्शों के साथ ही कालिदास के अनुसार शासक का सर्वप्रमुख गुण प्रजा के साथ उसका बन्धुभाव है। इस गुण की अभिव्यक्ति पर कवि का विशेष आग्रह है। स्थान-स्थान पर कालिदास ने दुष्यन्त के इस गुण का उल्लेख किया है[10]। बन्धुभाव से कवि का तात्पर्य यहाँ मित्रभाव से ही है। कुटुम्बी जन के लिए कालिदास ने 'ज्ञाति' शब्द का प्रयोग ही प्रायः किया है[11]। ज्ञातिभाव की अपेक्षा कवि ने बन्धुभाव को ही महत्त्व दिया है।

इसके अतिरिक्त शासक में शासन करने की क्षमता, प्रजा के पारस्परिक विवादों को शान्त करने के लिए विवेक, तथा प्रजारक्षण की शक्ति का होना भी आवश्यक है[12]। साथ ही, विनम्रता तो एक ऐसा गुण है जो सभी सत्पुरुषों का लक्षण है, वह भी शासक में होना ही चाहिए।[13]

अन्त में, कालिदास द्वारा प्रयुक्त केवल एक ही शब्द से, राजा या शासक के आदर्श स्वरूप को यदि अभिव्यक्त करना हो, तो वह शब्द है 'राजमुनिः'[14]। इस शब्द की व्यञ्जना को यदि सम्पूर्ण रूप से समझ लिया जाये, तो कालिदास-स्वीकृत शासकीय आदर्श को समझने में कोई भी कमी शेष नहीं रहती है।

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६. वही, ५.४.

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    नातिश्रमापनयनाय न च श्रमाय
        राज्यं स्वहस्तधृतदण्डमिवातपत्रम्॥ वही, ५.६.

८. वही, पृ० १५२.

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१०. त्वयि तु परिसमाप्तं बन्धुकृत्यं प्रजानाम्। वही, ५.८; तथा ६.२६.

११. वही, ५.८.

१२. वही।

१३. वही, ५.१२.

१४. वही, २.१४.

रस-निष्पत्ति के सन्दर्भ में आचार्य शंकुक की दार्शनिक धारणा

रामचन्द्र पुरी

आचार्य शंकुक भरत के रससूत्र[1] के दूसरे प्रसिद्ध व्याख्याकार हैं। इन्होंने भट्ट लोल्लट की मान्यताओं को अस्वीकार कर स्वकीय मौलिक मान्यताएं प्रस्तुत कीं। आचार्य शंकुक के अनुसार रत्यादि स्थायी भावों की सत्ता रामादि अनुकार्य पात्रों में ही होती है। अनुकर्ता नट अनुकार्यगत स्थायी भावों का अनुकरण करता है और ये अनुक्रियमाण स्थायी भाव ही रस कहे जाते हैं। यद्यपि ये भाव नट में कृत्रिम रूप में ही होते हैं, फिर भी विभावादि हेतुओं, अनुभावादि कार्यों तथा संचारी रूप सहकारियों के द्वारा सामाजिक उन्हें नटगत रूप में ही अनुमान कर लेता है।[2]

आचार्य शंकुक की यह स्पष्ट मान्यता है कि अनुक्रियमाण रति आदि स्थायी भाव ही शृंगारादि रस हैं। रस न तो स्थायीभावात्मक है और न ही स्थायी भावों से जन्य ही।[3] शंकुक का विचार है कि अनुकर्ता में विभावादि लिंगों द्वारा प्रतीयमान रस मूलरूप में उसमें होता नहीं, फिर भी नट की अनुकरण-कुशलता के कारण सामाजिक को उसमें रस की प्रतीति होती है। यह प्रतीति वस्तुतः मिथ्या होती है, पर 'असत्' या 'अलीक' नहीं होती। यह एक ऐसी मिथ्या-प्रतीति है जो सामाजिक के लिए 'अर्थक्रियाकारी' अर्थात् फलप्राप्ति-मूलक होती है।

मिथ्या-ज्ञान की अर्थक्रियाकारिता की प्रामाणिकता के लिए शंकुक ने आचार्य धर्मकीर्ति, जो एक बौद्ध दार्शनिक थे, का प्रमाण दिया है। उनके अनुसार—

> "मणि की प्रभा तथा दीपक की प्रभा को मणि समझकर उन्हें प्राप्त करने के लिए दौड़ने वाले दो भिन्न व्यक्तियों का मिथ्या-ज्ञान (मणि तथा प्रदीप की कान्ति को, न कि मणि को, मणि समझने के कारण) यद्यपि समान है फिर भी उनमें से एक को (जिसने मणि की प्रभा को मणि समझा था) मणि की प्राप्ति होती है"।[4]

इससे सिद्ध हुआ कि मिथ्या-ज्ञान में भी अर्थक्रियाकारिता होती है। इस प्रकार अनुकर्ता में सामाजिक को प्रतीत होने वाले रत्यादि भाव भले ही मिथ्या हैं, किन्तु वे सामाजिक के लिए चमत्कार-जनकत्व-रूप अर्थक्रियाकारिता तो रखते ही हैं।

वस्तुतः, मिथ्या-ज्ञान की अर्थक्रियाकारिता का सिद्धान्त शंकुक को इसलिए प्रस्तुत करना पड़ा कि अनुकर्ता में अविद्यमान भावों की प्रतीति सामाजिक में स्वाभाविक रूप में मानी जाये। वैसे शंकुक का स्वकीय मत तो यह है कि सामाजिक को नट में जो रामादि की प्रतीति होती है, वह सम्यक्, मिथ्या, संशय तथा सादृश्य रूप प्रतीतियों से विलक्षण होती है ।[5] यह प्रतीति चित्रतुरग-न्याय से होती है।

आचार्य शंकुक के अनुसार नाट्यदर्शन के समय सामाजिक को नट के राम होने में कोई सन्देह नहीं होता। किन्तु, इसके साथ ही वह नट को तात्त्विक रूप से राम भी नहीं मान लेता। उसे नट में रामरूपता की भ्रान्ति भी नहीं होती। वस्तुतः नट में सामाजिक की रामत्व की प्रतीति में दो बुद्धियों का संमिश्रण होता है। वह यह भी मानता है कि 'यह नट राम है' और उसे यह भी प्रतीति होती है कि 'यह राम ही नहीं है'। वास्तव में, यह एक ऐसी प्रतीति है जिसे स्फुरित होता हुआ कोई विशेष प्रकार का अनुभव ही माना जा सकता है। इस अनुभव-विशेष को किसी युक्ति या प्रकार से निरूपित नहीं किया जा सकता।[6]

इस प्रकार शंकुक अनुकर्ता में तथा उसके द्वारा अनुकृत भावों के विषय में सामाजिक को जो अनुभूति होती है उसे साक्षात्कारात्मिका प्रतीति ही मानते हैं, किन्तु साथ ही यह भी मानते हैं कि यह प्रतीतियों के प्रचलित प्रकार से विलक्षण भी होती है। इस प्रतीति का निर्वचन 'यह ऐसी ही है' इस प्रकार से नहीं किया जा सकता। शंकुक की इस मान्यता को आचार्य अभिनवगुप्त भी स्वीकारते हैं, जहाँ वे नाट्य में रावणादि-विषयक ज्ञान को, 'अनुव्यवसायस्य प्रत्यक्षकल्पना' मानते हैं।[7]

आचार्य शंकुक की रसनिष्पत्ति से सम्बन्धित मान्यताओं के उपर्युक्त कुछ महत्त्वपूर्ण पक्षों के उल्लेख के बाद उनकी दार्शनिक निष्ठा को खोजना कुछ आसान हो जाएगा, किन्तु इतना नहीं जितना प्रायः समझा जाता है। रससूत्र की व्याख्या के प्रसंग में आचार्य शंकुक द्वारा अभिव्यक्त दार्शनिक मान्यताओं का विश्लेषण और शंकुक के किसी एक या अनेक दार्शनिक विचारधाराओं से सम्बन्धित होने की बात तय करना भारतीय दर्शन के विविध मतवादों की जानकारी के बिना सम्भव नहीं।

ज्ञातव्य है कि आचार्य शंकुक की दार्शनिक निष्ठा के विषय में विद्वानों में मतैक्य नहीं है। आचार्य झलकीकर ने काव्यप्रकाश की टीका में शंकुक को नैयायिक माना है।[8] रससूत्र की शंकुक ने जिस शब्दावली में व्याख्या की है, सामान्यतया वह उन्हें नैयायिक सिद्ध करने में पर्याप्त है। 'अनुकर्तृगत स्थायी भावों की विभावादि लिंगों द्वारा प्रतीयमानता या अनुमीयता' तथा 'चित्रतुरंग-न्याय' आदि कुछ ऐसे तथ्य हैं जो संस्कृत तथा हिन्दी, मराठी आदि आधुनिक भाषाओं के समीक्षकों के लिए शंकुक को नैयायिक सिद्ध करने में सहयोग या प्रमाण देते रहे हैं। इन्हीं आधारों पर डा० कान्तिचन्द्र पाण्डेय तथा प्रेमस्वरूप गुप्त आदि विद्वानों ने भी शंकुक को नैयायिक माना है।

सामान्यतया न्यायदर्शन को वैदिक और अवैदिक, इन दो भागों में बाँटा जाता है। वैदिक न्यायशास्त्र को प्राच्यन्याय तथा नव्य-न्याय, एवं अवैदिक न्याय को बौद्ध एवं जैन-न्याय नामक भागों में बाँट दिया गया है।

आचार्य शंकुक का सम्बन्ध उपर्युक्त न्यायदर्शन की शाखाओं में से किससे है, इसका अन्वेषण अनेक विद्वानों ने किया है। डा० कान्तिचन्द्र पाण्डेय के अनुसार "अपने रस-सिद्धान्त के प्रतिपादन में शंकुक ने प्राच्यन्याय (प्राचीन न्यायशास्त्र) की विधि को अपनाया है"।[9] चूंकि शकुक के बहुत दिनों बाद गंगेश उपाध्याय द्वारा नव्यन्याय का सूत्र-पात हुआ था, इसलिए शंकुक के नव्यन्यायानुयायी होने का प्रश्न ही नहीं उठता। वैसे प्रस्तुत सन्दर्भ में इससे कोई अन्तर भी नहीं पड़ता। लिंग द्वारा

लिंगी के अनुमान की बात दोनों ही न्यायों को मान्य है। वस्तुतः प्रश्न यहाँ यह है कि शंकुक नैयायिक हैं भी, अथवा नहीं, और यदि हैं तो वैदिक हैं या अवैदिक ?

डा० प्रेमस्वरूप गुप्त ने प्रमाणपुरःसर यह सिद्ध किया है कि शंकुक अवैदिक न्याय की बौद्ध शाखा से सम्बन्धित हैं। उनके अनुसार—"अभिनव-भारती में कुछ इस प्रकार के संकेत मिलते हैं, तथा स्वयं शंकुक के सिद्धान्त में कुछ ऐसे समान आदर्श दिखाई पड़ते हैं, जिनके आधार पर यह विश्वास किया जा सकता है कि शंकुक बौद्ध नैयायिक थे।"[१०] डा० गुप्त जिन आधारों पर शंकुक को बौद्ध नैयायिक सिद्ध करते हैं वे निम्न हैं—

१. "शंकुक ने जिस चित्रतुरग-न्याय का सहारा लिया है वह बौद्ध दर्शन की अपनी विशेषता है। जिस प्रकार रज्जुसर्प-न्याय को विशेषकर वेदान्तियों ने अपनाया है, उसी प्रकार चित्रन्याय को बौद्धों ने"।[११]

२. "शंकुक का खण्डन करते समय अभिनव के गुरु भट्ट तोत ने अनुकरणवाद के प्रसंग में जिन चार पक्षों का खण्डन किया है उनमें 'व्याख्यातारः खल्वेवं विवेचयन्ति' कहकर जिन व्याख्याताओं की ओर संकेत किया है वे धर्मकीर्ति के माने व्याख्याता ही हैं"।[१२]

३. "शंकुक ने सामाजिक की प्रतीति के विश्लेषण के लिए धर्मकीर्ति के सामान्य-विवेचन से प्रेरणा ली है"।[१३] भाव यह है कि बौद्ध नैयायिक 'सामान्य' अर्थात् जाति का खण्डन करते हैं जबकि वैदिक नैयायिक उसका प्रतिपादन। भट्ट तोत ने शंकुक के सन्दर्भ में सामान्य का जो खण्डन किया है, वह उन्हें बौद्ध मानकर ही।

४. "शंकुक द्वारा प्रयुक्त पदावली बौद्ध पदावली के अधिक निकट है।……तत्त्वज्ञान या यथार्थ-ज्ञान के लिए 'सम्यग्ज्ञान' शब्द तो विशेषतः बौद्ध है"।[१४] इसी सम्बन्ध में डा० गुप्त का कहना है कि "हम जानते हैं कि ईसा की ये शताब्दियाँ जिनमें शंकुक विद्यमान थे बौद्ध एवं वैदिक दार्शनिकों की घोर शत्रुता की शताब्दियाँ थी। ऐसे युग में किसी विशेष सम्प्रदाय की पदावली का प्रयोग कुछ न कुछ अर्थ रखता है।……शंकुक की पदावली और निरूपण-पद्धति उनकी बौद्धदर्शन की अनुगामिता की ओर संकेत करती है"।[१५]

डा० गुप्त ने शंकुक के बौद्ध होने के अनेक अन्य प्रमाण प्रस्तुत किये हैं, किन्तु उनकी समीक्षा से अवगत होता है कि—१. मिथ्या-ज्ञान की अर्थक्रियाकारिता, २. सामान्य का खण्डन, तथा ३. बौद्धपदावली का प्रयोग ही उनकी इस धारणा को दृढ़ करने में कारण रहे हैं। हम भी इन्हीं आधारों पर शंकुक के मत की समीक्षा करके यह जानने का प्रयास करेंगे कि वस्तुतः शंकुक बौद्ध दार्शनिक हैं या नहीं।

डा० गुप्त ने शंकुक के बौद्ध दार्शनिक होने में जो प्रमाण दिये हैं वे प्रामाणिक भी हैं और इससे भी ज्यादा हैं डा० गुप्त की प्रतिभा के परिचायक। किन्तु, केवल उक्त तर्कों के आधार पर, बिना उनकी सर्वांगीण परीक्षा किये, शंकुक को बौद्ध कह देना सन्देह से परे नहीं कहा जा सकता। इस बात को स्वयं डा० गुप्त भी स्वीकार करते हैं।[१६]

हिन्दी के प्रबुद्ध समालोचक डा० नगेन्द्र का कहना है कि "रस-सिद्धान्त के प्रति एक बौद्ध दार्शनिक के आकृष्ट होने की सम्भावना कहां तक हो सकती है ? वैदिक दर्शनों, विशेषकर शैवदर्शन आदि, के साथ रस-सिद्धान्त का जैसा प्रत्यक्ष सम्बन्ध रहा है, वैसा अवैदिक दर्शनों के साथ नहीं"[17]। इस सम्बन्ध में डा० नगेन्द्र ने रामचन्द्र-गुणचन्द्र जैसे जैन रस-व्याख्याताओं को विशेष महत्त्व नहीं दिया है, क्योंकि वे उपर्युक्त अनुमान को विशेष प्रोत्साहन नहीं देते ।[18] डा० नगेन्द्र को अपने इस तर्क की प्रामाणिकता पर विशेष विश्वास नहीं है, इसीलिए वे "वैदिक और अवैदिक न्याय के प्रपञ्च में न पड़कर शंकुक को केवल नैयायिक मानना ही अधिक प्रामाणिक"[19] समझते हैं।

किन्तु इससे समस्या का समाधान नहीं निकलता । अतः, उचित यही होगा कि हम डा० गुप्त द्वारा दिये गये तर्कों का परीक्षण और शंकुक की दार्शनिक निष्ठा का निर्धारण करें। जैसा कि पहले कहा जा चुका है कि डा० गुप्त शंकुक के द्वारा मिथ्याज्ञान की अर्थक्रियाकारिता का समर्थन किये जाने के कारण उन्हें बौद्ध मानते हैं और कहते हैं कि कोई भी "वैदिक दार्शनिक मिथ्याज्ञान को अर्थक्रियाकारी नहीं मानता ।"[20]

किन्तु, डा० गुप्त की यह मान्यता वैदिक दर्शनों के प्रति उनकी अज्ञता ही सिद्ध करती है । मिथ्याज्ञान के अर्थक्रियाकारित्व की मान्यता का उन्मेष औपनिषदिक काल में ही हो चुका था। इस तथ्य को आचार्य शंकर 'ब्रह्मसूत्र' के भाष्य में स्पष्टतया उद्घाटित करते हैं। उनके अनुसार— "परमार्थतः असत् वेदान्त-वाक्यों द्वारा परमार्थ ब्रह्म की अवगति कैसे हो सकती है ? क्या कोई रज्जु-सर्प के डसने से मर सकता है ? या मृगमरीचिकाजल से स्नानपानादि क्रियाएं हो सकती हैं ? इन प्रश्नों का उत्तर यह है कि शंकाविषादिनिमित्तक मरणादि कार्यों की उपलब्धि देखी जाती है। इस प्रकार मिथ्याज्ञान में अर्थक्रियाकारिता तो होती ही है ।"[21]

इसी सन्दर्भ में आचार्य शंकर ने छान्दोग्य उपनिषद् की निम्न श्रुति को उद्धृत कर अपने मत को प्रमाणित किया है—

यदा कर्मसु काम्येषु स्त्रियं स्वप्नेषु पश्यति ।
समृद्धिं तत्र विजानीयात् तस्मिन् स्वप्ननिदर्शने ।। ५.२.८.

स्वप्नदर्शन असत्य होता है । फिर भी स्वप्न में देखी गयी बातों के आधार पर विभिन्न प्रकार के फलों की प्राप्ति की मान्यता वैदिक है ।

वस्तुतः, वैदिक दर्शनों में सर्वाधिक समर्थ दर्शन वेदान्त की नींव ही मिथ्याज्ञान की अर्थक्रियाकारिता के सिद्धान्त पर रखी गयी है। वेदान्त-दर्शन प्रपञ्च को मिथ्या मानता है, पर साथ ही इसे अर्थक्रियाकारी भी मानता है। आचार्य शंकर के अतिरिक्त स्वामी विद्यारण्य, सदानन्द तथा अप्पय दीक्षित आदि आचार्यों ने भी मिथ्याज्ञान की अर्थक्रियाकारिता के सिद्धान्त को मान्यता दी है। आचार्य विद्यारण्य तथा सदानन्द ने आचार्य धर्मकीर्ति की उस कारिका[22] को उद्धृत भी किया है, जिसके आधार पर डा० गुप्त शंकुक को बौद्ध मानते हैं। मिथ्याज्ञान की अर्थक्रियाकारिता की प्रतिपादक धर्मकीर्ति की उक्त कारिका को उद्धृत करने मात्र से ही क्या विद्यारण्य और सदानन्द को बौद्ध माना जा सकता है ? यदि नहीं तो उस कारिका को उद्धृत करने मात्र से शंकुक को बौद्ध कैसे माना जा सकता है ?

डा० गुप्त ने जिस चित्रतुरगन्याय को केवल बौद्धों की सम्पत्ति कहा है, वस्तुतः उस पर उनका एकाधिकार नहीं है। वेदान्त-दर्शन में जिस प्रकार रज्जुसर्पन्याय को अपनाया जाता है उस

प्रकार बौद्ध-दर्शन में चित्रतुरगन्याय को मान्यता प्राप्त नहीं है। प्रमाणवार्तिक की जिस कारिका के आधार पर डा० गुप्त ने बौद्धों को चित्रतुरगन्याय से जोड़ा है, वह निम्न है—

नीलादिश्चित्रविज्ञाने ज्ञानोपाधिरनन्यभाक्।
अशक्यदर्शनस्तं हि पतत्यर्थे विवेचयन्॥

आचार्य धर्मकीर्ति ने इस कारिका के माध्यम से नीलादि (पदार्थ) और वास्तविक नीलादि में सामान्य दर्शक को जो अभेद की प्रतीति होती है, उसका प्रतिपादन किया है। तात्पर्य यह है कि चित्र में अंकित अश्व आदि पदार्थों को देखकर सामान्यतया लोग उन्हें वास्तविक अश्वादि से अलग नहीं कर पाते। आचार्य शंकुक ने रसनिष्पत्ति की प्रक्रिया के सन्दर्भ में जो 'चित्रतुरग' का उल्लेख किया है, वह बहुत कुछ इसी प्रकार की प्रतीति का निरूपक है। प्रमाणवार्तिक की इस कारिका से यह तो सिद्ध होता है कि बौद्ध **'चित्रन्याय' का सहारा लेते हैं,** किन्तु यह सिद्ध नहीं होता कि वे **'चित्रतुरगन्याय' का सहारा** लेते हैं। 'चित्रन्याय' सामान्य है, जबकि 'चित्रतुरगन्याय' विशेष। इससे स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि 'रज्जुसर्पन्याय', जो कि विशेष है, और 'चित्रन्याय' में कोई साम्य नहीं। तात्पर्य यह है कि रज्जुसर्पन्याय की भाँति चित्रन्याय में किसी दर्शन-विशेष की विशिष्ट एकाधिकारिता का प्रश्न नहीं। इसके अतिरिक्त, जहाँ तक 'चित्रन्याय' का प्रश्न है, वेदान्ती भी इसे अपनाता है। जिस प्रकार अपने सिद्धान्त के प्रतिपादन के लिए आचार्य धर्मकीर्ति ने चित्रन्याय का उपयोग किया था उसी प्रकार आचार्य विद्यारण्य स्वामी ने पञ्चदशी के चित्रदीप-प्रकरण में इस न्याय का सहारा लिया है। उनके अनुसार 'ब्रह्मा से लेकर स्तम्भ-पर्यन्त परमात्मा रूपी आधार-फलक पर चित्रित हैं।'[२३] इसी प्रकार आचार्य विमुक्तात्मा ने अपने ग्रन्थ 'इष्टसिद्धि:' में—'महदादिजगन्मायाभित्तिचित्रं नमामि'[२४] कहकर चित्रन्याय का ही प्रयोग किया है। इस प्रकार यह नहीं माना जा सकता कि चित्रन्याय (चित्रतुरगन्याय नहीं) के उल्लेख के कारण शंकुक बौद्ध दार्शनिक हैं।

शंकुक के मत में 'सामान्य' की स्वीकृति से सम्बन्धित जो आपत्ति आचार्य भट्ट तोत ने उठाई है वह इतनी ठोस है कि शंकुक के वैदिक नैयायिक होने की सारी सम्भावनाएँ समाप्त हो जाती हैं, क्योंकि वैदिक न्याय के अनुसार 'अनेक सजातीय वस्तुओं में जो एक-सी बुद्धि होती है उसका कारण 'सामान्य' या 'जाति' ही है। जैसे विभिन्न घट-पदार्थों में, प्रत्येक में 'यह घट है' इस प्रकार की जो प्रतीति होती है, उसका कारण उसमें रहने वाला सामान्य ही है। नैयायिकों के अनुसार 'सामान्य नित्य है और अनेक में समवाय-सम्बन्ध से रहता है'।[२५]

बौद्ध-दर्शन के अनुसार कोई भी पदार्थ नित्य नहीं है, इसलिए नित्य 'सामान्य' की स्वीकृति उस दर्शन में नहीं पायी जाती। शंकुक के मत की विवेचना के समय हमने देखा कि वे अनुकार्य की अनुकर्ता में प्रतीति का स्वरूप कुछ इस प्रकार का बताते हैं—'धीरसावयमिति अस्ति न असौ एव अयम् इत्यपि'[२६] अर्थात् नट में 'यह राम है इस प्रकार की भी बुद्धि होती है और यह राम नहीं है, इस प्रकार की बुद्धि भी होती है।' भट्ट तोत के अनुसार एक अभिनय में नट में 'यह राम है,' इस प्रकार की प्रतीति के अनन्तर, दूसरे अभिनय में भी 'यह राम है' इस प्रकार की प्रतीति शंकुक के मत में होती है। इस प्रकार दो स्थलों में दो रामों को देखकर जो 'रामत्व' की प्रतीति होती है उससे 'सामान्य' या 'जाति' की सिद्धि हो जाती है। इस प्रकार शंकुक की बौद्ध धारणा पर भट्ट तोत प्रहार करते हैं। इसी आधार पर डा० गुप्त का विचार है कि यदि शंकुक बौद्ध दार्शनिक न होते तो भट्ट तोत 'सामान्य' की धारणा के आधार पर उनका खण्डन क्यों करते?

हमारा विचार यह है कि शंकुक के मार्ग में 'सामान्य-स्वीकृति' रूप बाधा खड़ी कर देने मात्र से उन्हें बौद्ध नहीं माना जा सकता । बौद्ध ही क्यों, वेदान्ती भी 'सामान्य' की मान्यता से इंकार करते हैं । नैयायिकों के अनुसार 'सामान्य' नित्य होता है । वेदान्ती की दृष्टि में ब्रह्म को छोड़कर कोई भी पदार्थ नित्य है ही नहीं । चित्सुखाचार्य ने 'प्रत्यक्षादनुमानाद् वा न जातिः सेद्धुमर्हति'[२७] कहकर 'जाति' या 'सामान्य' को मानने से इंकार कर दिया है । प्रस्तुत प्रसंग में वेदान्तियों द्वारा सामान्य के खण्डन के विभिन्न आधारों के उल्लेख से अप्रासंगिकता सी आ जायेगी । हमारा यहाँ कहना केवल इतना ही है कि 'सामान्यस्वीकृति' से अपने सम्प्रदाय की मान्यता (सिद्धान्तविरुद्धता) का दोष बौद्ध और वेदान्ती दोनों पर ही लागू हो सकता है । उक्त आधार पर शंकुक को वेदान्ती भी माना जा सकता है ।

डा० गुप्त ने जिस 'सम्यग्ज्ञान' शब्द को, विशेषतः बौद्धों का बताया है, वह सांख्य[२८] तथा वेदान्त[२९] दर्शन में आत्मज्ञान के अर्थ में निरन्तर प्रयुक्त होता रहा है । यह सार्वजनीन तथ्य है कि सांख्यदर्शन बौद्धदर्शन से प्राचीनतर है । सम्भवतः 'सम्यग्ज्ञान' शब्द सांख्य-दर्शन का अपना शब्द है, जिसे बाद में बौद्धों और वेदान्तियों ने समान रूप से ग्रहण किया । अतः 'सम्यग्ज्ञान' अथवा इसी प्रकार के अन्य अनिर्णीत शब्दों के आधार पर शंकुक को बौद्ध दार्शनिक कह देना अविचारित रमणीय ही होगा ।

जहाँ तक 'लिंग द्वारा लिंगी के अनुमान' का प्रश्न है, इस सिद्धान्त को प्रायः सभी दार्शनिक मतवाद मानते हैं । अतः इस आधार पर शंकुक को न तो वैदिक नैयायिक सिद्ध किया जा सकता है और न ही अवैदिक ।

उपर्युक्त विवेचन से यह तो सिद्ध हो जाता है कि 'सामान्य' की अस्वीकृति एक ऐसा तथ्य है जिसके आधार पर शंकुक को वैदिक नैयायिक मानने में बाधा आती है । फलतः उन्हें या तो वेदान्ती माना जा सकता है अथवा बौद्ध । यदि डा० नगेन्द्र की यह शंका उचित है कि "रस-सिद्धान्त के प्रति एक बौद्ध दार्शनिक के आकृष्ट होने की सम्भावना कहां तक हो सकती है" तो बिना किसी हिचक के शंकुक को वेदान्ती माना जा सकता है । हमारी तो दृढ़ धारणा है कि शंकुक वेदान्ती हैं ।

टिप्पणियाँ

१. विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः ।
२. अभिनव-भारती, पृ० ४४६, आचार्य विश्वेश्वर की व्याख्या, सं० डा० नगेन्द्र ।
३. तेन रतिरनुक्रियमाणा शृङ्गारः इति तदात्मकत्वं तत्प्रभवत्वं चायुक्तम् । वही, पृ० ४४८.
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मिथ्याज्ञानाविशेषोऽपि विशेषोऽर्थक्रियां प्रति ।। वही, पृ० ४४९.
५. अभिनव-भारती, पृ० ४५६.

६. प्रतिभाति न सन्देहो न तत्त्वं न विपर्ययः ।
धीरसावयमित्यस्ति नासावेवायमित्यपि ॥
विरुद्धबुद्धिसंभेदादविवेचितसम्प्लवः ।
युक्त्या पर्यनुयुज्येत स्फुरन्ननुभवः कया ॥ वही, पृ० ४५०.

७. वही, पृ० १६३.

८. इदं हि भरतसूत्रं तट्टीकाकृद्भिर्भट्टलोल्लटश्रीशङ्कुकभट्टनायकाभिनवगुप्तपादैश्चतुर्भिः क्रमेण मीमांसा-न्यायसांख्यालंकारमतरीत्या चतुर्धा व्याख्यातम् । बालबोधिनी, पृ० ८७, छठा संस्करण ।

९. स्वतन्त्रकलाशास्त्र, पृ० ७९, चौखम्भा, प्रथम संस्करण ।

१०. रसगंगाधर का शास्त्रीय अध्ययन, पृ० १३४.

११. वही, पृ० १३५.

१२. हिन्दी वैष्णव-साहित्य में रसपरिकल्पना, पृ० ४३-४४.

१३. वही, पृ० ४४-४५.

१४. रसगंगाधर का शास्त्रीय अध्ययन, पृ० १४१.

१५. वही, पृ० १४१.

१६. वही, पृ० १४१

१७. रससिद्धान्त, पृ० १५९.

१८. वही, पृ० १५९.

१९. वही, पृ० १५९.

२०. हिन्दी वैष्णव-साहित्य में रसपरिकल्पना, पृ० ४२.

२१. कथं तु असत्येन वेदान्तवाक्येन सत्यस्य ब्रह्मात्मत्वस्य प्रतिपत्तिरुपपद्यते । नहि रज्जुसर्पेण दष्टो म्रियते । नापि मृगतृष्णिकाम्भसा पानावगाहनादिप्रयोजनं क्रियते । नैष दोषः शंकाविषादिनिमित्तमरणादिकार्योपलब्धेः ।

२२. द्रष्टव्य, पञ्चदशी, ध्यानदीप, श्लोक १ से ९ तक;
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२३. ब्रह्माद्याः स्तम्बपर्यन्ताः प्राणिनोऽत्र जड़ा अपि ।
उत्तमाधमभावेन वर्तन्ते पटचित्रवत् ॥ पञ्च०, चित्रदीप ५.

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२६. हिन्दी अभिनव-भारती, पृ० ४५०.

२७. तत्त्वप्रदीपिका, २.४७, पृ० ३०३.

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२९. सम्यग्दर्शननिष्ठया···। विवेकचूडामणिः श्लो० ९;
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THE SECULAR ORIGIN OF SANSKRIT DRAMA

RAM GOPAL

The question of the origin of Sanskrit drama has been vexing the minds of Indologists for over a century, and various theories have been advanced by eminent scholars to offer a seemingly satisfactory solution of the problem. Most of these theories cancel each other and a resume of the arguments in support of these theories has been given by A.B. Keith in his *Sanskrit Drama*. It is therefore hardly necessary to repeat those arguments and counter-arguments in this paper. It may, however, be mentioned here that Keith in his said work has discounted all possibilities of the secular origin of Sanskrit drama, and has adduced maximum possible arguments in favour of the religious origin of Sanskrit drama.

In the opinion of the present writer it is necessary to examine afresh critically those arguments which favour the view that the ultimate origin of Sanskrit drama goes back to the religious performances of the Indian people; for this view has not been seriously challenged by eminent scholars, and on the contrary, it seems to have won general acceptance.

It is not worthwhile to dwell upon such oft-refuted theories as dialogue-hymn theory, etc. In this connection it is generally held that nothing more than the existence of dramatic elements such as dialogue, dance and song can be proved from the Vedas, and that Sanskrit drama cannot be proved to be the direct descendant of any dialogues found in the Vedas.

Keith's Arguments for Religious Origin

It is the dramatic elements of the Vedic ritual upon which the supporters of the religious origin of Sanskrit drama base their main arguments. It is undoubtedly true that several rituals described in the Vedic literature contain such dramatic elements as dance, dialogue and song. So Keith who discerns the origin of Sanskrit drama in these dramatic elements of the Vedic ritual bserves ; "Hence the doctrine which has the approval of Prof. Oldenberg and which finds the origin of drama in the sacred dance, a dance, of course, accompanied by gesture of pantomimic character ; combined with song, and later enriched by dialogue, this would give rise to the drama. If we further accept the view that the dialogue in prose was added from the ritual element seen in the abuse at the horse-sacrifice and the Mahāvrata, then within the Vedic ritual we may discern all the elements for the growth of drama present." (*Sanskrit Drama*, p. 26). The same scholar further adds : "The evidence is conclusive on the close connexion of religion and the drama, and it strongly suggests that it was from religion that the decisive impulse to dramatic creation was given" (*ibid.*, pp. 44-45). As regards *Kaṃsavadha* described in the Mahābhāṣya Keith finds in it a refined version of an older vegetation ritual in which, he thinks, the representation of the outworn spirit of vegetation is destroyed ; and he regards the Mahāvrata ceremony as a primitive form of this contest (*ibid.*, p. 37). This view, he believes, accords with the theory of the origin of Greek drama from a mimic conflict of summer and winter.

The character of the Vidūṣaka is adduced by Keith as an additional proof of the religious origin of Sanskrit drama ; and the Brāhmaṇa who holds an abusive dialogue with a hetaera at the Mahāvrata ceremony is regarded by the said scholar as the prototype of the Vidūṣaka. The important position that the legends connected with Rāma and Kṛṣṇa occupy in the dramatic representations of *Bali-bandha* and *Kaṃsa-vadha* of the Mahābhāṣya and later dramas is interpreted by Keith as an evidence for the close connection between Sanskrit drama and religion. The Yātrās of Bengal and Ramalilā or Daśaharā of northern India are considered by him as pieces of evidence to prove the religious origin of Sanskrit drama. With regard to the religious ceremonies such as *Pūrvaraṅga*, etc. to be performed at the beginning of a drama, Keith observes : "The preliminaries of the drama are sufficient to show the extraordinary importance attached to propitiation of the gods, a relic of the old religious service, which would be quite out of place if the origin of the drama had been secular." (*ibid.*, p. 41). In this way Keith pleads in favour of the religious origin of Sanskrit drama and rules out the possibility of its secular origin with the remarks : "It is indeed to ignore how essentially religion enters into the life of the Hindu to imagine that it is possible to trace the beginnings of drama to a detached love of amusement" (*ibid.*, p. 52).

Theory of Religious Origin Untenable

The scholars who advocate or uphold the theory of the religious origin of Sanskrit drama are inclined to believe, as is clear from the foregoing quotation of Keith, that the life of the people in ancient India was entirely submerged under religion so much so that all the activities of the ancient Indian people from morn till evening and from birth to death were prompted by religious motives alone. According to this school of thought, people in ancient India knew nothing but religion and there was no place for secular amusements and enterprises in their life. So some scholars seek to trace every art or science of ancient India to the religious performances of the people.

However, such a view is not consistent with the outlook which the people in ancient India held on life since very early times. It cannot be gainsaid that the Indian people have always regarded religion as the summum bonum of life and attached great importance to the performance of religious rites. But this attitude towards religion has never prevented them from paying adequate attention to the secular aspects of life. There is positive and ample evidence in the ancient Indian scriptures to prove that perfect success in life was considered to be dependent on both religious and secular aspects of life ; and therefore success in the secular aspect of life was as much prized as that in the religious performances. This idea is beautifully expressed in a verse of the Pāraskara-Gṛhya-Sūtra (II. 17. 9) where the goddess Sītā, the goddess of agriculture, is praised as bestowing success in respect of both religious (*Vaidika*) and secular (*Laukika*) duties of her devotees. With regard to the aims of life the Rāmāyaṇa (II. 21. 57 ; III. 41. 8, etc.) and the Dharmasūtras lay equal stress on *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* which represent both religious and secular aspects of life ; and it is repeatedly emphasized in these works that every possible effort should be made to achieve success in each of these three aims of life. For instance, the sage Gautama lays down that a graduate (Snātaka) should not waste his time in idleness and should make the best use of it through the acquisition of *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* (Gaut. Dh. S. IX. 46). When Bharata goes to meet Rāma in the forest, the latter makes enquiries about the welfare of the former and asks him particularly whether he (Bharata) maintains a balance between *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* and does not neglect one for the sake of another (Rāmāyaṇa II. 100. 62-63). These very words are addressed by the sage Nārada to the king Yudhiṣṭhira in the Sabhā-parvan of the Mahābhārata (II. 5. 19-20). It is thus sufficiently clear that the people in ancient India attached as much importance to success in secular aspects of life as to that in religious rites and observances. Therefore it must be admitted that in ancient India the ideas connected with economics, politics and popular arts grew side by side with those relating to religion ; and consequently treatises on various secular subjects such as politics, economics, dramatics and even erotics were composed in ancient India in the course of their natural development without any special impetus from religion. Discussing the origin of the Arthaśāstra, Keith also recognizes the fact that religion alone did not matter in the life of the people of ancient India, and observes : "The Vedic literature, permeated as it is with religion, affords a quite false impression of the Vedic Indian as a person given to reflection and religious practices without regard to practical life. Nothing, of course, can be farther from the truth ; the East, in lieu of bowing low before the West in disdain or otherwise, confronted Alexander with an obstacle which he did not attempt to penetrate, and his garrisons had soon after his death to be withdrawn. If we are to judge India aright, we must add two other objects (*Artha* and *Kāma*) to the Dharma, religious, and moral duty which is dwelt on in the Vedic texts" (*A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 450).

In this connection it is very important to bear in mind that the people in ancient India did not regard Dharma, Artha, and Kāma as exclusive of each other but complementary. So the religious topics find occasional discussion in the ancient Indian treatises dealing with economics, politics, dramatics and even erotics, while the religious scriptures also sometimes touch upon matters relating to economics, politics, etc. Hence dance, song and other modes of popular amusement could not be completely divorced from religion and they formed part of the religious observances on certain occasions. It would be unrealistic to suppose that these popular arts had their origin in religious performances and were later transferred to secular aspects of life.

There is also another piece of evidence which militates against the theory of religious origin of Sanskrit drama. Any institution arising out of religion carries the halo of sanctity and commands the reverence of the religious-minded people ; and no religious authority can even dream to denounce such an institution having religious affiliations. But in the case of early dramatic art the position is just the reverse of it. The sage Baudhāyana dubs the professions of teaching dramatic art and staging dramas as *Upapātakas*, i.e. degrading vices of secondary magnitude (*Baudh. Dh. S.* II. 2. 5). Had the dramatic art originatad from religious performances, it would have been naturally commended and revered in the ancient scriptures like a fifth Veda, as Bharata, the author of the Nāṭyaśāstra, would like us to believe. On the contrary, the Kalpa-Sūtras and the Smṛtis have no word of religious merit in favour of the dramatic art but contain passages condemning it. Denying the religious origin of secular arts, the celebrated Mīmāṃsaka Kumārila (I. 3. 9, etc.) observes : "All that has reference to virtue and final beatitude is taken from the Veda, while other matters, the purpose of which consists in pleasures and gain, are according to the customs of men." Thus the ancient Indian tradition and scriptures do not lend support to the theory of religious origin of Sanskrit drama.

Religious Influence on Sanskrit Drama

Although the Sanskrit drama did not originate from the religious performances of the people, yet it has been definitely influenced by the religious beliefs of the people and it did not develop in isolation from religion. In accordance with their faith the dramatist as well as the stage-manager invoked in the beginning of their work the blessings of the deity concerned for a trouble-free and successful conclusion of their work. When the drama had attained further development in course of time, the dramaturgists in keeping with the ancient Indian tradition thought of imparting religiosity to the dramatic art in the belief that their art would flourish much more if the people were made to believe that attending a dramatic performance would provide them not only secular amusement but would also bring forth religious merit. It was under this belief that Bharata in his Nāṭyaśāstra declares the dramatic art to be the fifth Veda and associates all the important deities of the Hindu pantheon—Brahman, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Pārvatī—with the creation of this art. Moreover, with a view to making their plays popular among the people the play-wrights in ancient India chose for their plays mostly such stories as were already popular among the people and appealed to their religious sentiments. Hence the stories of most of the ancient Indian plays have been taken from the Epics. Besides, the ancient Indian drama never showed such scenes on the stage as were likely to hurt the religious feelings of the audience. In keeping with the popular belief that it produces religious merit to hear or witness on the stage the sanctifying deeds of divine and religious people, the dramatists in ancient India generally took up the stories of divine and righteous personages for their plays. Subscribing to the belief that the divine and the righteous people, whose character is being portrayed, always triumph in the end, the Sanskrit dramatists could not conceive of a tragedy. The Sanskrit drama has always aimed at raising the character of the people through entertainment combined with instruction.

PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN SANSKRIT PLAYS

D. D. SHARMA

The question of participation of women in stage performances in ancient India is somewhat vexed. Nothing can definitely be said either in favour of it or against it. The *Nāṭya-Śāstra*, the earliest authority on it, also presents divergent views. In principle it lays down that male characters should be represented by men and female by women[1], particularly when the leading sentiment of the play is *Śṛṅgāra*, for, female characters are better suited to present this sentiment due to their natural gift of grace and aesthetic efficiency[2]. Keeping in view this requirement of the drama, Bharata further says that this art should be taught to the ladies in the royal harems and other suitable women, because the delicate and charming roles of women can best be played by women only.[3]

But at the same time the N. Ś. also states that if suitable characters are not available, the role of women characters may be played by a male or vice-versa, though a very careful selection in this case will be necessary.[4]

Although the above-mentioned instructions from the first and the foremost director of the Indian theatre clearly indicate that he, both in principle and in practice, wanted active participation of women in dramatic performances; yet it seems that in actual practice it was not strictly followed, i.e. the roles of women characters were usually played by male characters. There are many instances which clearly indicate the existence of this practice. In this regard a very early piece of evidence of a man playing the role of a woman has been referred to by Keith from the 'Mahābhāṣya' in which it is mentioned that the word '*Bhrukuṁsa*' was used to denote a man who was made up as a woman (S.D.p. 362). A few examples from the Mahābhārata also confirm the fact that roles involving music and dance, which Bharata had exclusively reserved for women, were performed by male actors themselves.[5] In later plays, too, we come across scenes in which males assume the role of females. In the drama of

Bhavabhūti, the *Mālati-Mādhava* we see the Sūtradhāra and Pāripārśvika playing the role of Kāmandaki and her pupil respectively.

The Indian stage continued this practice till recent times is clear from religious 'Līlās' in which the role of Rādhā, Sītā, etc., is performed by males only. From the life of Chaitanya also we know that this practice was in vogue in his times (15th century). In his 'Krishna drama' Chaitanya himself assumed the role of Lakṣmi, and another devotee, Gadādhara of her friend Lalitā.[6]

In fact, Sanskrit drama, from its very inception, had to face the great problem of presenting women characters on the stage. Right from the ancient times, the leaders of the Hindu society were not in favour of being given full freedom to the weaker sex, especially in out-door activities. It is true that they could take part in all religious and social ceremonies, but it is also a patent fact that in other fields their activities were considerably restricted. Even much earlier to the times of Hindu law-givers, customs forbade women from taking active part in public performances. A special importance was attached to the necessity of keeping women in their homes. 'न स्त्री स्वातन्त्र्यमर्हति' was only the echo of the practices prevalent in the then society. There were few exceptions to this convention. All those, not observing these unwritten formalities, were rated low in society. No person of any social status could ever think of allowing ladies of his family to take part in any performance of secular type. Therefore, for the directors of Sanskrit Drama it remained a perpetual problem to recruit women characters from among the cultured classes. It was only from the lower classes that they could hope to obtain their services for their plays, but mostly they were too uncultured and wholly uneducated to meet their sophisticated requirements of the dramatic art.

From the study of the *Nāṭya-Śāstra* it is quite clear that owing to this handicap in the enactment of a good drama Bharata had to produce, in the earlier stages, only that type of dramas in which women characters were not at all required.

As the legend goes, Bharata asked by Brahmā and directed by Indra, trained his 100 pupils in the art of drama and with their assistance, gave performances to some of his dramas. But none of the plays dramatised by him contained any woman character. Because the sage had only male students at his disposal and hence he could dramatize those themes only in which no woman character was required. But owing to the absence of women characters, as we are told, these dramas, though produced successfully, could not give the aesthetic satisfaction to the gods, because it fell short of the basic demand of a drama, i.e. depiction of all aspects of human life. Consequently, the sage was asked again to produce such plays as could be more effective, convincing and thus truly enjoyable and also giving a realistic representation to all the aspects of human life (*N.Ś.* I, 41-42).

However, in the then society it was hardly possible for him to get such cultured women as could be induced to take part in the drama; and those, whose services could easily be obtained, were good for nothing for this highly technical and refined art. Consequently, it is said that Bharata had to approach Brahmā once more to explain his inability to enact a drama containing the elements of *Kaiśikī* Vṛtti without women characters. He says that the *Kaiśiki*, dealing with love and requiring beautiful dressing, is impossible to be staged by men without women. It is further said that on this Brahmā created the nymphs, through his mental creation, who were quite expert in the art of acting and Bharata was able to produce dramas of high excellence with their help. (cf. *N.Ś.*I. 45-46).[7]

This story though immersed in mythical atmosphere is sufficient to bring to view the problem of women characters in a play which the earliest Indian stage-directors had to face. A closer study of the development of the Sanskrit drama also lays it bare that in the beginning only that type of dramas were favoured in which women characters were the least required. The first legendary drama *Samudra-manthana*, staged on the festival of 'Indra-dhvaja' under the supervision of sage Bharata had no women characters in the real sense. Moreover, in the story of *Samudra-manthana*, if the mythical cloak is cast off, Viṣṇu's assuming the form of *Mohinī* for the distribution of the *nectar* is more or less a pointer to the fact that men assumed the role of women in those days.

It was in the later stages only that women characters were included in the composition of a drama, meant for the stage. Bharata's next legendary drama *Lakṣmīsvayaṃvara*, referred to in the *Vikramorvaśīya* of Kālidāsa, may be considered the first of its kind in which the nymph Urvaśī was represented as playing the chief role of 'Lakṣmī'.

At least, it is quite clear that for the dramas, written in '*Kaiśikī* Vṛtti' participation of female characters became a necessity. While defining *Kaiśikī* the sage says—"there are females in the representation, plenty of music and dance, representation of love affairs, and lastly there is beautiful dressing up".[8]

For the successful enactment of this type of dramas Bharata had to seek the assistance of heavenly nymphs. In other words it speaks of early theatre directors securing the services of the courtesans, who were well-versed in the art of singing, dancing and love-making, for staging their plays with romantic themes. In the '*Mṛcchakaṭika*' Viṭa says of Vasantasenā—"She is very expert in changing her voice on account of her taking part in the dramas and her training in different arts",[9] and Śakāra also calls her a 'dramatic woman' (*Nāṭakastrī*).

After Bharata there were many Sanskrit dramatists who wrote their plays containing romantic themes for the stage and evidence is there in plenty that many of them were successfully staged on different occasions. But the question is still to be answered whether in actual performance the role of the women characters, in all the cases, was represented by females themselves?

But, on the other hand, we also see that there is an unbroken chain of evidences, from the very early period, of women actually taking part in dramatic performances. Apart from the Vedic hymns, describing beautiful young maidens as dancing girls, there are references in the epics, too, in which girls are said to be proficient in the art of music and dancing. From the Rāmāyaṇa we know that men and women used to act on the stage.[10] There is also a clear reference to the existence of women's dramatic companies in those days.[11] Moreover, in the later literature we come across references which clearly tell us that dramatic performances were actually presented by women in harems of kings for the entertainment of the royal audience. Coming to the beginning of the Christian era, we find the great poet Kālidāsa mentioning of a drama being staged by the celestial women in heaven (cf. *Vikram.)*. Similarly, the play within the play in the *Priyadarśikā* of King Harṣa is an uncontroversial proof of the fact that there were women actresses in harems of kings. This is quite in accordance with the instructions of sage Bharata as we have noted above (N.Ś. XXVI. 6-8). But at the same time it is also clear from the above instance that in such performances only women characters were the sole participants, i.e. the roles of men also were acted by women themselves, as is evident from the fact that in the above-mentioned play of Harṣa the role of the king was to be played by the maiden named Manoramā (*Priya.* III). In the fifth act of the *Kundamālā* we are told that Tilottamā was to play the role of Sītā. The same is the case with Dāmodara's Kuṭṭinīmata, in which the actual stage presentation of the drama the Ratnāvalī is described, In this a woman plays the role of the princess Ratnāvalī (*Kuṭṭ.* 98-99, 104-105). In the *Harṣa-carita* too, Bāṇa, while enumerating his friends, mentions that both men and women actors were among his friends. Moreover, beginning from Bharata down to king Harṣa we see that 'naṭī' has a definite role to play in these dramas, though it is not sure if in all the cases the role was played by a woman alone.

Thus one can gather from these accounts that though there was a scope for women to exhibit their talent on the Indian stage ; yet in practice, only the courtesans and the professional actresses were normally associated with dramatic performances. Some of the scholars are of the opinion that courtesans employed for this purpose must have been from Mahārāṣṭra, because most of the female characters in Sanskrit dramas are to speak in 'Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛta' only.[12] But it may only indicate their participation in dramatic performances in earlier periods, but later on it may have become a convention.

A close scrutiny of contemporary views, however, reveals that this practice of women taking part in the public performances was never encouraged by Indian society. For the professional women artists were generally looked down and were considered to be immoral and consequently had no respect in society. Moreover, the relationship between vowels and consonants as explained in the Mahābhāṣya also confirms it. Patañjali says that consonants are like wives of actors who act as wives of any one on the stage.[13] Further the contemptuous term '*rūpājīva*' with which their husbands are referred to is another proof of their being considered low and immoral. The very fact that their chastity was questioned by the law-giver 'Manu'[14], and Mahābhāṣyakāra Patañjali fully exhibits the mental attitude of the then society about these women. In fact, such an attitude is directly responsible for the fewer number of amateur women being attracted towards acting as an art. Undoubtedly, these social inhibitions must have stood in their way and deprived talented women from taking part in the stage-craft. The Indian stage due to these and other restrictions could not develop in its true sense and have its deeper roots in the past.

NOTES

1. स्त्रियस्तु स्त्रीगते भावे पुरुषाः पुरुषे यथा ।
यथा वयस्तथा तस्मिन् अनुरूपेति सा स्मृता ।। *N. Ś.* XXVI. 44-46.

2. शृङ्गाररसमासाद्य तन्नारीष्वेव योजयेत् ।
यस्मात् स्वभावोपनतो विलासः स्त्रीषु दृश्यते ।। *Ibid.*

3. तथैव मानुषे लोके राज्ञामन्तःपुरेष्वपि ।
उपदेष्टव्यमाचार्यैः शास्त्रबुद्ध्याङ्गनाष्वपि ।। *Ibid.*, XXVI. 6-7.

4. पुरुषः स्त्रीगतं भावं यो वा प्रकुरुते पुनः ।
+ \+ \+
स्त्रीषु योज्यः प्रयत्नेन प्रयोगः पुरुषाश्रयः । *Ibi:l.*, XXVI. 48.

5. ननर्तुर्नर्तकाश्चैव जगुर्गेयानि गायकाः । *Mbh.*, Kumbhakonam ed., I. 219. 4.
पश्यन्तो नटनर्तकान् । *Ibid.*, I.218. 10.
आनर्ताश्च तथा सर्वे नटनर्तकगायकाः ।। *Ibid.*, II. 15. 12.

6. *Sammelana-Patrikā*, Vol. 45, No. 3, p. 59.

7. कैशिकी श्लक्ष्णनेपथ्या शृङ्गाररससम्भवा ।
अशक्या पुरुषैः सा तु प्रयोक्तुं स्त्रीजनादृते ।।

8. *N. Ś.* XXVII. 47,

9. इयं रंङ्गप्रवेशेन कलानां चोपशिक्षया ।
………………स्वरनैपुण्यमाश्रिता ॥ Mṛcch. 1.42.

10. Cf. 'शैलूषाश्च तथा स्त्रीभिर्यान्ति' ।

11. Cf. 'वधूनाटकसंघैश्च' (*Vālmiki*. I.5.12).

12. Cf. Prabhakar Machave, Sammelana-Patrikā, April, 1951.

13. व्यञ्जनानि पुनर्नटभार्यावद् भवन्ति । तद्यथा नटानां स्त्रियो रंगगताः यो यः पृच्छति कस्य यूयं कस्य यूयमिति तं तं तव तवेति आहुः । *Mahābhāṣya* VI. 1. 2.

14. नैष चारणदारेषु……चारयन्ति च ॥ *Manu*. VIII. 362.
अपि च Cf. स्वयं तु भार्यां कौमारीं चिरमध्युषितां सतीम् ।
शैलूष इव मां राम परेभ्यो दातुमिच्छसि ॥ Vālmiki II. 30.8.

BHARTṚHARI'S VAIRĀGYA- AND NĪTI-ŚATAKA-S, THE FIRST SANSKRIT TEXT KNOWN IN EUROPE

LUDWIK STERNBACH

1. The first Sanskrit work which became known in Europe was the "translation" of the Vairāgya- and Nīti-śataka-s of Bhartṛhari. These Sanskrit epigrams were published by the Dutch Calvinist missionary Abraham Roger[1]. A. Roger was first in a mission on the Coromandel Coast and then in Batavia (today's Jakarta) from 1630 to 1647. He died in 1649. His book written in Dutch, entitled *De-open-Deure tot het verborgen Heydendon*, was first published in Leyden in 1651. From Dutch it was translated into German and published in 1663 in Nuernberg as the *Offne Tuer zu dem Verborgenen Heydenthum*. There, in the chapter entitled *Dess Heydnischen Barthrouherri hundert Sprueche von dem vernuenftigen Wandel unter den Menschen*, contains the "translation of the Vairāgya-śataka and the Nīti-śataka of Bhartṛhari's epigrams. In 1670 Thomas la Grue, Maitre es arts and doctor in medicine translated the whole work of A. Roger into French and published it at J. Schipper in Amsterdam in 1670 under the intricate title *La Porte ouverte, pour parvenir á la connoissance du Paganisme caché ou La vraye représentation de la vie, des moeurs, de la Réligion, et du service divin des Bramines, qui demeurent sur les cavtes de Cormandel, et aūx pays circonvoisins, par le Sieur Abraham Roger, qui a fait sa résidence plusieurs années sur les dites Costes, et a fort exactement recherché tout ce qu' il y avait de plus curieux, avec des Remarques des noms et des choses les plus importantes, Traduite en francois par le Sieur Thomas La Grue, Maistre és-Arts, et Docteur en médecine*. Through A. Roger's book, J.C. Herder became acquainted with Bhartṛhari's epigrams and translated some of them into German, first in 1792 in his *Gedanken einiger Brahmanen*.

2. The chapter containing the Bhartṛhari's epigrams begins with "The Life of Bhartṛhari" called Barthrouherri (p. 281 of the French edition) and is followed by the "translation of one hundred epigrams of the Vairāgya-śataka and one hundred epigrams of the Nīti-śataka.

3. According to the introductory part of the Bhartṛhari-chapters called the *Proverbs of the heathen Barthrouherri, famous amongst the Brāhmiṇs living on the Coromandel coast*, Bhartṛhari was the son of a Brāhmaṇa who had four wives, each belonging to another caste. From the wife who belonged to the Brāhmaṇa caste he had a son called Vararuci, from the wife who belonged to the Kṣatriya caste, a son called Vikramārka, from the wife belonging to the Vaiśya caste, a son called Betti (? Bhaṭṭi), and from the wife belonging to the Śūdra caste, a son called Bhartṛhari. The latter composed 300 epigrams, divided into three books which were short sentences (proverbs) being "the essence of teachings from many books"? "Every book was divided into ten chapters and each chapter contains ten maxims, but ... in two chapters the tenth maxim is missing, because it was not included in the original". The Brāhmiṇ Padmanāba has translated to A. Roger these maxims, "with the exception of those amorous ones which ... he did not want to translate into Dutch. They say that Barthrouherri was first addicted to charms of women and was married to three hundred of them, but his father seeing that he is dying asked his four children to come to his bed". Though he was satisfied with his three sons, he was not so with Bhartṛhari, who was a Śūdra and might have many children. He believed that through the children of higher caste he could have attained "heaven" and they could even "deliver him from hell", while off-springs of a Śūdra would bar him from "heaven". Bhartṛhari "noticing the sadness of his father ..., left the room, shaved off his hair and took a red dress, as *saṃnyāsins* do; so dressed he came back to his father's bed"; that caused great satisfaction to his father who promised him that "he will live as long as the world will live. (They say that he exists in the invisible world as an angel does)". After the death of his father, Bhartṛhari considered whether he would go and see the world or whether he should abandon it. In the first case his wives would follow him and in the second the wives, affraid of their future, would ask him what would happen to them in the future. Then Bhartṛhari replied: "each one of you can look for a husband and marry and you would not commit a sin and that would form a family of three hundert; if a wife loses his husband in this family this would neither be shameful nor sinful and the family would be known as "Cauwreas" which is a family amongst Śūdras and that is a very great family, indeed, the biggest amongst the Śūdras, because all can be included in this family and they say ... that it is like a sea which received water from all rivers which pour their waters therein".

4. This story told to A. Roger and repeated by him in his "De Open-Deure..." is one of the many legends about Bhartṛhari's life and origin. This legend, which was also told in Merutuṅga's Prabandhacintāmaṇi was particularly prevalent in India in the thirteenth century onwards[1].

5. The value of this introduction to the "translation" of Bhartṛhari's epigrams lies in the fact that it gives us information about the recension of which

the ' translation" was made. This was a recension prevalent on the Coromandel coast and belongs to the Southern and Western Recension arranged by *paddhati-s* "that attempted to group together stanzas of similar content"[5].

6. As far as could be ascertained, no one yet tried to analyze A Roger's "translation" and to find out how it compared with the epigrams of the Vairāgya-and Nīti-śataka-s available to us to-day. The present paper will show that A. Roger's text tried to group similar epigrams in bunches of ten. The omission of the tenth epigrams in the Vairāgya-śataka in chapters sixth and seventh is probably not due, as A. Roger claimed, to the fact that it was missing in the text available to him, but to the fact that the whole division into groups of ten was artificial and these epigrams never existed.

7. On the other hand, A. Roger's "translations" were not translations of the epigrams but their paraphrases, often very poor and so vague and standing often so far away from the original, that it is very difficult to ascertain which of the original Bhartṛhari's epigram was "translated" and included in A. Roger's "translation". That seems to be due to the fact that it was not A. Roger himself who translated the epigrams but that he only registered the paraphrases made by Brāhmiṇ Padmanāba whose Dutch must have been far from perfect; it seems, in addition, that Padmanāba purposely changed the sense of some of Bhartṛhari's epigrams to make them more palatable to A. Roger and his future readers. That can be deduced from the fact that he even refused to "translate" the epigrams of the Śṛṅgāra-śataka, considering that they would throw an unfavourable light on the Hindūs.

8. Out of two hundred Bhartṛhari's epigrams included in A. Roger's "De Open-Deure..." only seven (all in the Nīti-śataka) could not be identified in the critical edition of Bhartṛhari's epigrams[6]. All the others were, though divergencies between the Sanskrit text and the "translation", often important, were noticed. Sometimes two Sanskrit epigrams are combined into one in the "translation", while in other cases parts of the Sanskrit epigrams were omitted. Whether that is due to the existence of a different Sanskrit text on which the "translation" was based with that edited in BhŚ. or the paraphrasing by Padmanāba is difficult to judge, since we do not have the text from which the "translation" was made, but it is rather to assume that the differences are due to the paraphrasing than to the text, for all "translations" are not literal ones and are often far-fetched.

9. The present paper is based on the critical edition of Bhartṛhari's epigrams: Śatakatryādi-Subhāṣitasaṁgraha by D.D. Kosambi in Siṅghī Jaina Granthamālā 23, Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, 1948 (BhŚ.). Table I registers one hundred epigrams belonging to the Vairāgya-śataka and one hundred epigrams belonging to the Nīti-śataka, as presented by A. Roger in the "De Open-Deure

tot het verborgen Heydendom..." (column 1, marked "Roger") with the parallels of the Vairāgya- and Nīti-śataka-s as published by M.R. Kale "The Nīti and Vairāgya Śatakas" (Sixth revised edition, Gopal Narayen & Co., Bombay, 1922) (column 2 marked Vairāgya, or Nīti-śataka) and its corresponding epigrams in BhŚ., and in the fourth column the *pratika-s.* Table II gives the list of Bhartṛhari's epigrams "translated" by A. Roger and included in his "De Open-Deure...": these epigrams are listed in alphabetical order (the first column contains the *pratīka-s,* column two the number of Bhartṛhari's epigrams as included in BhŚ., and in columns 3 and 4 their place in the Vairāgya- and Nīti-śataka-s according to A. Roger is given).

10. The tables described above show which of the Bhartṛhari's epigrams became known in Europe already in the seventeenth century. These were the first texts which the European intelligentsia knew that they were written in India in the *sanscotam* language[7].

TABLE I

1. Vairāgya-śataka

Roger	*Vairāgya-śataka*	*BhŚ.*	*Pratika*	*Roger*	*Vairāgya-śataka*	*BhŚ.*	*Pratika*
I.1	1	1	चूडोत्तं°	II.1	12	263	न संसा°
.2	4	148	भ्रान्त्वा	.2	13	157	अवश्यं
.3	3	149	उत्खातं	.3	14	283	ब्रह्मज्ञा°
.4	5	150	खलोल्ला°	.4	15	540	धन्यानां
.5	6	168	अमीषां	.5	16	158	भिक्षाशनं
.6	9	156	वलिभि°	.6	17	159	स्तनौ मां°
.7	7	236	क्षान्तं न	.7	18	224	एको रा°
.8	8	155	भोगा न	.8	19	160	अजान°
9.	10	153	निवृत्ता	9.	20	253	तृषा शु°
.10	11	173	आशा नाम	.10	21	252	तुं गं वे°
III.1	22	152	दीनां दी°	IV.1	32	294	भोगे रो°
.2	23	207	अभिम°	.2	33	197	आक्रान्तं
.3	24	179	पुण्ये ग्रा°	.3	34	198	आधिव्या°
.4	25	238	गंगात°	.4	35	293	भोगास्तु°
.5	26	451	किं कन्दा:	.5	36	178	भोगा मे°
.6	27	181	पुण्यै भूं°	.6	37	192	आयु: क°

Roger	*Vairāgya-śataka*	*BhŚ.*	*Pratika*	*Roger*	*Vairāgya-śataka*	*BhŚ.*	*Pratika*
III.7	28	281	फलं स्वे°	IV.7	38	199	कृच्छ्रेणा°
.8	29	174	ये वर्धन्ते	.8	39	332	व्याघ्रीव
.9	30	314	ये संतोष°	.9	40	292	भोगा भ°
.10	31	290	भिक्षाहा°	.10	41	286	ब्रह्मेन्द्रा°
V.1	42	169	सा रम्या	VI.1	52-3	166/163	अर्थाना°/त्वंराजा
·2	43	171	यत्रानेकः	.2	54	177	वयमिह
·3	44	151	आदित्य°	.3	55	161	फलमल°
.4	45	316	रात्रिः सैव	.4	56	210	अशीम°
.5	46	154	न ध्यातं	.5	57	165	न नटा
.6	47	195	नाभ्यस्ता	.6	58	162	विपुल°
.7	48	175	विद्या ना°	.7	59	164	अभुक्ता°
.8	49	170	वयं ये°	.8	60	304	मृत्पिण्डो
.9	50	200	आयु र्व°	.9	61	338	स जातः
.10	51	235	क्षणं बा°	.10	Missing		
VII.1	62	167	परेषां	VIII.1	72	191	किं वेदैः
·2	63	267	परिभ्र°	.2	73	306	यदा मेरुः
·3	64	180	एतस्माद्	.3	74	242	गात्रं सं°
·4	65	182	मोहं मा°	.4	75	323	वर्णं सि°
·5	66	245	चेतश्चि°	.5	76	686	यावत्स्व°
·6	68	186	प्राप्ताः	.6	77	172	तपस्यन्तः
·7	69	187	भक्तिर्भवे	.7	78	258	दुरारा°
.8	70	188	तस्माद°	.8	79	303	माने म्ला°
.9	71	599	पातालान्न	.9	80	139	रम्याश्च°
·10	Missing			.10	81	708	रम्यं ह°
IX.1	82	176	आसंसारं	X.1	92	288	कौपीनं
.2	83	308	यदेतत्	·2	93	284	ब्रह्माण्ड°
.3	84	249	जीर्णा एव	.3	94	302	मातर्ल°
.4	85	300	महेश्वरे	.4	95	190	महीश°
.5	86	347	स्फुरत्	.5	96	289	भिक्षाशी
.6	87	325	वितीर्णे	.6	97	243	चाण्डालः
.7	88	227	कदा वा°	.7	98	352	हिंसाशू°
.8	89	345	स्नात्वा	.8	100	269	पाणिः पा°
.9	90	185	एकाकी	.9	99	239	गंगाती°
.10	91	268	पाणिं पा°	·10	101	301	मातर्मे°

2. Nīti-śataka

Roger	*Nīti-śataka*	*BhŚ.*	*Pratīka*	*Roger*	*Nīti-śataka*	*BhŚ.*	*Pratīka*
I.1	1	256	दिक्काला°	II.1	15	13	शास्त्रोप°
.2	2	311	यां चिन्त°	.2	16	15	हर्तुर्याति
.3	3	8	अज्ञः सु°	.3	17	16	अधिगत°
.4	4	9	प्रसह्य	.4	19	76	केयूरा
.5	5	319	लभेत	.5	18	38	अम्भोजि°
.6	6	67	व्यालं बा°	.6	20	70	विद्या ना°
.7	7	68	स्वायत्तमे°	.7	21	237	क्षान्तिश्चेत्
.8	8	5	यदा कि°	.8	22	71	दाक्षिण्यं
.9	9	30	कृमिकु°	.9	23	42	जाड्यं धि°
.10	10	334	शिरः शा°	.10	24	55	जयन्ति
III.1	29	17	क्षुत्क्षामो°	IV.1	39	25	जातिर्यातु
.2	30	350	स्वल्पस्ना°	.2	40	512	तानीन्द्रि°
.3	31	57	लांगूल°	.3	42	23	दौर्मन्त्र्या°
.4	32	74	परिवर्ति°	.4	43	50	दानं भोगो
.5	33	34	कुसुम°	.5	44	11	मणिः शा°
.6	34	53	सन्त्यन्ये	.6	45	12	परिक्षीणः
.7	35	73	वहति	.7	46	58	राजन्दु°
.8	36	321	वरं प्रा°	.8	47	59	सत्यानृता
.9	37	65	यदचेत°	.9	48	66	आज्ञा की°
.10	38	75	सिंहः शि°	.10	49	56	यद्धात्रा
V.1	52	61	अकरुण°	VI.1	62	43	वाञ्छा स°
.2	53	27	दुर्जनः प°	.2	63	14	विपदि
.3	54	24	जाड्यं ह्री°	.3	64	275	प्रदानं
.4	55	37	लोभश्चे°	.4	65	72	करे श्ला°
.5	56	10	शशी दि°	.5	66	339	संपत्सु
.6	57	60	न कश्चिच्°	.6	?		
.7	58	35	मौनान्मू°	.7	?		
.8	59	69	उद्भासि°	.8	67	33	संतप्ता°
.9	60	62	आरम्भ°	.9	68	279	प्रीणाति
.10	61	32	मृगमीन°	.10	69	36	नम्रत्वे°

Roger	*Niti-śataka*	*BhŚ*	*Pratika*	*Roger*	*Niti-śataka*	*BhŚ.*	*Pratika*
VII.1	70	63	भवन्ति	VIII.1	79	454	किं तेन
.2	71	54	श्रोत्रं श्रु°	.2	80	52	रत्नैर्मं°
.3	73	64	पद्माकरं	.3	?		
.4	74	221	एते सत्पु°	.4	83	265	निन्दन्तु
.5	72	31	पापान्नि°	.5	81	21	क्वचिद्भू°
.6	75	28	क्षीरेणा°	.6	85	230	कान्ताक°
.7	76	20	इतः स्व°	.7	84	226	कदर्थि°
.8	?			.8	87	322	वरं शृ°
.9	77	44	तृष्णां छि°	.9	82	41	ऐश्वर्यं°
.10	78	19	मनसि	.10	88	324	वह्निस्त°
IX.1	90	49	नेता यस्य	X.1	99	22	नमस्या°
.2	91	26	भग्नाश°	.2	100	285	ब्रह्मा ये°
.3	92	228	कर्माय°	.3	103	29	या साधूं°
.4	93	39	खल्वाटो	.4	104	7	शुभ्रं स°
.5	94	240	शशिदि°	.5	105	45	गुणव°
.6	95	342	सृजति	.6	106	343	स्थाल्यां
.7	?			.7	101	40	नैवाकृ°
.8	96-7	209 261	अयम° दैवेन	.8	107	48	मज्जत्व°
.9	?			.9	102	46	वने रणे
.10	?			.10	108	47	भीमं वनं

TABLE II

Pratika	*BhŚ.*	*Vairāgya-*	*Niti-*	*Pratika*	*BhŚ.*	*Vairāgya-*	*Niti-*
अकरुणत्वमकारण°	61	—	V.1	अमीषां प्राणानां	168	I.5	—
अजानन्माहात्म्यं	160	II.8	—	अम्भोजिनीवनविलास°	38	—	II.5
अज्ञः सुखमाराध्यः	8	—	I.3	अयममृतनिधानं[1]	209	—	IX.8
अधिगतपरमार्थान्	16	--	II.3	अर्थानामीशिषे त्वं[2]	166	VI.1	—
अभिमतमहामान°	207	III.2	—	अवश्यं यातारश्चि°	157	II.2	—
अभुक्तायां यस्यां	165	VI.7	—	अशीमहि वयं भिक्षा°	210	VI.4	—

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1. Together with दैवेन.
2. Together with त्वं राजा.

Pratika	*BhŚ.*	*Vairāgya*	*Nīti-*
आक्रान्तं मरणेन जन्म	197	IV.2	—
आज्ञा कीर्तिः पालनं	66	—	IV.9
आदित्यस्य गतागतै°	151	V.3	—
आधिव्याधिशतैर्वय°	198	IV.3	—
आयुर्वर्षशतं नृणां	200	V.9	—
आयुः कल्लोललोलं	192	IV.6	—
आरम्भगुर्वी क्षयिणी	62	—	V.9
आशा नाम नदी मनो°	173	I.10	—
अ संसारं त्रिभुवन°	176	IX.1	—
इतः स्वपिति केशवः	20	—	VII.7
उत्खातं निधिशंकया	149	I.3	—
उद्भासिताखिलखल°	69	—	V.8
एकाकी निःस्पृहः शा°	185	IX.9	—
एको रागिषु राजते	225	II.7	—
एतस्माद्विरमेन्द्रियार्थ°	180	VII.3	—
एते सत्पुरुषाः परा°	221	—	VII.7
ऐश्वर्यस्य विभूषणं	41	—	VIII.9
कदर्थितस्यापि हि	226	—	VIII.4
कदा वाराणस्याममर°	227	IX.7	—
करे श्लाघ्यस्त्यागः	72	—	VI.4
कर्मायत्तं फलं पुंसां	228	—	IX.3
कान्ताकटाक्षविशिखा	230	—	VIII.6
किं कन्दाः कन्दरेभ्यः	451	III.8	—
किं तेन हेमगिरिणा	454	—	VIII.1
किं वेदैः स्मृतिभिः	191	VIII.1	—
कुसुमस्तबकस्येव	34	—	III.5
कृच्छ्रेणामेध्यमध्ये	199	IV.7	—
कृमिकुलचितं लाला°	30	—	I.9
केयूरा न विभूषयन्ति	76	—	II.4
कौपीनं वा ततः किं	288	X.1	—
क्वचिद् भूमौ शय्या	21	—	VIII.5
क्षणं बालो भूत्वा	235	V.10	—
क्षान्तं न क्षमया	236	I.7	—
क्षान्तिश्चेत्कवचेन	237	—	II.7
क्षीरेणात्मगतोदका°	24	—	VII.7
क्षुत्क्षामोऽपि जराकृ°	17	—	III.6
खलोल्लापाः सोढाः	150	I.4	—
खल्वाटो दिवसेश्वरस्य	39	—	IX.4
गंगातरंगकणशीकर°	238	III.4	—
गंगातीरे हिमगिरिशि°	239	X.9	—
गात्रं संकुचितं गति°	242	VIII.3	—
गुणवदगुणवद्वा	45	—	X.5
चाण्डालः किमयं	243	X.6	—
चूडोत्तंसितचारुचन्द्र°	1	I.1	—
चेतश्चिन्तय मा रमां	245	VII.5	—
जयन्ति ते सुकृतिनो	55	—	II.10
जाड्यं धियो हरति	42	—	II.9
जाड्यं ह्रीमति गण्यते	24	—	V.3
जातिर्यातु रसातलं	25	—	IV.1
जीर्णा एव मनोरथाः	249	IX.3	—
तपस्यन्तः सन्तः किम°	172	VIII.6	—
तस्मादनन्तमजरं	188	VII.8	—
तानीन्द्रियाणि सकला°	512	—	IV.2
तुंगं वेश्म सुताः सता°	252	II.10	—
तृषा शुष्यत्यास्ये	253	II.9	—
तृष्णां छिन्धि भज क्षमां	44	—	VII.9
त्वं राजा वयमप्युपा°[1]	163	VI.1	—
दाक्षिण्यं स्वजने दया	71	—	II.8
दानं भोगो नाशस्ति°	50	—	IV.4
दिक्कालाद्यनवच्छिन्ना°	256	—	I.1
दीनां दीनमुखैः सदैव	152	III.1	—
दुराराध्यः स्वामी	258	VIII.7	—
दुर्जनः परिहर्तव्यो	27	—	V.2
दैवेन प्रभुणा स्वयं[2]	261	—	IX.8
दौर्मन्त्र्यान्नृपतिर्विन°	23	—	IV.3
धन्यानां नवपूगपूरित°	540	II.4	—

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[1] Together with अर्थिना°

[2] Together with अयममृत°

Pratika	*BhŚ.*	*Vairāgya*	*Niti-*
न कश्चिच्चण्डकोपाना°	60	—	V.6
नं ध्यातं पदमीश्वरस्य	154	V.5	—
न नटा न विटा न	165	VI.5	—
नयस्यामो देवान्ननु	22	—	X.1
नम्रत्वेनोन्नमन्तः पर°	36	—	IV.10
न संसारोत्पन्नं चरि°	263	II.1	—
नाभ्यस्ता भुवि वादि°	195	V.6	—
निन्दन्तु नीतिनिपुणा	265	—	VIII.4
निवृत्ता भोगेच्छा पुरुष°	153	I.9	—
नेता यस्य बृहस्पतिः	49	—	IX. 1
नैवाकृतिः फलति	40	—	X.7
पद्माकरं दिनकरो	64	—	VII.3
परिक्षीणः कश्चित्	12	—	IV.6
परिभ्रमसि किं वृथा	267	VII.2	—
परिवर्तिनि संसारे	74	—	III.4
परेषां चेतांसि प्रति°	167	VII.1	—
पाणिं पात्रयतां नि°	268	IX.10	—
पाणिः पात्रं पवित्रं	269	X.8	—
पातालान्न समुद्धृतो	599	VII.9	—
पापान्निवारयति	31	—	VII.5
पुण्ये ग्रामे वने वा	179	III.3	—
पुण्यैर्मूलफलैः प्रिये	181	III.6	—
प्रदानं प्रच्छन्नं गृह°	275	—	VI.3
प्रसह्य मणिमुद्धरेन्म°	9	—	I.4
प्राप्तः श्रियः सकल°	186	VII.6	—
प्रीणाति यः सुचरितैः	279	—	VI.9
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Pratika	*BhŚ.*	*Vairāgya-*	*Niti-*
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NOTES

1. Cf. Raymond Schwab, *La renaissance orientale*, *Bibliothéque historique*, Payot, Paris, 1950, pp. 149-152.
2. Thomas de la Grue, 1620-1680 was also the author of "Grammatica gallica, ex celebrioribus grammaticis collecta, in pluribus aucta et emendata, studio et industria," T. de L. G. Edition altera, auctior, Amsterdam, 1664; "Les religions du monde (par Alexander Ross, traduit par L. G.), Amsterdam, 1666; "La vraye introduction â la langue fracoise, avec quatre dialogues francois et flamans," Derniére édition, Amsterdam, 1669.

3. In Herder's *Saemtliche Werke*, 1828, zur *Litteratur und Kunst*, Bd. 9.141 sqq. Also in "Vermischte Stuecke aus verschiedenen morgenlaendischen Dichtern," *idem* pp, 157 sqq. and in his "Blumenlese aus morgenlaendischen Dichtern", Berlin, 1818.
4. The other main legends said that he was a Buddhist grammarian who died in A.D. 651; a king of Central India before the twelfth century; a king converted to ascetism by Gorakṣanātha; or identical with Bhaṭṭi, the author of Bhaṭṭiikāvya.
5. See BhŚ., Introduction, p. 32.
6. VI. 6, 7; VII. 8; VIII. 3; and IX. 7, 9 and 10.
7. That was the first entire work in Sanskrit known in Europe so early; however, some detached Sanskrit aphorisms and maxims were already known before through the translations of the Pañcatantra (the Tantrākhyāyikā).

सौन्दरनन्द महाकाव्य में प्रयुक्त सुभाषित

सुखवीर सिंह

संस्कृत के प्रायः सभी कवियों ने अपनी रचनाओं में सुभाषितों का प्रयोग किया है। किसी कवि का सांसारिक ज्ञान एवं अनुभव जितना गम्भीर होता है उसके काव्यों में सुभाषितों का प्रयोग भी उतना ही अधिक सुन्दर एवं प्रभावोत्पादक होता है। अश्वघोष के महाकाव्य सौन्दरनन्द में प्रयुक्त सुभाषित उनके श्रेष्ठ ज्ञान एवं सांसारिक अनुभव के परिचायक हैं। सौन्दरनन्द की रचना में अश्वघोष का मुख्य उद्देश्य काव्य के माध्यम से बौद्ध धर्म एवं दर्शन के सिद्धान्तों का प्रचार एवं प्रसार करना था। अतः उनके काव्य में सुभाषितों का प्रयोग उनके ज्ञान एवं अनुभव के अनुरूप ही हुआ है। इन सुभाषितों का प्रभाव सीधे मनुष्य के हृदय पर पड़ता है और ये मानव-जीवन की अमूल्य निधि हो गये हैं। इनसे शिक्षा एवं उपदेश की प्राप्ति होती है। सौन्दरनन्द में प्रयुक्त कुछ सुभाषितों का प्रस्तुत लेख में विवेचन किया जा रहा है।

जन्म

सभी दर्शन इस बात को स्वीकार करते हैं कि यह जन्म अनेक दुःखों से परिपूर्ण है। बौद्ध दर्शन में जन्म को दुःख का कारण बतलाया गया है। महाकवि अश्वघोष ने सौन्दरनन्द में जन्म को विपत्तियों का क्षेत्र कहा है। भगवान् बुद्ध नन्द को उपदेश देते हुए कहते हैं—

सर्वौषधीनामिव भूर्भवाय सर्वापदां क्षेत्रमिदं हि जन्म।

"जैसे सब प्रकार के पौधों की उत्पत्ति भूमि से होती है, वैसे ही सभी विपत्तियों का (उत्पत्ति-) क्षेत्र जन्म है" (सौ० १६. ७)।

बौद्ध दर्शन में इस जन्म-रूपी दुःख का कारण तृष्णा आदि दोषों का समूह बतलाया गया है; ईश्वर, प्रकृति, काल, स्वभाव, विधि अथवा संयोग इसका कारण नहीं हैं। तृष्णा के सम्बन्ध में बुद्ध नन्द से कहते हैं—

यस्मादतस्तर्षवशात्तथैव जन्म प्रजानामिति वेदितव्यम्।

"इसलिये जानना चाहिए कि तृष्णा के वशीभूत होने पर ही प्राणियों का जन्म होता है" (सौ० १६. १६)।

जीवन एवं शरीर

मनुष्य का जीवन कण्टकाकीर्ण है। यह क्षण-भंगुर है, किसी भी समय और कहीं भी समाप्त हो सकता है। यह शरीर क्षिति, जल, पावक, गगन और समीर इन पांच भौतिक तत्त्वों से निर्मित है। भगवान् बुद्ध नन्द को जीवन की अविश्वसनीयता के सम्बन्ध में उपदेश देते हैं—

अविश्वास्यं हि जीवितम्।

"जीवन विश्वसनीय नहीं है" (सौ० १५. ५७)।

एक भिक्षु नन्द को शरीर की नश्वरता के विषय में समझाता हुआ कहता है—

शरीरमीदृग्बहुदुःखमध्रुवम्।

"शरीर बहुत दुःखपूर्ण और क्षणभंगुर है" (सौ० ९. ४२)।

एक भिक्षु शरीर की निःसारता के विषय में नन्द को उपदेश देते हुए कहता है—

शरीरमामादपि मृन्मयाद्घटादिदं तु निःसारतमं मतं मम।

"मेरा मत है कि यह शरीर मिट्टी के कच्चे घड़े से भी असार है" (सौ० ९. ११)।

यौवन

यौवनावस्था में हृदय में अनेक मादक उमंगें जागृत होती हैं। शरीर के सभी अंगों का पूर्णरूपेण विकास हो जाता है। यौवन के मद में मत्त होकर मनुष्य उचित और अनुचित का ध्यान नहीं करता। सौन्दरनन्द महाकाव्य में यौवन की निःसारता के विषय में बतलाया गया है—

द्रुतं हि गच्छत्यनिवर्ति यौवनम्।

"कभी नहीं लौटने वाला यौवन तेजी से जा रहा है" (सौ० ९. २७)।

यौवन के सम्बन्ध में कवि की कितनी मार्मिक एवं स्वाभाविक अभिव्यक्ति है—

गतं गतं नैव तु संनिवर्तते जलं नदीनां च नृणां च यौवनम्।

"नदियों का जल और मनुष्यों का यौवन जाकर चला ही जाता है, लौटता नहीं है" (सौ० ९. २८)।

वृद्धावस्था

परिवर्तन ही प्रकृति का नियम है। प्रत्येक प्राणी की वृद्धावस्था होती है। सभी चिन्तकों ने वृद्धावस्था में होने वाले दुःखों एवं कष्टों का वर्णन किया है। सौन्दरनन्द महाकाव्य में वृद्धावस्था में होने वाले कष्टों एवं दुःखों का बड़ा मार्मिक वर्णन मिलता है। नन्द की शान्ति के लिए एक भिक्षु जरा के सम्बन्ध में उसे उपदेश देते हुए कहता है—

इदं हि रोगायतनं जरावशम्।

"वृद्धावस्था के वशीभूत यह शरीर रोगों का घर है" (सौ० ९. ६)।

जरा को शरीरधारियों का शत्रु बतलाते हुए एक भिक्षु नन्द से कहता है—

जरासमो नास्ति शरीरिणां रिपुः।

"जरा के समान शरीरधारियों के लिए (कोई) शत्रु नहीं है" (सौ० ९. ३३)।

करुणा करते हुए बुद्ध ने नन्द को जरा के सम्बन्ध में कहा—

जरासमा नास्त्यमृजा प्रजानाम्।

"प्राणियों के लिए बुढ़ापे के समान कोई गन्दगी नहीं है" (सौ॰ ५. २७)।

भगवान् बुद्ध नन्द को समझाते हुए कहते हैं कि सभी स्थानों पर जरा आती है—

जरा व्याधिश्च मृत्युश्च लोकस्यास्य महद्भयम्।
नास्ति देशः स यत्रास्य तद्भयं नोपपद्यते॥

"वृद्धावस्था, रोग और मृत्यु इस संसार का महाभय है, ऐसा कोई स्थान नहीं है जहां लोगों को यह भय नहीं होता हो" (सौ॰ १५.४६)।

काल एवं मृत्यु

मृत्यु अवश्यम्भावी होती है। जिसने इस संसार में जन्म लिया है उसका मरण भी अवश्य ही होता है। सौन्दरनन्द में बुद्ध नन्द को उपदेश देते हुए कहते हैं कि थोड़े समय के लिए भी जीवन के प्रति विश्वस्त नहीं रहना चाहिए—

निलीन इव हि व्याघ्रः कालो विश्वस्तघातकः।

"छिपे हुए बाघ के समान काल विश्वास करने वालों का घातक है" (सौ॰ १५. ५३)।

नित्यं हरति कालो हि स्थाविर्यं न प्रतीक्षते।

"काल नित्य ही (लोगों का) हरण कर रहा है, बुढ़ापे की प्रतीक्षा नहीं करता है" (सौ॰ १५. ६२)।

भगवान् बुद्ध नन्द को उपदेश देते हुए मृत्यु के सम्बन्ध में कहते हैं—

मृत्योः समं नास्ति भयं पृथिव्याम्।

"पृथ्वी पर मृत्यु के समान कोई भय नहीं है" (सौ॰ ५. २७)।

अकुशल विचारों के विनाश के लिए बुद्ध नन्द से कहते हैं—

मृत्युः सर्वास्ववस्थासु हन्ति नावेक्षते वयः।

"मृत्यु सब अवस्थाओं में मारती है, अवस्था का विचार नहीं करती" (सौ॰ १५.५४)।

सर्वास्ववस्थास्विह वर्तमानं सर्वाभिसारेण निहन्ति मृत्युः।

"मृत्यु इस संसार में सब अवस्थाओं में रहने वालों की सब प्रकार से हत्या करती है" (सौ॰ ५. २२)।

संसार

भारतीय दर्शनों में संसार को अधिकतर दुःखरूप माना गया है। इस सिद्धान्त पर जितना बल बुद्ध ने दिया है उतना दूसरों ने नहीं। सौन्दरनन्द में संसार को दुःखपूर्ण मानते हुए बुद्ध नन्द को उपदेश देते हुए कहते हैं—

नास्ति काचिद् गतिर्लोके गतो यत्र न बाध्यते।

"संसार में ऐसा कोई आश्रय (स्थान) नहीं है, जहाँ जाने पर मनुष्य पीड़ित न होता हो" (सौ॰ १५. ४७)।

एक भिक्षु नन्द को संसार की अनित्यता के सम्बन्ध में समझाते हुए कहता है—

असारमस्वन्तमनिश्चितं जगज्जगत्यनित्ये बलमव्यवस्थितम् ।

"जगत् असार, अनिश्चित और बुरे परिणाम वाला है, अनित्य जगत् में बल अस्थिर है" (सौ० ९. १६)।

विषयों का आकर्षण

मनुष्य की यह स्वाभाविक प्रवृत्ति है कि वह सांसारिक विषयों की ओर आकृष्ट होता है। संसार स्वयं विभिन्न विषयों का आकर्षण-केन्द्र है ।

सौन्दरनन्द में स्नेह को एक बन्धन बतलाते हुए बुद्ध नन्द को उपदेश देते हुए कहते हैं—

स्नेहेन कश्चिन्न समोऽस्ति पाशः ।

"स्नेह के समान कोई बन्धन नहीं है" (सौ० ५.२८)।

नन्द अपनी प्रिया सुन्दरी के वियोग को सहन न करके घर जाना चाहता है, तब उसकी यह दशा देखकर एक भिक्षु ने उद्धार करने की इच्छा से उसको यह अप्रिय वचन कहा—

रमते तृषितो धनश्रिया रमते कामसुखेन बालिशः ।

"तृष्णावान् व्यक्ति धन-सम्पत्ति से आनन्दित होता है और मूर्ख व्यक्ति काम-सुख से" (सौ० ८. २६) ।

आनन्द नन्द को समझाते हुए कहते हैं—

कामेषु हि सतृष्णस्य न शान्तिरुपपद्यते ।

"विषयों में तृष्णा रखने वाले को शान्ति नहीं होती है" (सौ० ११.३७) ।

नन्द को योग्य समझकर बुद्ध श्रेय का क्रम बतलाते हुए कहते हैं—

विषयैरिन्द्रियग्रामो न तृप्तिमधिगच्छति ।

"विषयों से इन्द्रिय-समूह तृप्त नहीं होता है" (सौ० १३. ४०) ।

आसक्ति

आसक्ति से चित्त की चञ्चलता बढ़ती है, इसे लक्ष्य करके सौन्दरनन्द में कहा गया है—

रागोद्दामेन मनसा सर्वथा दुष्करा धृतिः ।

"राग के कारण उच्छृंखल चित्त के लिए धैर्य धारण करना सब प्रकार से कठिन है" (सौ० १२.२७) ।

बुद्ध नन्द को राग के सम्बन्ध में कहते हैं—

रागाग्निना नास्ति समस्तथाग्निः ।

"राग की अग्नि के समान कोई अग्नि नहीं है" (सौ० ५. २८) ।

इन्द्रियों का मोह

इन्द्रियों के वश में होकर मनुष्य अनेक प्रकार के दुराचरण करता है। अपनी इन्द्रियां जिसके वश में हैं उसकी बुद्धि स्थिर है, वही विद्वान् तथा पण्डित है। इन्द्रियों की यत्नपूर्वक रक्षा करनी चाहिये। इन्द्रियों की रक्षा न करने से दुःख और पुनर्जन्म होता है।

सौन्दरनन्द में बुद्ध नन्द को इन्द्रियों के दुःख के सम्बन्ध में समझाते हुये कहते हैं—

इन्द्रियैर्बाध्यते सर्वः सर्वत्र च सदैव च ।

"इन्द्रियों से सभी सर्वत्र और सदा ही पीड़ित किये जाते हैं" (सौ० १३.३२) ।

मोह के सम्बन्ध में बुद्ध नन्द को कहते हैं—

को जनः स्वजनः को वा मोहात्सक्तो जने जनः ।

"कौन स्वजन है अथवा कौन पराया ? अज्ञानवश ही एक मनुष्य दूसरे मनुष्य के प्रति आसक्त होता है" (सौ० १५.३१) ।

नारी

नारी पुरुष के अनेक आकर्षणों का केन्द्र है । वह प्रेम, सज्जनता, सहन-शीलता की देवी है। वह अपने हृदय से प्रेम की सरिता प्रवाहित करती है । उसकी वाणी में आकर्षण का स्वर है; नेत्रों में जीवन की मादकता है । नारी अबला होकर भी सबला है। वह एक ओर पुरुषों के लिये जीवनदायिनी शक्ति है, दूसरी ओर विरक्तों के लिये विष है ।

सौन्दरनन्द में कवि ने स्त्रियों को चञ्चल तथा अनेक अनर्थों का कारण बतलाया है । एक भिक्षु नन्द को घर जाने के लिये उत्सुक देखकर उसके हित के लिये उपदेश देते हुए कहता है—

सविषा इव संश्रिता लताः परिमृष्टा इव सोरगा गुहाः ।
विवृता इव चासयो धृता व्यसनान्ता हि भवन्ति योषितः ॥

"आश्रय ली हुई विषयुक्त लताओं की भांति, साफ की गई सर्पयुक्त गुफाओं की भांति, पकड़ी हुई खुली तलवारों की भांति स्त्रियां अन्त में विपत्ति देने वाली होती हैं" (सौ० ८.३१) ।

वचनेन हरन्ति वल्गुना निशितेन प्रहरन्ति चेतसा ।
मधु तिष्ठति वाचि योषितां हृदये हालहलं महद्विषम् ॥

"स्त्रियाँ मधुर वचन से आकृष्ट करती हैं, तीक्ष्ण चित्त से प्रहार करती हैं । स्त्रियों की वाणी में मधु रहता है और हृदय में हलाहल नामक महाविष" (सौ० ८.३५) ।

प्रमदानां तु मनो न गृह्यते

"स्त्रियों के मन को वश में नहीं किया जा सकता" (सौ ० ८.३६) ।

प्रमदानामगतिर्न विद्यते ।

"स्त्रियों के लिये अगम्य कुछ भी नहीं है" (सौ० ८.४४) ।

स्त्रीसंसर्गो बहुविधमनर्थाय भवति ।

"स्त्रियों का संसर्ग बहुत से अनर्थों का कारण होता है" (सौ० ८.६१) ।

भोजन

भोजन सभी के लिये आवश्यक है । भोजन के बिना कोई भी जीवित नहीं रह सकता । आहार का विशेष महत्त्व शरीर के पोषण-हेतु होता है । भोजन में जीवन-दान की शक्ति निहित है । भोजन के सम्बन्ध में सौन्दरनन्द में एक उक्ति है—

वरं हितोदर्कमनिष्टमन्नं न स्वादु यत्स्यादहितानुबद्धम् ।

"हितकारी भोजन अप्रिय होने पर भी अच्छा है न कि स्वादिष्ठ भोजन जो अहितकारी हो" (सौ० ५.४६)।

बुद्ध नन्द को भोजन की आवश्यकता के सम्बन्ध में समझाते हुए कहते हैं—

अनाहारो हि निर्वाति निरिन्धन इवानलः ।

"भोजन न करने वाला मनुष्य इन्धन-रहित अग्नि के समान समाप्त हो जाता है" (सौ० १४.८)।

रोग

संसार में रोग के समान कोई दुःख नहीं है। रोगी के रोग को यदि बिना उपचार के ही छोड़ दिया जाये तो बड़ा अनिष्ट हो जाता है। यह मानव-शरीर पाँच भौतिक तत्त्वों से निर्मित है, जिसमें वात, पित्त, तथा कफ त्रिदोष हैं। सौन्दरनन्द में रोग एवं रोगी से सम्बन्धित कुछ सूक्तियाँ मिलती हैं।

नन्द घर जाने की उत्सुकता में अत्यन्त व्याकुल था। उसके समीप जाकर कल्याण-दृष्टि से देखते हुए किसी भिक्षु ने मैत्रीपूर्वक कहा—

विनिगुह्य हि रोगमातुरो नचिरात्तीव्रमनर्थमृच्छति ।

"रोग को छिपाकर रोगी व्यक्ति शीघ्र ही घोर विपत्ति में पड़ता है" (सौ० ८.४)।

आनन्द नन्द को रोग के सम्बन्ध में उपदेश देता हुआ कहता है—

व्याधिरल्पेन यत्नेन मृदुः प्रतिनिवार्यते ।
प्रबलः प्रबलैरेव यत्नैर्नश्यति वा न वा ।।

"कोमल (सूक्ष्म) रोग अल्प प्रयत्न से ही दूर कर दिया जाता है, किन्तु प्रबल रोग प्रबल प्रयत्नों से ही नष्ट होता है या नहीं भी" (सौ० ११.११)।

बुद्ध नन्द को उपदेश देते हुए कहते हैं—

व्याधेः समो नास्ति जगत्यनर्थः ।

"संसार में रोग के समान अनर्थ नहीं है" (सौ० ५.२७)।

दृढ़ता

दृढ़ता मनुष्य का बहुत बड़ा गुण है। इस गुण के द्वारा मनुष्य का समाज में बहुत आदर होता है। दृढ़ स्वभाव वाले व्यक्ति नियम में रहकर अपना जीवन धारण करना उचित मानते हैं, किन्तु नियम से अलग होकर जीवन अच्छा नहीं समझते।

एक भिक्षु नन्द को समझाते हुए कहता है कि तुम बुद्धिमान्, कुलीन और परम शान्ति के पात्र हो। नियम ग्रहण करके उसे तोड़ना तुम्हारे लिये उचित नहीं है—

निधनमपि वरं स्थिरात्मनश्च्युतविनयस्य न चैव जीवितम् ।

"स्थिर (दृढ़) रहने वाले का मर जाना अच्छा है न कि नियम से च्युत होने वाले का जीवन धारण करना" (सौ० ८.५७)।

सज्जन

सज्जनता चरित्र का महान् गुण है। जिसके पास सज्जन मित्र है वह बड़ा भाग्यशाली है। सज्जन मित्र हानि, लाभ का विचार किये बिना मित्रता रखता है, प्रत्येक परिस्थिति में अपने वचन का पूर्ण पालन करता है, कभी भी दृढ़ निश्चय से वह हटना नहीं जानता।

आनन्द द्वारा नन्द को सज्जन की विशेषता बतलाते हुये कहा गया है—

रूक्षमप्याशये शुद्धे रूक्षतो नैति सज्जनः।

"आशय शुद्ध होने पर रूखे वचन को भी सज्जन रूखा नहीं समझता" (सौ० ११.१५)।

विश्वासश्चार्थचर्या च सामान्यं सुखदुःखयोः।
मर्षणं प्रणयश्चैव मित्रवृत्तिरियं सताम्॥

"विश्वास, उपकार, सुख-दुःख में समान भाव, क्षमा और प्रेम, यही तो सज्जनों की मित्रता है" (सौ० ११.१७)।

काम-भावना

काम-भावना की शान्ति कभी उसके उपभोग से नहीं हो सकती। काम से प्राप्त होने वाला सुख काल्पनिक होता है। सौन्दरनन्द में काम को सारहीन माना गया है। दुःखी नन्द को उपदेश देते हुए बुद्ध कहते हैं—

लोकस्य कामैर्न हि तृप्तिरस्ति।

"संसार की कामोपभोगों से तृप्ति नहीं होती है" (सौ० ५.२३)।

कामेभ्यश्च सुखोत्पत्तिं यः पश्यति स नश्यति।

"कामों (भोगों) से सुख की उत्पत्ति जो देखता है वह नष्ट हो जाता है" (सौ० १५.१०)।

सुख-दुःख

संसार के सभी प्राणी सुख-दुःख से युक्त दिखाई पड़ते हैं। कोई सुखी है तो कोई दुःखी। जगत् का कोई भी प्राणी दुःख की कामना नहीं करता। किन्तु साहसी एवं उत्साही पुरुष ही सुखी रह सकते हैं। सौन्दरनन्द में एक भिक्षु नन्द को सुख-दुःख के विषय में उपदेश देते हुए कहता है—

दुःखानि भवन्त्ययत्नतः सुखानि यत्नेन भवन्ति वा न वा।

"दुःख बिना यत्न के ही होते हैं, किन्तु सुख यत्न करने पर ही होते हैं या नहीं भी होते हैं" (सौ० ९.३९)।

दुःख-प्रतिकार के लिये दुःखी जगत् के कार्यों पर प्रकाश डालते हुए बुद्ध नन्द को समझाते हुए कहते हैं—

दुःखं न मे स्यात्सुखमेव मे स्यादिति प्रवृत्तः सततं हि लोकः।

"मुझे दुःख न हो, मुझे सुख ही हो, इसके लिये जगत् सदा प्रयत्न करता है" (सौ० १८.३८)।

तृष्णा

दुःख का वास्तविक हेतु तृष्णा है। तृष्णा से प्राणी सदैव दुःखी रहते हैं, किन्तु इसकी पूर्ति नहीं हो पाती। सौन्दरनन्द में तृष्णा को दुःख का कारण माना गया है।

बुद्ध ने तृष्णा के सम्बन्ध में नन्द को उपदेश देते हुये कहा है—

स्रोतो न तृष्णासममस्ति हारि।

"तृष्णा के समान बहाकर ले जाने वाली कोई धारा नहीं है" (सौ० ५.२८)।

तृष्णा के नष्ट हो जाने पर ही मनुष्य समृद्धिशाली होता है, यह बतलाते हुए बुद्ध कहते हैं—

यावत्सतर्षः पुरुषो हि लोके तावत्समृद्धोऽपि सदा दरिद्रः।

"संसार में जब तक मनुष्य तृष्णा से युक्त रहता है, तब तक समृद्धिशाली होने पर भी वह दरिद्र ही है" (सौ० १८.३०)।

अपना-पराया

संसार में अपने और पराये में कोई स्थायी भेद नहीं होता। जो अपने दुःख-सुख का साथी होता है और समय पर साथ देता है वह अपना है और जिसमें ये गुण नहीं हैं वह पराया है। सौन्दरनन्द में अपने और पराये के विषय में कई उक्तियाँ मिलती हैं। बुद्ध नन्द से कहते हैं कि स्वजन-सम्बन्धी चिन्ता से अपने मन को आविष्ट मत करो—

व्यवस्था नास्ति संसारे स्वजनस्य जनस्य च।

"संसार में अपने और पराये की कोई (स्थायी) व्यवस्था नहीं है" (सौ० १५.४१)।

अहितो दृश्यते ज्ञातिरज्ञातिर्दृश्यते हितः।
स्नेहं कार्यान्तराल्लोकश्छिनत्ति च करोति च॥

"स्वजन शत्रु होते हैं और पराये मित्र होते हैं, ऐसा देखा जाता है, कार्यवश लोग स्नेह करते हैं और तोड़ते हैं" (सौ० १५.३८)।

IDENTITY OF ĀRYAKA (GOPĀLADĀRAKA) IN THE MṚCCHAKAṬIKA

N.P. UNNI

The *Mṛcchakaṭika* attributed to the authorship of Śūdraka is a play in ten acts and it belongs to the division of dramatic compositions technically known as *Prakaraṇa*. Chiefly the play describes the loves of Cārudatta, a Brahmin merchant and Vasantasenā, a courtesan. Śakāra, the brother-in-law of the ruling king Pālaka, is also enamoured of Vasantasenā. Her rejection of his advances complicates the plot. Śakāra tries to kill the courtesan and accuses Cārudatta with her murder. However, Vasantasenā recovers from the attempted murder and appears on the scene of execution to save Cārudatta. In the sixth act of the play a political theme also is introduced. An analysis of the play will show that it has a composite plot with three threads woven into its texture : (1) the story of the love of Cārudatta and Vasantasenā, (2) the romantic interlude of Śarvilaka and Madanikā, and (3) the political revolution.

All the three threads are skillfully woven together with the hero. The political theme is as important as the love theme. Towards the end of the story Āryaka the usurper emerges with an equal footing with the hero of the play. The present paper tries to examine the identity of this person known as Āryaka.

Āryaka, the usurper is referred to as Gopāladāraka at least on two occasions in the play. The reference may be noted as follows :[1]

(1) एषोऽद्य गोपालदारको गुप्तिं भङ्क्त्वा······अपक्रामति ।
(2) कथमार्यको गोपालदारकः...... ।

The story is that Āryaka was put in prison by the ruling king Pālaka. He, however, escaped from the prison with the help of Śarvilaka. Pālaka was afraid that

Āryaka would become the ruler since it was prophesied so by soothsayers, In the end the prophecy became true and Pālaka was killed in a revolt by Āryaka who proclaimed himself as the new king.

Now the question is as to who was this Āryaka? The editors of the play and most of the commentators take Āryaka to be a 'cowherd boy'.[2] The word '*gopāladāraka*' is explained generally as : "*gopālasya gopasya dārakaḥ putraḥ* (*āryako nāma*)".[3] A.W. Ryder translates the passage as "the young herdsman" following the cue of the earlier commentators,[4] Naturally the question is intriguing. How could a cowherd boy succeed a king as the new ruler in those times even if he was bold enough to kill the ruling king?

Attempts have been made by scholars to identify this Āryaka against some historical background. M. Krishnamachariar has noted their views as follows : "K.P. Jayaswal, Bhandarkar and P.D. Gune also attempted to extract historical information from *Mṛcchakaṭika*. According to them king Pradyota of Ujjain had two sons Gopālaka and Pālaka and a daughter Vāsavadattā. Pālaka appears to have ascended the throne after his brother either because his eldest brother abdicated or he died leaving his son young. This child Āryaka of the play later on dethroned Pālaka, probably with the help of his aunt's husband Udayana, who thus gained power and influence over Ujjain".[5] According to Prof. R.D. Karmarkar "there is no doubt that the expression Gopāladāraka in the play has been mistakenly taken to mean a 'cowherd boy' as it should really mean 'the son of Gopāla'. So that Pālaka's anxiety to keep Āryaka, his nephew out of the way is easily understandable".[6]

Probably based on this information J.A.B. van Buitenen translates the term 'gopāladāraka' as "Prince Āryaka, the son of Gopāla".[7] But this view giving a historical background did not get a general acceptance at the hands of other writers. They continued to explain the word 'gopāladāraka' to mean a cowherd boy. For instance Sten Konow identifies Śūdraka with the Ābhīra prince Śivadatta basing on the reference in the play where king Pālaka is described as being overthrown by Āryaka "the son of Gopāla (herdsman) and the Ābhīras are essentially herdsmen".[8] Thus a historical identity of Āryaka is almost ruled out by them. The fact that the attempts to establish the historical identity have failed can be ascertained from the following remarks of a recent writer. In dealing with the play Prof. A.K. Warder writes as follows : "...a young cowherd Āryaka has been declared as the future king by soothsayers and all those in trouble under the present regime are joining him. It is possible to see in this cowherd hero an allusion to the traditionally pastoral Ābhīras, who may have come through this kind of revolt against a corrupt government".[9] This supposition of the learned scholar was probably based on the following passage occurring in the sixth act of the play:[10] अहं खलु सिद्धादेशजनितपरित्रासेन राज्ञा पालकेन घोषादानीय विशसने गूढागारे बन्धनेन बद्धः. The word *ghoṣa* is usually explained as *ābhīrapalli* based on the authority of *Amarakośa*.[11]

Thus the intriguing aspect of the problem remains whether it was a cowherd who usurped the country killing Pālaka the powerful and ruthless ruler. It is probably because the above-mentioned scholars failed obviously to connect Cārudatta the hero of the play with Pālaka and Āryaka in their historical setting.

The first problem is to connect Cārudatta of the play with Pālaka who was the son of Pradyota. In other words is, there any evidence to suppose that Pālaka of the play was the son of Pradyota-Mahāsena? The present writer has come across some fresh evidence in this connection. According to this evidence Cārudatta the hero lived during the time of Pālaka the son of Mahāsena who was the father-in-law of Udayana. Mahāsena had two sons, Gopālaka and Pālaka. Gopālaka the elder son ruled over the country after the demise of his father for sometime. But he died a premature death leaving behind a pregnant wife. Then Pālaka succeeded him to the throne.[12] Pālaka was a tyrant and the people wilted under his rule. His minister was Bandhumitra the son of Bharatarohaka who was the minister of Mahāsena. Bandhumitra resigned his position and preferred life in a village probably because he got tired of the cruel deeds of his king. It is also suggested that Pālaka had a low birth (he being referred to as *avarṇāvaraja*) and as such he was not born in the mother of Gopāla. It was during the reign of this oppressor of *the people* that Cārudatta endowed with great qualities of the head and heart lived. He helped the needy with his riches obtained through business transactions. He was so munificent that in a short time he was reduced to penury. It was his well-known piety that must have kindled the jealousy of king Pālaka whom his people detested. It is against this historical background that the political plot of the play is to be evaluated. The following stanzas are quoted from a palm-leaf manuscript preserved in the Oriental Research Institute and Manuscripts Library of the University of Kerala. Ms. No. 20988 entitled *Ślokāvali* narrates the story of the plays to be put on the Kerala stage in *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* performances where Sanskrit dramas are staged in a peculiar way.[13] The stanzas quoted below are meant to be an introduction in staging the play *Cārudatta* attributed to Bhāsa.[14]

अस्त्यवन्तिषु सर्वासां सम्पदामुदयाय भूः ।
विख्यातोज्जयिनीतुल्या रूढकीर्तिनृपा पुरी ।। 1

प्रद्योतो भानुमालीयः तस्यां जज्ञे नराधिपः ।
यं शक्तिशालिनं शश्वन्महासेनं विदुर्बुधाः ।। 2

यो महात्मा पुराञ्जेतुर्देवस्य हिमवानिव ।
श्वशुरो वत्सराजस्य सदृशः समजायत ।। 3

महासेनस्य तनयः श्रीमान् गोपालकाह्वयः ।
गां पालयमास निजं नामधेयं यथार्थवत् ।। 4

अन्तर्वत्न्यामसौ देव्यामन्तकेन दुरात्मना ।
नीतो लोकान्तरं चिन्तां कृत्वान्तः सर्वदेहिनाम् ।। 5

अवर्णावरजस्तस्य पापीयान् पालकाह्वयः ।
पालनाख्यं परिक्लेशं प्रजानां कर्तुमुद्यतः ।। 6

महासेनस्य सचिवो जज्ञे भरतरोहकः ।
तस्य पुत्रोऽभवद् वाग्मी बन्धुमित्र इति श्रुतः ।। 7

अवर्णावरजं ज्ञात्वा राज्ञो दुर्वृत्ततामपि ।
उवास मुक्तसाचिव्यं ग्रामे क्वापि पुराद् बहिः ।। 8

अम्भोधियानसंभूतैरर्थाम्भोभिरहर्निशम् ।
वर्षन्तो वणिजो भान्ति यत्र प्रावृड्घना इव ।। 9

चारुदत्त इति ख्यातः सार्थवाहसुतोऽभवत् ।
येनापमृष्टमयशो वञ्चनोत्थं वणिक्कुले ।। 10

प्रभूतार्थांशुनिचयैः सर्वाशाः परिपूरयन् ।
क्रमात् सम्पत्कलाभिर्यः संपूर्ण इव चन्द्रमाः ।। 11

किरन् करोर्मिणा भूरिरत्नान्यर्थितटेषु यः ।
गम्भीरः सरसः श्रीमान् रत्नाकर इवापरः ।। 12

चिन्तामणिस्सचैतन्यः सञ्चारी कल्पकद्रुमः ।
अचतुष्पाच्च सुरभिः यच्चार्थिषु समं बभौ ।। 13

निष्किञ्चनस्य यत्किञ्चिन्निष्कलङ्कं ददासि चेत् ।
चारुदत्त ! त्वया कन्या चारुदत्ता भवेन्मम ।। 14

उदारशील ! दारा मे दारिद्र्याद् दारुणां दशाम् ।
प्रापिताः त्वां प्रपन्नोऽस्मि शरणं करुणानिधे ।। 15

क्षुत्क्षामकुक्षयो मेऽद्य वर्तन्ते हन्त दारकाः ।
मदर्थमर्थैस्त्वं तात पूरयैषां मनोरथम् ।। 16

कलाप इव कालेन वहुधा योऽदाद् वहु ।
रिक्ततामगमत् श्रीमान् चारुदत्तः शनैश्शनैः ॥ 17
स दृष्टादृष्टार्थप्रतिविहितकर्मप्रणयिभि-
र्धनायद्भिर्विप्रक्षितिपकुलपुत्रैस्सवृषलैः ।
जडैरन्धैर्मूकैर्नटविटयतीन्द्रप्रभृतिभिः
समन्तादादत्तक्षपितधनभारास्तविभवः ॥ 18
स सज्जनानां प्रणयैः कृशीकृतो
न तस्य कश्चिद् विभवैरमण्डितः ।
निदाघसंशुष्क इव ह्रदो महान्
नृणां तु तृष्णामपनीय शुष्यति ॥ 19

In the above stanzas Pālaka is characterised as a cruel ruler. We have some corroboration in this respect elsewhere. In the *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*, also attributed to the authorship of Bhāsa, king Mahāsena is made to say as follows: [15]

अर्थशास्त्रगुणग्राही ज्येष्ठो गोपालकः सुतः ।
गान्धर्वद्वेषी व्यायामशाली चाप्यनुपालकः ॥

The elder son Gopālaka is proficient in *Arthaśāstra* while Pālaka the younger hates music and is given to atheletic activities like hunt. Here the traits of the sons are well compared. Here one is forced to recall to one's mind the famous words of Shakespeare : "Beware him, he hears no music". The fact that Pālaka had no taste for music suggests his cruel nature.

Now it can be safely concluded that the word *Gopāladāraka* may be taken in the sense of Gopāla's son and not as that of a cowherd. Gopāla was the elder brother of Pālaka. He died early when his wife was pregnant. Soon she gave birth to the son Āryaka who was like his father in pleasing qualities. Pālaka who succeeded his brother began to oppress the people. Naturally they were hoping for a change and looking upon Āryaka, the prince to usurp the country from the cruel ruler. Knowing the situation Pālaka put him in prison taking him from his village house where he must have lived to escape the fury of the king. (One may recall that Bandhumitra relinquished his ministership and preferred life in a village when Pālaka was ruling the country). With the assistance of his supporters Āryaka escaped from the prison and staged a revolt. The revolt succeeded and he ascended the throne. On the other hand it is unlikely that soldiers and officials supported a mere cowherd boy to usurp the country from a king however cruel he may be.

Thus there is no doubt that Āryaka[16] the boy usurper was nobody else than the son of Pālaka's deceased brother whom he succeeded. In other words he was the natural heir to the throne after his father. The dramatist however has only referred to him as Gopāladāraka endearingly as the young son of Gopāla which confused the editors and commentators of the text as also historians of literature.

NOTES

1. *Mṛcchakaṭika*, ed. by Narayana Rama Acharya, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1950, pp. 164 and 173.
2. Ed. with Eng. trans., M.R. Kale, Motilal Benarsidass, Varanasi, 1972, p. 235 ("the cowherd's son Āryaka"); Dr. G.V. Devasthali, *Introduction to the study of Mṛcchakaṭika*, Poona, 1951, pp, 67-68.
3. Ed, with *Prabodhinī* commentary by Mahapraphulla Goswami, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1972, p. 327.
4. A.W. Ryder, *The Little Clay-cart*, Harward University, 1905, pp. 97 and 101.
5. M. Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Motilal Benarsidass, Delhi, 1970, p. 578, footnote 3.
6. R.D. Karmarkar, *Introduction to Mṛcchakaṭika*, p. xii.
7. Buitenen, *Two Plays of Ancient India*, Motilal Benarsidass, Delhi, 1971, p. 127.
8. G.K. Bhat, *Preface to Mṛcchakaṭika*, The New Order Book Co., Ahmedabad, 1953, p. 179.
9. Nirnayasagar edition, p. 164.
10. A.K. Warder, *Indian Kāvya Literature*, Vol. III, Motilal Benarsidass, Delhi, 1977, p. 22.
11. *Amarakośa* I. 12.23:
    Ghoṣa ābhīrapalli syāt...
12. According to the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Gopālaka suggested that his younger brother Pālaka should be anointed the king of Avanti with his permission and approval. See Dr. Niti Adaval, *The Story of King Udayana*, Varanasi, 1970, p. 227.
13. Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja, *Kūṭiyāṭṭam - an introduction*, Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi, 1964.
14. Dr. N.P. Unni, *New Problems in Bhāsa Plays*, College Book House, M.G. Road, Trivandrum, 1978.
15. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 16, Trivandrum, 1912, p. 35.
16. According to some sources he is also known as Avantivardhana. See Niti Adaval, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

ANYOKTIMUKTĀLATĀ : A CRITICAL APPRAISAL

Mrs. VED KUMARI

Muktakas or independent verses form an important part of Sanskrit poetry, and of these Muktakas, the most effective and forceful are those which are written in *Anyāpadeśa* style. Product of deep and poignant experience of the poet, such poetry bursts out when his mind is full of thoughts which can find no outlet otherwise. He does not relate a particular incident and express his feelings about it directly; delineating some images from nature or other spheres of life, he suggests through them more effectively and more efficiently what could not have been expressed through direct statement of facts. *Anyāpadeśa* style thus is marked by *Dhvani* or suggestivenss which is a characteristic of excellent poetry. Śambhu's *Anyoktimuktālatā*, published in Kāvyamālā Gucchaka II, is an evidence of this fact.

Śambhu lived during the time of king Harṣa of Kashmir who ruled from 1089 to 1101 A.D. The early years of Harṣa's rule were marked by peace and prosperity. He was admirer of poetry and fine arts, and gave immense wealth to artists and men of letter. He spent much money on his personal luxuries also. After some time he undertook expeditions in some of the neighbouring territories of Kashmir. Śambhu in his work *Rājendrakarṇapūra* has praised Harṣa highly for his conquests, and for his personal qualities. But as Kalhaṇa has pointed out, Harṣa's character was made up of contradictory qualities of cruelty and kindness, liberality and greed. When his royal treasury was emptied due to his expeditions and excessive luxuries, he started oppressing the people. Misguided by evil-minded counsellors, he ignored the advice of the wise and extorted money from the public. His brave general Kandarpa defeated the king of Rajapuri, but after the victory, Harṣa ousted this heroic general at the advice of some wicked courtiers. It appears that Śambhu Kavi was pained to see this, and some verses of Anyoktimuktālatā were written by him during those turbulent days of Harṣa's reign. It is also possible that Śambhu saw the reign of Uccala about whom Kalhaṇa's complaint is that he appointed many conspirators who helped to overthrow king Harṣa. Śambhu's son Ānanda, who was a great physician and a great scholar, has been mentioned by the Kashmiri poet Maṅkha in his *Śrikanṭhacarita*[1]. Ānanda used to attend the literary meetings held at the house of Maṅkha's brother Alaṅkāra, who was a minister of king Sussala, who occupied the throne of Kashmir after Üccala's death in 1111 A.D. He was also minister of king Jaya Simha who came into power in 1128 A.D. Ānanda at that time had grown in years and scholarship as is indicated by the high regard paid to him by Maṅkha. It is thus natural that his father Śambhu should have seen the rise and fall of Harṣa and some part of the reign of Uccala. His *Anyoktimuktālatā* was written either during the latter part of Harṣa's reign or during the reign of Uccala as many *Anyoktis* make a hidden attack on the maladministration of Kashmir of those days.

Finding an undeserving person being made the pivot of administration or the central figure in social or political life, the poet registers his complaint. He achieves his object through an *Anyokti* on the garland-maker who has strung together with fragrant flowers one fragranceless Kusumbha and has given the latter the central position which it never deserved. He says :

O garland-maker ! why are you honouring this Kusumbha devoid of fragrance by giving it the central position in a beautiful garland of *Bakula*, *Śephālikā*, *Lavaṅga*, *Vicakila*, and blue lotuses—a house of aroma. The garland loses much of its charm when the central flower is ugly and scentless.

उत्फुल्लैर्बकुलैर्लवङ्गमुकुलैः शेफालिकाकुड्मलै-
र्नीलाम्भोजकुलैस्तथा विचकिलैः क्रान्तं च कान्तं च यत् ।
तस्मिन्सौरभधाम्नि दाम्नि किमिदं सौगन्धवन्ध्यं मुधा
मध्ये मुग्ध कुसुम्भमुम्भसि भवेन्नैवैष युक्तः क्रमः ॥

Anyoktimuktālatā 5.

A similar idea is expressed through another Anyokti on lord Śiva. Śiva has placed the lord of serpents around his neck which is worthy of being encircled by the charming arms of Pārvatī. The poet is at a loss to know as to why Śiva has preferred a serpent when there are available strings of pearls shining white like the teeth of the beautiful ladies of Kerala and garlands of fragrant flowers of *Mallikā* creeper !

एताः केरलसुन्दरीरदरुचः सन्त्येव मुक्तालता
मल्लीमाल्यमयानि सौरभभरोद्दामानि दामानि च ।
किं नीतः शितिकण्ठ कण्ठनिकटं गौरीभुजाकन्दली-
लीलालिङ्गनयोग्यमुग्रगरलग्रामः फणिग्रामणीः ॥

Anyoktimuktālatā 35.

The poet expresses a different situation in which a noble person is surrounded by mischief-mongers and trouble-creaters who ignore his true worth and insult him through some Anyoktis on *Bakulalatā*, *Sahakāramañjari*, and sugar-cane. A soft fragrant *Bakula* creeper has been placed in the midst of harsh *Karīra* trees, with the result that the bees—the true appreciators of the creeper—are unable to reach its buds, leaves and stalks. The poet regrets the situation in a very pathetic question put to the creeper thus :

केनात्र कर्कशकरीरवनान्तराले
बाले बलाद् बकुलकन्दलि रोपितासि ।
यत्राप्नुयुर्मधुलिहस्तव कोमलानि
नो कुड्मलानि न दलानि न कन्दलानि ॥

Anyoktimuktālatā 7.

Similar is the fate of mango-creeper which has been planted in an area where trees like *Nīma*, *Karīra*, *Udreka* and *Paṭola* grow :

यस्मिन् रोहति निम्बडम्बरमियान्यस्मिन्करीरद्रुमै-
रुद्रेक: कलित: पटोलपटली यत्रेयमुन्मीलति ।
तस्मिन्नत्र निवेशितासि विपिने केनासि हा दु:सह:
सह्योऽयं सहकारमञ्जरि कथंकारं निकारज्वर: ॥

Anyoktimuktālatā 60.

It is painful for the poet to note that the white and sweet pieces of sugarcane are being offered to the camels which sneer at them and show a contemptuous attitude knowing little that their juice as well as their preparation is ever sweet.

धत्ते कीरवधूरदच्छदसुधामाधुर्यमुद्रां रसो
येषां सा परिपाकसम्पदपि च क्षौद्रद्रवद्रोहिणी ।
तेषां पुण्ड्रककाण्ड पाण्डिमजुषां त्वत्पर्वणां चर्वणां
किं मुग्धा: करभा मुधैव विरसा विन्दन्ति निन्दन्ति च ॥

Anyoktimuktālatā 8.

Lack of proper appreciation discourages an artist whose mental agony is expressed through an Anyokti on a Mālatī creeper that blooms in a village of plough men and is totally ignored by them (*Anyoktimuktālatā* 103).

The poet appeals to a jeweller not to display the ever-fresh necklaces of jewels and not to show beautiful and charming necklaces in that city whose women-folk adorn themselves with glass-ornaments only.

अक्षामं मणिदाम संवृणु ननु त्वं दर्शयेथा मुहु-
र्मा मा मुग्धमनोहरा: शशिकराकाराश्च हारस्रज: ।
एषा वैकटिक स्फुटैव पुरत: सा पामराणां पुरी
यस्यां काचललन्तिकाङ्कितकुचोत्संगा: कुरङ्गीदृश: ॥

Anyoktimuktālatā 47.

A similar idea is expressed through an Anyokti on an arrow-maker who has brought excellent arrows for sale in a village where even the headman evinces his interest only in the plough (*Anyoktimuktālatā* 69).

In utter despondency, the poet describes a situation for which the people have to bow down to ungraceful vandalism when noble-minded people are found nowhere. He laments with a heavy heart the condition of a bee which buzzes fast to serve a *Karīra* shrub of desert as all the pretty and fragrant flowers are no more to be seen :

याच्यस्ते खदिरः करीरविटपः सेव्योऽपि किं कुर्महे
मार्गः संगत एष ते खरतरुर्यद् भैरवो मारवः ।
तन्मल्लीमुकुलं तदुत्पलकुलं सा यूथिकावीथिका
चंग तच्च लवंगमंग भवतो हा भृंग दूरं गतम् ।।

Anyoktimuktālatā 33.

The poet's feelings against rowdism are expressed through his Anyokti on the coal-maker who has no aesthetic taste for the flowers, fruits and green leaves of mango tree and puts it into fire in order to make charcoal :

पुष्पोत्करेषु च फलेषु च सावलेप-
स्त्वं कन्दलेषु च दलेषु च सावहेलः ।
किं मुग्ध दग्धमकरोः सुरभेरगार-
मंगारकार सहकारमकारणेन ।।

Anyoktimuktālatā 32.

The black aguru, possesses the beauty of blooming blue lotus and it gives sweet fragrance to ladies by its smoke, but the pity of it is that the charcoal-maker burns it away :

कान्तिर्यस्य विनिद्रनीलनलिनच्छायासखी सुभ्रुवां
यत्पंकेऽपि मुदोऽस्ति यस्य सुरभिः कासां रसोऽगोचरः ।
अंगारार्थितया जनैरतिजडैरुड्डामरैः पामरैः
पश्यैष प्रगुणैर्गुणैरपि गुरुर्दग्धः स कालागुरुः ।।

Ibid., 58.

The poet in an Anyokti on *Lavaṅga* (clove) registers his dislike for compromise with evil-minded people asking *Lavaṅga* as to why it does not prefer death to blooming in the company of trees like *Karīra*, *Dreka*, etc. :

कुञ्जे कोरकितं करीरतरुभिर्द्रेक्काभिरुन्मुद्रितं
यस्मिन्नङ्कुरितं करञ्जविटपैरुन्मीलितं पीलुभिः ।
तस्मिन् पल्लवितोऽसि किं वहसि किं कान्तामनोवागुरा
भंगीमंग लवंग भंगमगमः किं नासि कोऽयं क्रमः ।।

Ibid., 45.

Riches are worthless if the society does not get benefit from them. In two Anyoktis on the ocean, the poet deplores the richness of sea in such waters which cannot be used either for drinking or for bath. The waters of a small well or a small pond are more useful and deserve praise :

यस्य भ्राम्यन्मकरनिकरक्लान्तमूर्त्तेरसार-
स्तारक्षारव्यतिकरखरः सीकरोऽपि क्व पेयः ।

तत्ते पाथः पवनजनितोत्तालकल्लोलजालं
ज्वालं ज्वालं ज्वलतु जलधे सर्वमौर्वानलेन ॥ *Ibid.*, 41.

नीरं नीरसमस्तु कौपमिति तत्पाथो वरं मारवं
कासाराम्बु तदस्तु वा परिमितं तद् वास्तु वापीपयः ।

पाने मज्जनकर्मनर्मणि तथा बाह्यैरलं वारिधे
कल्लोलावलिहारिभिस्तव नभःसञ्चारिभिर्वारिभिः ॥ *Ibid.*, 57.

Thus it appears that Śambhu Mahākavi's Anyoktis truely depict the disturbed times of the reigns of Harṣa and Uccala in Kashmir.

NOTES

1. अशेषभिषगग्रण्यं शरण्यं शास्त्रपद्धतेः ।
ववन्देऽथ तमानन्दं सुतं शम्भुमहाकवेः ॥ श्रीकण्ठचरित 25.97.

SECTION IV

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

ब्रह्मसूत्रकार बादरायण का महाभारतकार वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन से भिन्नत्व

रामकृष्ण आचार्य

ब्रह्मसूत्रकर्तृत्व के विषय में पर्याप्त विवाद है। परम्परागत मान्यता के अनुसार वेदों का व्यसन तथा **महाभारत** का प्रणयन करने वाले वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन ही ब्रह्मसूत्रकार माने जाते हैं और उन्हीं का एक दूसरा नाम 'वादरायण' बताया जाता है। इस मान्यता के अनुसार सभी ब्रह्मसूत्रों को अपने वर्तमान रूप में एक ही कर्त्ता—बादरायणापराभिधान वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन—की कृति माना जाता है। यद्यपि कुछ आंधुनिक विद्वान् भी इस परम्परागत मान्यता का ही समर्थन करते हैं,[1] किन्तु आधुनिक विद्वज्जगत् का बहुमत इस मान्यता को अविकल रूप में स्वीकार करने के लिए प्रस्तुत नहीं है। विभिन्न विद्वानों ने इस मान्यता के विपरीत जो मत प्रस्तुत किये हैं, उन्हें संक्षेप में निम्न रूप में प्रदर्शित किया जा सकता है—

१. वर्तमान सभी ब्रह्मसूत्र एक ही कर्त्ता की कृति नहीं हैं, अपितु विभिन्न आचार्यों ने इनकी रचना में समय-समय पर योग दिया है।[2]

२. आचार्य बादरायण ने सभी ब्रह्मसूत्रों की रचना की है, किन्तु वे पराशरपुत्र वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन से भिन्न व्यक्ति हैं।[3]

उक्त प्रकार से परम्परागत मान्यता और अन्य आधुनिक मान्यताओं के बीच में परस्पर विवाद के निम्न विषय हो जाते हैं :—

१. वर्तमान ब्रह्मसूत्र एक ही कर्त्ता की कृति हैं या अनेक कर्त्ताओं की?

२. यदि ब्रह्मसूत्र एक ही कर्त्ता की कृति हैं तो वह कर्त्ता कौन है—आचार्य बादरायण या अन्य कोई?

३. यदि ब्रह्मसूत्रप्रणेता आचार्य बादरायण हैं, तो वे वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन से अभिन्न व्यक्ति हैं या भिन्न?

विवाद के उक्त तीन विषयों में से प्रथम दो पर अन्यत्र विचार किया जा चुका है,[4] और

वहाँ यह निष्कर्ष प्राप्त किया जा चुका है कि वर्तमान सभी ब्रह्मसूत्रों की रचना एकमात्र आचार्य बादरायण ने की है अर्थात् ब्रह्मसूत्र बादरायणकर्तृक हैं। वैसे भी, परम्परागत मान्यता का भी इस बात से विरोध नहीं है और आधुनिक विद्वानों की भी इसमें प्रायः सर्वसम्मति है। फलतः इस विषय पर यहाँ विचार करने की आवश्यकता नहीं। यहाँ केवल विवाद के अन्तिम विषय पर अर्थात् इस विषय पर कि ब्रह्मसूत्रकार बादरायण वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन से अभिन्न व्यक्ति हैं या भिन्न, कुछ प्रकाश डालने का प्रयास करना है।

जैसा कि अभी ऊपर कहा जा चुका है, परम्परागत मान्यता के अनुसार वेदों का व्यसन अर्थात् ऋगादि मन्त्रों का **ऋग्वेद** आदि के रूप में पृथक्-पृथक् संकलन तथा **महाभारत** का प्रणयन करने वाले पराशरपुत्र वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन ही ब्रह्मसूत्रकार माने जाते हैं और उन्हीं का एक दूसरा नाम 'बादरायण' बताया जाता है। इस प्रकार इस मान्यता के अनुसार ब्रह्मसूत्रकार बादरायण और महाभारतकार वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन अभिन्न व्यक्ति हैं, किन्तु दूसरी ओर आधुनिक विद्वानों का बहुमत इस मान्यता के विपरीत यह मानता है कि ब्रह्मसूत्रकार आचार्य बादरायण महाभारतकार वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन से भिन्न व्यक्ति हैं। वस्तुतः जैसा कि अन्यत्र संकेतित किया जा चुका है[५] आधुनिक विद्वानों का ही मत तथ्यानुकूल प्रतीत होता है और परम्परागत यह मत कि ब्रह्मसूत्रकार बादरायण और महाभारतकार वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन अभिन्न व्यक्ति हैं, निम्न कारणों से ग्राह्य प्रतीत नहीं होता :—

१. यद्यपि इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं कि परम्परा से वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन का 'बादरायण' नाम भी प्रसिद्ध चला आ रहा है, किन्तु फिर भी न तो प्राचीनतम परम्परा से वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन का 'बादरायण' नाम वस्तुतः समर्थित होता है और न पराशरपुत्र वेदव्यास के लिए यह नाम किसी प्रकार उपपन्न ही प्रतीत होता है। वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन को अनेक नामों के साथ 'बादरायण' नाम से भी अभिहित करने की परम्परा **श्रीमद्भागवत** और **पद्मपुराण** आदि पुराणों से ही चली हुई मिलती है। इन पुराणों में वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन के लिए अन्य नामों के साथ 'बादरायण' नाम का भी प्रयोग किया गया है।[६] किन्तु इसके विपरीत, पुराणेतिहास-सम्बन्धी समग्र साहित्य में प्राचीनतम ग्रंथ **महाभारत** में, जो कि पराशरपुत्र वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन की विभिन्न रूपों में चर्चा करने का प्रमुखतम स्थल है, एक भी स्थान पर इनके लिए 'बादरायण' का नाम प्रयोग नहीं किया गया है। **महाभारत** में वेदव्यास की उत्पत्ति के समय उनके नामों की व्युत्पत्ति बताने के प्रसंग में केवल यह कहा गया है—

एवं द्वैपायनो जज्ञे सत्यवत्यां पराशरात् ।
न्यस्तो द्वीपे स यद् बालस्तस्माद् द्वैपायनः स्मृतः ॥

× × ×

ब्रह्मणो ब्राह्मणानां च तथानुग्रहकाङ्क्षया ।
विव्यास वेदान् यस्मात् स तस्माद् व्यास इति स्मृतः ॥
(आदिपर्व ६३.८६,८८)

यदि वेदव्यास का 'बादरायण' नाम भी मूलतः होता, तो उसका भी निर्देश उक्त प्रकार से व्युत्पत्ति-प्रदर्शनपूर्वक किया जाता। इसी प्रकार परम्परा से प्रसिद्ध पुराणाचार्य और वेदव्यास के भी पिता

पराशर के द्वारा प्रोक्त कहा जाने के कारण समग्रपुराणसाहित्य में प्राचीनतम पुराण—**षडंशविष्णुपुराण** में भी कहीं पर कृष्णद्वैपायन को 'बादरायण' नहीं कहा गया है। इस पुराण में जहां कहीं भी पराशरपुत्र महाभारतकर्त्ता वेदव्यास का प्रसंग आया है, वहाँ उन्हें 'व्यास', 'वेदव्यास', 'कृष्णद्वैपायन' ही कहा गया है,[7] 'बादरायण' कहीं भी नहीं कहा गया। इस प्रकार प्राचीनतम पुराणेतिहास-साहित्य में महाभारतकर्त्ता पराशरपुत्र व्यास को व्यास, वेदव्यास, कृष्ण, द्वैपायन, कृष्णद्वैपायन, पाराशर्य, सात्यवतेय आदि नामों से अभिहित किए जाने पर भी उन्हें कहीं भी 'बादरायण' नहीं कहा गया, अतः स्पष्ट है कि उनका यह नाम प्राचीन परम्परा के द्वारा समर्थित नहीं। इसके अतिरिक्त पराशरपुत्र वेदव्यास के लिए 'बादरायण' नाम किसी प्रकार उपपन्न भी प्रतीत नहीं होता, क्योंकि जैसा कि महाभारत के उक्त श्लोक से स्पष्ट है, वे अपने 'अयन' या उत्पत्ति-स्थान के कारण तो 'द्वैपायन' कहे ही गए हैं, परिशेषतः पाणिनिके अनुसार 'नडादिगण' (अष्टा० ४.१.९९) में परिगणित 'बदर' शब्द से गोत्रापत्य में 'फक्' प्रत्यय करने पर इसकी निष्पत्ति माननी पड़ेगी, किन्तु परम्परा के अनुसार वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन के कोई पूर्वज 'बदर' नहीं हुए हैं, उनके पूर्वज केवल ब्रह्मा, वसिष्ठ, शक्ति और पराशर हैं।[8]

इस प्रकार परम्परा के द्वारा मान्य प्राचीनतम पुराणेतिहास-सम्बन्धी साहित्य में कृष्णद्वैपायन के लिए 'बादरायण' नाम का प्रयोग न होने तथा इनके लिए इस नाम के उपपन्न भी न होने से यह निस्सन्देह रूप से कहा जा सकता है कि वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन का 'बादरायण' नाम मूलतः नहीं; अपितु वह बाद में **श्रीमद्भागवत** एवं **पद्मपुराण** सरीखे अपेक्षाकृत अर्वाचीन पुराणों के स्रोत से किसी कारण चल पड़ा है। ऐसी स्थिति में ब्रह्मसूत्रकार बादरायण और महाभारतकार कृष्णद्वैपायन को केवल अर्वाचीन पौराणिक परम्परा के द्वारा समर्थित, किन्तु प्राचीन परम्परा के द्वारा असमर्थित 'बादरायण' नाम के साम्य के क्षीण आधार पर एक अभिन्न व्यक्ति नहीं माना जा सकता। यदि, जैसा कि **श्रीमद्भागवत** एवं **पद्मपुराण** के इस प्रकार के वचनों से स्पष्ट होता है कि कृष्णद्वैपायन का उत्पत्ति-स्थान या निवास-स्थान बदरीपूर्ण था,[9] यह माना जाता है कि इनके स्थान के बदरीपूर्ण होने के कारण इन्हें 'बादरायण' कहा जाने लगा था, तो यद्यपि मूल परम्परा से इसका समर्थन नहीं होता, फिर भी ऐसा माना जाये तो माना जा सकता है; किन्तु इस से यह सिद्ध नहीं होता कि महाभारतकर्त्ता द्वैपायन या बादरायण और ब्रह्मसूत्रकार बादरायण एक ही व्यक्ति हैं और महाभारतकर्त्ता व्यास ने ही ब्रह्मसूत्रों का प्रणयन किया है, अपितु इसके विपरीत, जैसा कि नीचे प्रदर्शित कारणों से स्पष्ट है, यही सिद्ध होता है कि महाभारतकर्त्ता वेदव्यास ने ब्रह्मसूत्रों की रचना नहीं की, अपितु उनके बहुत बाद होने वाले उनसे भिन्न व्यक्ति आचार्य बादरायण ने ब्रह्मसूत्रों की रचना की है।

२. यदि केवल परम्परा के आधार पर ही देखा जाये तो प्राचीन परम्परा के अनुसार वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन का ब्रह्मसूत्रकर्तृत्व सिद्ध नहीं होता, क्योंकि **महाभारत** तथा **विष्णुपुराण** आदि प्राचीन परम्परा-ग्रन्थों में जिस प्रकार वेदव्यास के द्वारा वेद-विभाजन, महाभारतादि-प्रणयन और विभिन्न शिष्यों को इन ग्रन्थों के अध्यापन का निर्देश है, उस प्रकार उनके द्वारा ब्रह्मसूत्र-प्रणयन या उसके अध्यापन का कोई निर्देश नहीं। **महाभारत** में —**विव्यास वेदान् यस्मात् स तस्माद् व्यास इति स्मृतः। वेदानध्यापयामास महाभारतपंचमान्।** (आ० प० ६३.८८-८९) के रूप में वेदव्यास के

द्वारा वेदों के व्यसन तथा अपने शिष्यों को वेद एवं **महाभारत** के अध्यापन का निर्देश किया गया है और साथ ही **'त्रिभिर्वर्षैः सदोत्थायी कृष्णद्वैपायनो मुनिः। महाभारतमाख्यानं कृतवानिदमद्भुतम्।'** (आ० प० ६२.५२) के रूप में उनके द्वारा **महाभारत**-प्रणयन की चर्चा है, किन्तु सम्पूर्ण **महाभारत** में कहीं भी ऐसी चर्चा नहीं है कि उन्होने ब्रह्मसूत्रों की रचना की। जब उनके द्वारा **महाभारत** के प्रणयन का निर्देश है, तो यदि उन्होंने ब्रह्मसूत्रों की रचना की होती तो उसका भी निर्देश अवश्य ही **महाभारत** में होता। इसके अतिरिक्त **महाभारत** में वेदव्यास को वेद, उपनिषद्, इतिहास, पुराण, पुराकल्प, न्याय, धर्मतत्त्व, सांख्य, योग, षडंगनीति, परापरविभाग का ज्ञाता तथा पंञ्चावयवयुक्त वाक्य के गुण एवं दोषों को परखने वाला कहा गया है (सभापर्व ५.२-८)। ज्ञेय विषयों की इतनी विस्तृत सूची देने पर भी ऐसा नहीं हो सकता कि यदि उनका ब्रह्मसूत्रों के कर्तृत्व में कुछ भी हाथ होता तो उसकी यहाँ चर्चा नहीं होती।

इसी प्रकार **विष्णुपुराण** (३.४.२-१०; ३.६.१५-१६ आदि) में वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन के द्वारा वेदों के व्यसन, **महाभारत एवं** पुराणों के प्रणयन तथा अपने विभिन्न शिष्यों को इन ग्रन्थों के अध्यापन की चर्चा तो है, किन्तु कहीं भी उनके द्वारा ब्रह्मसूत्रों के प्रणयन का किंचिन्मात्र भी निर्देश नहीं। ऐसी दशा में यह कैसे माना जा सकता है कि यह परम्परागत मान्यता कि ब्रह्मसूत्रों की रचना महाभारतकार कृष्णद्वैपायन ने की है, किसी प्राचीन परम्परा-ग्रन्थ के प्रबल आधार पर स्थित है। इस प्रकार यदि आचार्य मध्व द्वारा अपने **ब्रह्मसूत्र-भाष्य** में **स्कन्द-पुराण** के नाम से उद्धृत एक वचन, जो कि ब्रह्मसूत्रों को वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन की कृति बताता है,[10] **स्कन्द-पुराण** का ही माना जाता है और यदि **श्रीमद्भागवत** के **'जिज्ञासितमधीतं च यत्तद् ब्रह्म सनातनम्'** (१.५.४) से **'अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा'** (१.१.१) और फलतः इस से प्रारम्भ होने वाले ब्रह्मसूत्रों का अस्पष्ट संकेत माना जाता है, तो इस प्रकार के निर्देशों के उक्त प्रकार से **महाभारत** आदि के समान प्राचीन परम्परा-ग्रन्थों के द्वारा समर्थित न होने से केवल यही निष्कर्ष प्राप्त किया जा सकता है कि इन अर्वाचीन परम्परा-ग्रन्थों—**स्कन्दपुराण** एवं **श्रीमद्भागवत** आदि पुराणों—का प्रणयन या कम-से-कम इनमें उक्त-प्रकारक निर्देशों का प्रक्षेप तब हुआ है, जब कि ब्रह्मसूत्रों की रचना होने के बाद भ्रान्तिवश या किसी अन्य उद्देश्यविशेष से सूत्रकार बादरायण और वेदव्यास को अभिन्न व्यक्ति मानकर ब्रह्मसूत्र-कर्तृत्व का आरोप महाभारतकर्त्ता वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन पर किया जा चुका था। वैसे अन्य पुराणों में भी कहीं ब्रह्मसूत्रों या उनके वेदव्यासकर्तृकत्व की कोई चर्चा नहीं है।

इस सम्बन्ध में **गीता** के **'ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैश्चैव हेतुमद्भिर्विनिश्चितैः'** (१३.४) श्लोक पर भी ध्यान देना आवश्यक है। यदि **गीता** के इस श्लोक में वर्तमान ब्रह्मसूत्रों का निर्देश माना जाता है, तो स्पष्ट है कि **महाभारत** के वर्तमानरूप में आने तक यह मान्यता प्रवृत्त नहीं हो सकी थी कि ब्रह्मसूत्र वेदव्यास-प्रणीत हैं, क्योंकि गीता के उक्त श्लोक के रूप में जब **महाभारत** इनसे परिचित है, तो इनको वेदव्यास-प्रणीत माने जाने की स्थिति में वहाँ इनके वेदव्यास-प्रणीतत्व की चर्चा अवश्य होती, और यदि उक्त श्लोक में वर्तमान ब्रह्मसूत्रों का निर्देश नहीं माना जाता है, तब भी स्पष्ट है कि **महाभारत** को इनका कोई परिचय ही नहीं, उनके वेदव्यास-प्रणीतत्व की मान्यता की बात तो बहुत दूर है।

३. जैसा कि **ब्रह्मसूत्रशांकरभाष्य** से ज्ञात होता है, शंकर के समय तक भी यह मान्यता परम्परा के द्वारा गृहीत नहीं हो पाई थी कि ब्रह्मसूत्र वेदव्यास-प्रणीत हैं। शंकर ने सूत्र ४.४.२२ की प्रस्तावना में स्पष्टतः आचार्य बादरायण को सूत्रकार माना है और इसके साथ ही **'स्मरन्ति च'** (३.१.१४) आदि सूत्रों में महाभारतकार वेदव्यास को सूत्रकार बादरायण के द्वारा प्रामाणिक रूप में निर्दिष्ट माना है। इस प्रकार, जैसा कि विद्वानों का विचार है,[११] यह स्पष्ट है कि शंकर सूत्रकार बादरायण को महाभारतकार वेदव्यास से भिन्न और परवर्ती व्यक्ति मानते हैं, अन्यथा वे सूत्रकार को स्वयं को ही प्रामाणिक रूप में निर्दिष्ट करते हुए क्यों प्रदर्शित करते ! इसी प्रकार शंकर से परवर्ती तथा अन्य सभी ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्यकारों से पूर्ववर्ती भास्कर ने भी अपने **ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्य** के मंगलाचरण में **'ब्रह्मसूत्रमुद्बभौ यतः।······बादरायणमृषिं नमामि तम्'** के रूप में बादरायण को ब्रह्मसूत्रकार माना है और सू० ३.१.१४ आदि में सूत्रकार के द्वारा प्रामाणिक रूप में वेदव्यास को निर्दिष्ट किया हुआ माना है, जिससे स्पष्ट है कि भास्कर भी सूत्रकार बादरायण को वेदव्यास से भिन्न तथा परवर्ती मानते हैं। इसके विपरीत आचार्य रामानुज, जो कि वेदव्यास को सूत्रकार मानते हैं, उक्त सूत्र (३.१.१४) में सूत्रकार के द्वारा पराशर को प्रामाणिक रूप में निर्दिष्ट मानते हैं। इस प्रकार स्पष्ट है कि जहाँ रामानुज वेदव्यास को सूत्रकार मानते हैं, वहाँ उनसे पूर्ववर्ती शंकर और भास्कर उन्हें सूत्रकार नहीं मानते और फलतः यही कहना होगा कि शंकर और भास्कर के समय तक यह मान्यता प्रचलित नहीं हो पाई थी कि वेदव्यास ब्रह्मसूत्रकार हैं।

शंकर ने जो **गीता** के उक्त **'ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैश्चैव'** (१३.४) श्लोक में 'ब्रह्मसूत्र' शब्द से वर्तमान ब्रह्मसूत्रों का निर्देश न मानकर उपनिषदों के सूत्रवत् संक्षिप्त वाक्यों का निर्देश माना है,[१२] उससे भी यही प्रतीत होता है कि वे वर्तमान ब्रह्मसूत्रों की स्थिति गीताकार अर्थात् महाभारतकार वेदव्यास के समय में मानने के पक्ष में नहीं, अन्यथा जब उक्त श्लोक में 'ब्रह्मसूत्र' का साक्षात् निर्देश है और **'हेतुमद्भिः'** शब्द के द्वारा वर्तमान ब्रह्मसूत्रों की ही एक प्रमुख विशेषता का साक्षात् संकेत है, तो उक्त पद से वर्तमान ब्रह्मसूत्रों का ग्रहण न कर उसका अप्रत्यक्ष अर्थ करते हुए उपनिषद्वाक्यों को ग्रहण करने की खींचातानी उन्हें क्यों करनी पड़ती। उक्त श्लोक की आचार्य शंकर द्वारा प्रस्तुत व्याख्या से भी स्पष्ट है कि उनके समय तक परम्परा में यह भ्रान्ति नहीं फैल पाई थी कि ब्रह्मसूत्र वेदव्यास-प्रणीत हैं, अपितु उस समय का समाज इस बात से पूर्णतया अवगत था कि ब्रह्मसूत्र वेदव्यास के परवर्ती आचार्य बादरायण की कृति हैं। इसके विपरीत, आचार्य रामानुज जो कि ब्रह्मसूत्रों को वेदव्यासप्रणीत मानते हैं, गीता के उक्त श्लोक में आए हुए 'ब्रह्मसूत्र' शब्द से वर्तमान ब्रह्मसूत्रों का ही निर्देश मानते हैं,[१३] और रामानुज से पूर्ववर्ती वाचस्पति मिश्र भी ब्रह्मसूत्रों को वेदव्यासप्रणीत मानते हैं।[१४] इस प्रकार स्पष्ट है कि शंकर और वाचस्पति मिश्र के बीच के काल में ही परम्परा में यह मान्यता प्रवृत हो पाई थी कि ब्रह्मसूत्र वेदव्यास-प्रणीत हैं, मूलतः ऐसी कोई मान्यता परम्परा में उससे पूर्व प्रचलित नहीं थी।

यहाँ इतना और कह देना अप्रासंगिक न होगा कि यद्यपि, जैसा कि विद्वानों का विचार है,[१५] **'ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैश्चैव'** श्लोक में **'ब्रह्मसूत्र'** और **'हेतुमद्भिः'** पदों के द्वारा साक्षात् निदेश होने के कारण 'ब्रह्मसूत्र' शब्द से वर्तमान ब्रह्मसूत्रों का निर्देश मानना ही समीचीन है, किन्तु जैसा कि अभी

कहा जा चुका है, गीताकार के समय में वर्तमान ब्रह्मसूत्रों की स्थिति शंकरकालीन परम्परा को मान्य न होने के कारण शंकर को 'ब्रह्मसूत्र' शब्द से वर्तमान ब्रह्मसूत्रों का निर्देश न मानकर उपनिषद्वाक्यों का निर्देश मानने को विवश होना पड़ा, किन्तु फिर भी इतना स्पष्ट है कि उस समय परम्परा में यह भ्रान्ति तो प्रचलित हो ही गई थी कि उक्त श्लोक गीता का मौलिक भाग है और इसीलिये शंकर ने इसे मौलिक रूप में स्वीकार कर इसकी व्याख्या उक्त प्रकार से भिन्न रूप में कर दी। वस्तुतः इस श्लोक की अपने पूर्ववर्ती श्लोक, जिसमें कि आगे प्रतिपादनीय विषय के प्रतिपादन की प्रतिज्ञा की गई है, और अपने परवर्ती श्लोक, जिसमें कि पूर्वप्रतिज्ञात विषय के प्रतिपादन का प्रस्तावन किया गया है, के बीच में स्थिति अस्वाभाविक ही प्रतीत होती है, और ऐसा लगता है कि ब्रह्मसूत्रों के अस्तित्व में आने और इनका प्रभाव बढ़ने के बाद उनके द्वारा भी समर्थन प्राप्त करने के उद्देश्य से इस श्लोक को किसी प्रक्षेपकुशल व्यक्ति ने श्लोक १३.३ और १३.५ के बीच में डाल दिया है, किन्तु उसने न तो यह देखा कि वर्णनीय विषय के वर्णन की प्रतिज्ञा करने वाले श्लोक १३.३ और उस विषय का वर्णन करने वाले श्लोक १३.५ के बीच में उक्त श्लोक १३.४ की व्यर्थ, अस्वाभाविक एवं अनुपयुक्त स्थिति स्वतः स्पष्ट हो जाती है, और न उसने यही देखा कि **'महाभूतान्यहंकारो बुद्धिरव्यक्तमेव च'** (१३.५) के रूप में **गीता** जिन क्षेत्रीय तत्त्वों को मानती है, ब्रह्मसूत्र उनका समर्थन भी करते हैं या नहीं। **गीता** ने उक्त क्षेत्रीय तत्त्वों में अहंकार एवं अव्यक्त का परिगणन सांख्य के आधार पर किया है, किन्तु उनका ब्रह्मसूत्र प्रतिपादन या समर्थन तो दूर, उसके विपरीत उनका खण्डन ही करते हैं (सू० १.४.१-७)। इसके अतिरिक्त, अन्यत्र भी जहाँ **गीता** सांख्याभिमत प्रतिपाद्य या तत्त्वों को सम्मान के साथ ग्रहण करती है, वहाँ ब्रह्मसूत्र स्पष्टतः सांख्य को अपना प्रबलतम प्रतिद्वन्द्वी मानकर उनका निराकरण करते हैं। इस प्रकार ब्रह्मसूत्रों के द्वारा गीता के उक्त क्षेत्रीय प्रतिपाद्य का समर्थन बताना एक स्पष्टतः बेतुकी बात है, जो कि ब्रह्मसूत्रों के प्रतिपाद्य की अनभिज्ञता के कारण, केवल इनके प्रभाव से आतंकित होकर यहाँ उपन्यस्त की गई है। अस्तु, आचार्य शंकर और उनकी समसामयिक परम्परा भले ही उक्त श्लोक को गीता का मौलिक भाग मानती हो, किन्तु वह वर्तमान ब्रह्मसूत्रों की स्थिति **गीता** के समय में और फलतः उनको वेदव्यास-प्रणीत नहीं मानती, यह ऊपर के विमर्श से पूर्णतया स्पष्ट है।

४. वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन को ब्रह्मसूत्रकार मानने पर स्वयं परम्परा के ही अनुसार विरोध पड़ता है, क्योंकि ब्रह्मसूत्रकार ने **बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्** में संकलित याज्ञवल्क्य के दार्शनिक विचारों की मीमांसा की है[१६] और ये याज्ञवल्क्य स्वयं परम्परा के अनुसार वेदव्यास की शिष्य-परम्परा में तीसरी पीढ़ी में आते हैं[१७]। ऐसी दशा में यह कैसे संभव है कि वेदव्यास ने अपनी तीसरी पीढ़ी में होने वाले अपने प्रशिष्य याज्ञवल्क्य के उन दार्शनिक विचारों को, जो कि याज्ञवल्क्य के भी बाद उनकी शिष्य-परम्परा के द्वारा **बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्** के रूप में संकलित किए गए, मीमांसित किया।

इसके अतिरिक्त, यदि परम्परा के ही आधार पर देखा जाये तो, जैसा कि **विष्णुपुराण** और **श्रीमद्भागवत** से ज्ञात होता है[१८], जब **शुक्लयजुर्वेद** ही, जिसे कि इस भूतल पर सर्वप्रथम याज्ञवल्क्य ने ही सूर्य से इस नियम के साथ प्राप्त किया था कि उन्हें ऐसे 'यजुस्' दिए जायें जो कि उनके गुरु को भी ज्ञात न हों, वेदव्यास और उनके शिष्य वैशम्पायन के समय नहीं था, तो फिर

उक्त यजुषों के भी बहुत बाद अस्तित्व में आने वाले **बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्** के विषय में तो यह कल्पना भी नहीं की जा सकती कि वह वेदव्यास के समय में था, जो कि यह माना जा सके कि वेदव्यास ने उसमें प्रतिपादित याज्ञवल्क्य के विचारों की मीमांसा की होगी। यदि याज्ञवल्क्य या **बृहदारण्यक** के अस्तित्व में आने के समय भी वेदव्यास की स्थिति मान ली जाये, तो भी **बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्** के जिन दो प्रमुख शाखाभेदों का ब्रह्मसूत्रों (सू० १.२.२० में निर्देश है, उनकी संगति नहीं लग सकती, क्योंकि ये शाखा-भेद याज्ञवल्क्य तथा अन्य आचार्यों के विचारों के स्फुट वाङ्मय के रूप में परम्परा से बहुत काल तक चल चुकने के बाद इनका **बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्** के रूप में संकलन या अध्ययन करने वालों के भेद से अस्तित्व में आ पाए हैं। साथ ही यह कथमपि संभव नहीं कि याज्ञवल्क्य के समय या उनके बाद उक्त उपनिषद् के अस्तित्व में आते ही निरीश्वर सांख्यदर्शन ने उसके प्रकरणों को स्वानुकूल लगा लिया होगा, जिसका कि निराकरण सूत्रकार ने सू० १.२.२६; १.३.१२; १.४.११-१३; १.४.१६ आदि में किया है। इसके लिए उक्त उपनिषद् से किसी न किसी रूप में सम्बद्ध याज्ञवल्क्य के बहुत बाद सूत्रकार की स्थिति अनिवार्य रूप से माननी होगी, जो कि वेदव्यास के लिए नितान्त असंभव है।

वस्तुतः, जैसा कि वेदव्यास के द्वारा वेदों का व्यसन करने के सम्बन्ध में प्रचलित परम्परागत प्रसिद्धि से ज्ञात होता है, स्वयं परम्परा के अनुसार वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन की स्थिति ब्रह्मसूत्रों के काल से बहुत पूर्व सिद्ध होती है। वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन के पिता पराशर तक के माध्यम से वेदमन्त्र अस्तित्व में आए हैं[१९] और वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन के माध्यम से कोई वेदमन्त्र अस्तित्व में नहीं आया, किन्तु वेदमन्त्रों के अन्तिम प्रकाशक अपने पिता के बाद उन्होंने वेदमन्त्रों का विभिन्न वेदों के रूप में संकलन या सम्पादन किया। इस प्रकार वेदव्यास की स्थिति वेदमन्त्र-प्रकाशक ऋषियों के समय या उसके कुछ बाद ही है और इधर ब्रह्मसूत्रकार की स्थिति उक्त मन्त्र-प्रकाशक ऋषियों के समय और उस समय जब कि वेदों का सम्पादन भी न हो पाया था, न होकर, तब है जबकि वेदों के सम्पादन के बाद दीर्घकाल तक दार्शनिक चर्चाओं के चल चुकने के फलस्वरूप उपनिषद् अस्तित्व में आ गए और फिर उपनिषदों के अर्थ भी दुरूह हो गए, जिससे कि विभिन्न मीमांसकों द्वारा उनकी मीमांसा कर उनके अर्थ का निर्णय किया जाने लगा। इस प्रकार जहाँ वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन वेद-प्रकाशन और वेदसम्पादन के समय में होने वाले ऋषियों की परम्परा में अन्यतम ऋषि हैं, वहाँ ब्रह्मसूत्रकार उक्त ऋषियों की परम्परा में न होकर बहुत दीर्घकाल के बाद प्रवृत्त होने वाली उपनिषद्-मीमांसा को प्रस्तुत करने वाले मीमांसकों की परम्परा में अन्यतम मीमांसक आचार्य हैं और फलतः अपने-अपने अस्तित्व के काल की दृष्टि से परस्पर एक-दूसरे से बहुत दूर रहने वाले इन दोनों को एक अभिन्न व्यक्ति मानना स्वयं परम्परा के अनुसार भी असंगत एवं तथ्यप्रतिकूल सिद्ध होता है।

५. अब तक प्रस्तुत उक्त बाह्य साक्ष्यों के आधार पर यह देखा गया कि स्वयं परम्परा के अनुसार भी यह मान्यता वितथ सिद्ध होती है कि वेदव्यास और ब्रह्मसूत्रकार बादरायण अभिन्न व्यक्ति हैं, किन्तु स्वयं ब्रह्मसूत्रों के अन्तरंग साक्ष्यों के आधार पर भी उक्त मान्यता को परखने पर वह वितथ ही सिद्ध होती है। जैसा कि अन्यत्र कहा जा चुका है,[२०] ब्रह्मसूत्रों के स्वरूप पर ध्यान देने से स्पष्ट है कि ये वेदव्यास की कृति नहीं हो सकते। वेदव्यास सरीखे ऋषि के द्वारा प्रस्तुत मीमांसा का स्वरूप बहुत कुछ विशुद्ध विधानात्मक होता, जिसमें कि प्रत्यक्ष-विधानात्मक शैली में

केवल स्वसिद्धान्त या प्रतिपाद्य का प्रतिपादन किया जाता, इतना निराकरणात्मक न होता, जैसा कि वह ब्रह्मसूत्रों में प्राप्त होता है। इसके अतिरिक्त ब्रह्मकारणवाद-स्थापना का स्वरूप भी इतना आक्षेपनिराकरणात्मक नहीं होता, जितना कि ब्रह्मसूत्रों (अ० २ पाद १) में है। साथ ही परमत-निराकरण में भी इतना अभिनिवेश न होता, जितना कि तर्कपाद (अ० २ पाद २) में परिलक्षित होता है। साथ ही सूत्रों की शैली भी 'इति चेन्न' आदि के समान अर्वाचीन शास्त्रार्थोपयुक्त प्रयोगों से इतनी व्याप्त नहीं होती। यह शैली न तो वेदव्यास के नाम से प्रसिद्ध किसी भी ग्रन्थ में है और न उनके समय में प्रचलित आर्ष शैली ही है। यह तो बहुत काल बाद प्रवृत्त होने वाली मीमांसक एवं नैयायिक शास्त्रार्थी आचार्यों की आधुनिक शैली है जो कि ब्रह्मसूत्रों के वेदव्यासप्रणीतत्व की संभावना को बिल्कुल समाप्त कर देती है।

६. ब्रह्मसूत्रों के द्वारा तर्कपाद (अ० २ पाद २) में निराकृत मतों के निराकरण को देखकर इनके वेदव्यासप्रणीतत्व की संभावना बिल्कुल ही निर्मूल हो जाती है। उक्त पाद में सांख्य, वैशेषिक, जगदस्तित्ववादी बौद्ध, जगन्नास्तित्ववादी बौद्ध, जैन, पाशुपत तथा पाञ्चरात्र मतों का निराकरण है। इनमें से अधिक से अधिक सांख्य को छोड़कर, किसी का अस्तित्व वेदव्यास के समय संभव नहीं और सांख्य भी जिस रूप में ब्रह्मसूत्रों में निराकृत है, उस रूप में संभवतः ही वेदव्यास के समय में हो। यद्यपि **महाभारत** में उक्त मतों में से सांख्य, योग, पाशुपत और पाञ्चरात्र मतों की चर्चा है, किन्तु **महाभारत** के वर्तमान समग्र रूप को वेदव्यास की लेखनी से प्रसूत मानना एक भूल ही होगी। यद्यपि इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं कि वेदव्यास ने महाभारत का प्रणयन अवश्य किया है, किन्तु साथ ही इसमें भी कोई सन्देह नहीं कि उनके द्वारा प्रणीत महाभारत का मूल रूप समय-समय पर विभिन्न कर्त्ताओं की परम्परा के द्वारा परिवर्धित होकर वर्तमान विशाल रूप को प्राप्त कर सका है। जैसा कि अभी पूर्व में कहा जा चुका है, वेदव्यास वैदिक क्षेत्र के ऋषि हैं और साथ ही ऐसे प्राचीन समय के ऋषि हैं, जब कि वेद-मन्त्रों का प्रकाशन या प्रणयन ही सम्पन्न हो पाया था, अतः उस समय वैदिक क्षेत्र में केवल वेदवर्णित दर्शन और धर्म का ही महत्त्व होने के कारण अन्य मतों का उद्भव असम्भव है और इसलिए वेदव्यास के द्वारा उनकी चर्चा भी असम्भव ही प्रतीत होती है। **महाभारत** के वर्तमान रूप में वर्णित मतों में प्राचीनतम मत सांख्य का भी वेदों में कहीं दर्शन नहीं होता, अत. उसके भी वेदव्यास के द्वारा वर्णन करने की संभावना समाप्त हो जाती है, फिर अन्य परवर्ती मतों की तो बात ही क्या है। **महाभारत** के प्रणयन के समय वैदिकेतर क्षेत्र में यदि कुछ मतों का धीरे-धीरे उदय हो रहा होगा या प्रचलित भी रहे होंगे, तो भी उनकी वेदव्यास के द्वारा चर्चा करने की कोई आवश्यकता प्रतीत नहीं होती, क्योंकि ऐसा करना एक विशिष्ट कुल से सम्बद्ध इतिवृत्त का वर्णन करने के उद्देश्य से प्रणीत ग्रन्थ-**महाभारत**—के मौलिक उद्देश्य से दूर था। इस प्रकार वेदव्यास के समय में ब्रह्मसूत्रों में निराकृत साँख्य, योग, पाशुपत एवं पाञ्चरात्र मतों का अस्तित्व संभव न होने से **महाभारत** में उनका वर्णन वेदव्यासकृत प्रतीत नहीं होता और फलतः उनके द्वारा इन मतों का परिचय प्राप्त न होने के कारण ब्रह्मसूत्रों में इनका निराकरण वेदव्यासकृत नहीं माना जा सकता। यदि किसी प्रकार इन मतों का **महाभारत** में वर्णन वेदव्यासकृत ही माना जाता है तब भी ब्रह्मसूत्रों में इनके निराकरण को वेदव्यासकृत नहीं माना जा सकता, क्योंकि **महाभारत** में जहाँ मतों का सम्मानपूर्वक वर्णन किया गया है,[२१] वहाँ ब्रह्मसूत्रों में

इनका निन्दापूर्ण निराकरण किया गया है और इस प्रकार दोनों को एक ही व्यक्ति के द्वारा किया हुआ माने जाने पर इनकी कथमपि संगति नहीं हो सकती।

वस्तुत: स्वतन्त्र वैदिक क्षेत्र में ब्रह्मसूत्र आदि ग्रन्थों के द्वारा उक्त मतों—सांख्य, योग, पाशुपत एवं पाञ्चरात्र—का निराकरण होने पर, समाज के वर्गविशेषों की मान्यता की दृष्टि से इन्हें सांस्कृतिक एवं सामाजिक समन्वय करने वाले ग्रन्थ **महाभारत** में बाद में शरण दे दी गई है जिसके फलस्वरूप इस ग्रन्थ में उनका सम्मानपूर्ण वर्णन मिलता है। किन्तु **ब्रह्मसूत्र** तो इन्हें **महाभारत** में किये गए इनके सम्मानपूर्ण वर्णन के विपरीत निराकरणीय ही समझकर इनका निराकरण करते हैं। इनके द्वारा जब उक्त मतों का निराकरण हो चुका, तभी सम्भवत: सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक समन्वय की दृष्टि से **महाभारत** में **'सांख्यं योग: पाञ्चरात्र वेदा: पाशुपत तथा। आत्मप्रमाणान्येतानि न हन्तव्यानि हेतुभि:'** (शान्ति-पर्व ३५०.६३)[२२] के रूप में उनको वेद के साथ बठाकर उन्हें बचाते हुए यह कहा गया है कि उनका हेतु अर्थात् तर्कों से हनन या निराकरण नहीं करना चाहिए, किन्तु क्या किया जाये, ब्रह्मसूत्रों ने तो इनका वस्तुत: ही हेतुओं से हनन कर डाला था। अस्तु, उक्त प्रकार से चाहे तो यह माना जाये कि वेदव्यास के समय उक्त मतों की स्थिति नहीं थी और चाहे यह माना जाये, कि उन्होंने ही **महाभारत** में इनका सम्मानपूर्ण वर्णन किया है, दोनों ही दशाओं में ब्रह्मसूत्रों को वेदव्यासप्रणीत मानने पर इनमें निराकृत सांख्य योग, पाशुपत एवं पाञ्चरात्र मतों के निराकारण की किसी प्रकार संगति नहीं बैठती।

ब्रह्मसूत्रों में निराकृत अवशिष्ट मतों—वैशेषिक, जैन, बौद्ध—से तो वेदव्यास का कथमपि परिचय नहीं माना जा सकता और फलत: इनके निराकरण को देखते हुए ब्रह्मसूत्रों के वेदव्यासप्रणीतत्व की मान्यता पूर्णत: निरस्त हो जाती है। ब्रह्मसूत्रों में निराकृत परमाणुवाद (२.२.११) और समवायसम्बन्ध (२.२.१३) आदि का वर्णन भारतीय वाङ्मय के प्राचीन ग्रन्थ वेद, ब्राह्मण, आरण्यक, उपनिषद् आदि में कहीं उपलब्ध नहीं होता और **महाभारत** में भी इनकी कोई चर्चा नहीं है, यहाँ तक कि प्राचीन पाली त्रिपिटक-साहित्य में भी इनका कोई निर्देश नहीं, फलत: वेदव्यास का इनसे परिचय ही क्या हो सकता है, जो वे इनका निराकरण करते। विद्वानों की मान्यता है कि परमाणु का सर्वप्रथम विचार यूनानी दार्शनिक लेउकिप्पू (५००-४३० ई० पू०) को आया था। इसके अनुसार जगत् का मूलतत्त्व 'अतोमोन्' अर्थात् अच्छेद्य और अभेद्य है, एटम (Atom) शब्द यूनानी 'अतोमोन्' का ही अंग्रेज़ी रूपान्तर है। लेउकिप्पू के शिष्य यूनानी दार्शनिक देमोक्रितु (४६०-३७० ई० पू०) ने अपने गुरु के परमाणु के विचार के आधार पर व्यवस्थित रूप में परमाणुवाद को स्थापित किया और फिर यूनान से यह वाद यूनानियों के संपर्क के फलस्वरूप भारत को प्राप्त हुआ, जिसके आधार पर कणाद ने अपने वैशेषिक दर्शन को स्थापित किया।[२३] इस मान्यता में कहाँ तक तथ्य है, यह कहना तो कठिन है, फिर भी इतना निश्चित है कि भारत में कणाद ही परमाणुवाद को सर्वप्रथम प्रवृत्त करने वाले हैं। इनसे पूर्व इस वाद का कोई परिचय नहीं मिलता और फलत: यह वाद वेदव्यास के समय में निश्चित रूप से नहीं था।

एक धर्म के रूप में जैन मत चाहे कितना भी प्राचीन माना जाये, किन्तु उसका वह दार्शनिक रूप जो कि ब्रह्मसूत्रों (२.२. ३३-३६) में निराकृत है, जिसमें कि अनेकान्तवाद,

देहात्मपरिमाणवाद, पर्यायवाद आते हैं, निश्चित ही इतना प्राचीन नहीं कि वह वेदों का सम्पादन करने वाले वेदव्यास के समय में माना जा सके। फलतः इस मत का भी निराकरण वेदव्यास के द्वारा उपपन्न नहीं माना जा सकता।

बौद्ध मत की दो शाखाओं—जगद्‌भाववादिनी और जगदभाववादिनी—का निराकरण ब्रह्मसूत्रों में है। इनमें से दूसरी शाखा महात्मा गौतमबुद्ध के भी बहुत बाद इस रूप में प्रचलित हो पाई है कि वह निराकरणीय मानी जा सके। जगत् के अभाव का सिद्धान्त सर्वप्रथम बौद्धमत में ही विकसित हुआ है। इससे पूर्व भारतीय वाङ्मय में इसका कोई परिचय नहीं मिलता। जहाँ तक उपनिषदों के **'असदेवेदमग्र आसीत्'** आदि वाक्यों का सम्बन्ध है, उनका तात्पर्य, जैसा कि स्वयं ब्रह्मसूत्रों (२.१. १७) में स्पष्ट कर दिया गया है असत् या अभाव से न होकर जगत् की व्याकृत अवस्था से भिन्न उसकी मूल अव्याकृत अवस्था से है। इसके अतिरिक्त, बौद्धमत से पूर्व भी कोई अभाववादी सिद्धान्त भले ही रहा हो, किन्तु यतः यह ब्रह्मसूत्रों में बौद्धमत की भाववादिनी शाखा के साथ निराकृत हुआ है, अत: इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं रहता कि यह बौद्धों के ही एक वर्गविशेष के द्वारा मान्य जगदभाववाद का निराकरण है और यतः बौद्धमत वेदव्यास से बहुत बाद में अस्तित्व में आ पाया है, अतः उनके द्वारा इसका निराकरण कथमपि संभव नहीं।

अब तक ब्रह्मसूत्रों में निराकृत जिन मतों की चर्चा की गई है, उन सबसे अतिरिक्त तर्कपाद में निराकृत एक ऐसा मत है जो यह उच्च स्वर से उद्‌घोष कर रहा है कि वह किसी कालविशेष में उद्‌भूत एक ऐसा ऐतिहासिक विशिष्ट मत है कि उसका अस्तित्व वेदव्यास के समय में कथमपि सम्भव नहीं और वह मत है जगदस्तित्ववादी या जगद्‌भाववादी बौद्धमत। वैसे तो सूत्रकार ने प्रत्येक निराकृत मत के निराकरण में उसका नाम-निर्देश कर या उसके द्वारा स्वीकृत पारिभाषिक शब्दावली से उसका परिचय दे दिया है जिससे उनके अभिज्ञान में कोई सन्देह की गुंजाइश नहीं रह जाती, किन्तु जगदस्तित्ववादी बौद्धमत के निराकरण में तो उन्होंने इतने पारिभाषिक शब्दों और एकमात्र उसके द्वारा परिगृहीत सिद्धान्तों की चर्चा की है कि उसके अभिज्ञान में सन्देह का उदयमात्र भी नहीं हो पाता।

उक्त मत के निराकरण के प्रस्तावक सूत्र **'समुदाय उभयहेतुकेऽपि तदप्राप्तिः'** (२.२.१८) के द्वारा ही इस मत के 'संघातवाद' की ओर संकेत कर दिया गया है। इससे आगे सू० २.२.१९ के द्वारा पारिभाषिक 'प्रत्यय' शब्द और 'इतरेतर-प्रत्ययत्व' से उत्पत्ति की मान्यता का निर्देश कर इस मत के प्रसिद्ध एवं असाधारण रूप से विशिष्ट वाद 'प्रतीत्यसमुत्पाद' की स्पष्ट चर्चा कर दी गई है। आगे सू० २.२.२० के द्वारा इस मत के इस सिद्धान्त का कि कार्य के उत्पन्न होते-होते कारण का निरोध हो जाता है, स्पष्ट वर्णन कर दिया गया है और वह भी इस मत के द्वारा स्वीकृत पारिभाषिक 'निरोध' शब्द के साथ। आगे परवर्ती सूत्र २.२.२२ में तो स्पष्टतः ही ऐसे पारिभाषिक शब्दों के साथ इस मत के ऐसे विशिष्ट सिद्धान्त को कहा गया है कि इस मत को छोड़कर अन्य किसी मत में इसकी गन्ध भी नहीं। 'प्रतिसंख्यानिरोध' और 'अप्रतिसंख्यानिरोध' ये दो निरोधों के वाचक पारिभाषिक शब्द और सिद्धान्त उक्त मत को छोड़कर जगत् के किसी मत में प्रचलित न

कभी हुए और न हैं। आगे के सू० २.२.२४ के प्रतिपाद्य को उक्त सूत्र २.२.२२ से मिलाकर देखने पर इस मत का 'असंस्कृतत्रयवाद' भी स्पष्ट हो जाता है। सू० २.२.२५ इस मत के क्षणिकत्व-सिद्धान्त की ओर संकेत करता है और सू० २.२.२६ असद्धेतुकोत्पत्तिवाद अर्थात् अभाव से भाव की उत्पत्ति के सिद्धान्त को सहज ही में संकेतित कर देता है। इस प्रकार समुदाय, इतरेतरप्रत्ययत्व, पूर्वनिरोध, प्रतिसंख्याप्रतिसंख्यानिरोध आदि असाधारण पारिभाषिक शब्दों के प्रयोग, और वह भी उन्हीं अर्थों तथा भावों में, जो कि एकमात्र बौद्धमत में परिगृहीत हैं, तथा 'उनके साथ संघातवाद, प्रतीत्यसमुत्पाद, उत्तरोत्पाद में' पूर्वनिरोध, क्षणिकत्ववाद, प्रतिसंख्याप्रतिसंख्यानिरोधद्वयवाद, असंस्कृतत्रयवाद एवं असद्धेतुकोत्पत्तिवाद आदि एकमात्र बौद्धमत के विशिष्ट एवं असाधारण सिद्धान्तों के निराकरण से पूर्णतया स्पष्ट है कि यह महात्मा गौतमबुद्ध के मूल से प्रवर्तित परम्परा में विकसित प्रसिद्ध ऐतिहासिक बौद्धमतविशेष का निराकरण है, जोकि महात्मा गौतमबुद्ध से अति दीर्घकाल के व्यवधान के साथ पूर्ववर्ती वेदव्यास के लिए कथमपि संभव नहीं और इसको प्रक्षिप्त न तो भाष्यकारों की परम्परा मानती है और न सूत्रों के निराकरणात्मक स्वरूप, विषयों की परस्पर संगति तथा प्रतिपादन-शैली आदि की दृष्टि से ऐसा मानना उचित ही है। सूत्रों का वर्तमान रूप ही उनका मौलिक रूप है और वे एक ही कर्त्ता की कृति हैं।

७. उक्त बाधक कारणों की उपस्थिति में 'पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः' (**अष्टा०** ४.३.११०) में निर्दिष्ट भिक्षुसूत्रों को वर्तमान ब्रह्मसूत्रों से अभिन्न मानकर, जैसा कि मानने की ओर कुछ विद्वानों का झुकाव है,[24] ब्रह्मसूत्रों को वेदव्यासप्रणीत मानना उचित प्रतीत नहीं होता, यद्यपि पाणिनि के उक्त प्रामाणिक साक्ष्य के कारण, इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं रहता कि 'पाराशर्य' के द्वारा प्रणीत '**भिक्षुसूत्र** का पाणिनि से पूर्व अस्तित्व था, किन्तु फिर भी इसमें कोई प्रमाण नहीं कि पाणिनि के उक्त सूत्र में 'पाराशर्य' शब्द से पराशरपुत्र वेदव्यास का ही निर्देश किया गया है और उनसे भिन्नअन्य किसी पराशर-गोत्रोत्पन्न आचार्य का, जिसे भी 'पराशर' शब्द के गर्गादिगण (**अष्टा०** ४.१.१०५) में पठित होने के कारण 'पाराशर्य' कहा जा सकता था, यहाँ निर्देश नहीं किया गया है; साथ ही इसमें भी कोई प्रमाण नहीं कि उक्त **भिक्षुसूत्र** वर्तमान **ब्रह्मसूत्र** ही हैं, और **अष्टा०** ४.३.१११ आदि में निर्दिष्ट कर्मन्द आदि आचार्यों के द्वारा प्रणीत विभिन्न भिक्षुसूत्रों के समान ब्रह्मसूत्रों से भिन्न नहीं तथा उनके ही समान लुप्त नहीं हो चुका। यतः **महाभारत** में सांख्याचार्य पञ्चशिख को '**पराशरसगोत्रस्य वृद्धस्य सुमहात्मनः। भिक्षोः पंचशिखस्याहं शिष्यः परमसंमतः** (शा० प० ३२०.२४) के रूप में 'पराशरस-गोत्र' और 'भिक्षु' कहा गया है तथा इसी प्रसंग में इससे कुछ पूर्व '**सर्वभाष्यविदां मध्ये चोदयामास भिक्षुकी**' (शा० प० ३२०.१५) के रूप में भिक्षुकी एवं भाष्यों, जो कि सूत्रों के ही होते हैं, की चर्चा की गई है, अतः यह संभावना करना, जैसा कि विद्वानों का विचार है,[25] अनुचित न होगा कि पराशरगोत्रीय या 'पाराशर्य' भिक्षु पंचशिख ने अपने अनुयायी भिक्षुशिष्यों के आचार के लिए एक सूत्र-ग्रन्थ की रचना की हो और वह पाराशर्य-प्रणीत 'भिक्षुसूत्र' के रूप में परम्परा में प्रसिद्ध रहा हो, जिसकी चर्चा पाणिनि ने अपने उक्त सूत्र (४.३.११०) में की है। यद्यपि सांख्यवादियों का अब कोई सम्प्रदाय नहीं रहा है, किन्तु, जैसा कि **महाभारत** के उक्त श्लोक में पंचशिख को 'भिक्षु' कहने से ज्ञात होता है, प्राचीनकाल में उनका भी एक सम्प्रदाय—भिक्षु-सम्प्रदाय—हो सकता है और इसी सम्प्रदाय के आचार का वर्णन संभवतः विभिन्न भिक्षुसूत्रों में हुआ करता था। जैसा

कि पाणिनि के उक्त सूत्र (४.३.११०) से ही ज्ञात होता है, पाराशर्यप्रणीत भिक्षुसूत्र का अध्ययन करने वाले को 'पाराशरी' कहा जाता था और ऐसे 'पाराशरी' भिक्षुओं के सम्प्रदाय का पता बाण के समय तक लगता है ।[26] हर्षचरित में एक 'पाराशरी' भिक्षु की बड़े सम्मान के साथ चर्चा की गई है औरउसे औपनिषदों अर्थात् उपनिषद्-वेत्ताओं से, जिनका सम्बन्ध अपने पूर्वाचार्य वेदव्यास से माना जा सकता है, पृथक् बताया गया है। वैसे भी न तो भिक्षु-संस्था ही एक वैदिक संस्था प्रतीत होती है और न वेदव्यास को ही कहीं भिक्षु बताया गया है, जो कि वे अपने भिक्षु-सम्प्रदाय के लिए किसी भिक्षुसूत्र की रचना करते।

उक्त प्रकार से पाराशर्य भिक्षु पञ्चशिख के द्वारा पाणिनिनिर्दिष्ट '**भिक्षुसूत्र**' के प्रणीत होने की प्रबल संभावना और साथ ही उसके व्यासप्रणीतत्व की असम्भावना होने पर भी यदि केवल 'पाराशर्य' शब्द के आधार पर यही माना जाता है कि उक्त **भिक्षुसूत्र** वेदव्यासप्रणीत हैं, तो यतः पूर्वोक्त बाधक कारणों की उपस्थिति में वर्तमान ब्रह्मसूत्रों को वेदव्यासप्रणीत कथमपि नहीं माना जा सकता, अतः यही कहना होगा कि वर्तमान **ब्रह्मसूत्र** पाणिनि द्वारा निर्दिष्ट भिक्षुसूत्र नहीं। वैसे भी जहाँ कहीं भी ब्रह्मसूत्रों का निर्देश है वहां ही इन्हें भिक्षुसूत्र नहीं कहा गया है और न इनमें किसी भी स्थान पर 'भिक्षु' शब्द का प्रयोग ही किया गया है । इस प्रकार इनका उक्त '**भिक्षुसूत्र**' से भिन्नत्व पूर्णतः स्पष्ट है ।

उक्त प्रकार से परम्परा एवं स्वयं ब्रह्मसूत्रों के आधार पर विचार करने के फलस्वरूप यही मानना उचित प्रतीत होता है कि ब्रह्मसूत्रों के रचयिता बादरायण महाभारतकार वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन से भिन्न हैं और साथ ही इनसे ही नहीं, अपितु महात्मा गौतम बुद्ध से भी परवर्ती हैं। अपने समय की परिस्थिति के अनुसार जिस प्रकार वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन ने वेदों की व्यवस्था की, उसी प्रकार बुद्धोत्तरकाल में अपने समय की परिस्थिति के अनुसार श्रौत या वैदिक दर्शन, वेदान्त-दर्शन, को एक व्यवस्थित रूप में प्रस्तुत करने के लिए बादरायण को बाध्य होना पड़ा । श्रुतियों की व्यवस्था की दृष्टि से उनका कार्य भी वेदव्यास के ही समान था और उनका व्यक्तित्व भी वेदव्यास के ही समान महान् था । फलतः उनको परम्परा 'व्यास' रूप में मानने लगी हो, तो कोई आश्चर्य नहीं, और फिर ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि शंकरोत्तरकाल में ही दीर्घकाल के व्यवधान होने और साथ ही उक्त प्रकार से समानकर्मा होने के कारण परम्परा ने उनको वेदव्यास ही मान लिया और वेदव्यास के कृष्णद्वैपायन आदि नामों के साथ 'बादरायण' नाम को भी जोड़कर ब्रह्मसूत्रों को वेदव्यासप्रणीत मान लिया। उक्त मान्यता में ब्रह्मसूत्रकार बादरायण के समकालीन पूर्वमीमांसाकार 'जैमिनि' का नाम भी संभवतः बहुत कुछ सहायक रहा है, क्योंकि वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन के भी एक शिष्य 'जैमिनि' नाम को धारण करते थे ।[27] नामसाम्य के आधार पर पूर्वमीमांसाकार जैमिनि को भी परम्परा ने वेदव्यास-शिष्य जैमिनि मान लिया और फलतः उनके समसामयिक ब्रह्मसूत्रकार बादरायण को वेदव्यास ही मान लिया, जबकि वस्तुस्थिति यह है कि पूर्वमीमांसाकार जैमिनि वेदव्यासशिष्य जैमिनि से भिन्न हैं और ब्रह्मसूत्रकार बादरायण महाभारतकार वेदव्यास कृष्णद्वैपायन से भिन्न हैं ।

टिप्पणियाँ

१. भगवद्दत्त, वैदिक कोश, प्रथम भाग, भूमिका, पृ० २५ तथा उसमें निर्दिष्ट अभयकुमार का मत; स्वामी वीरेश्वरानन्द, ब्रह्मसूत्र, प्रस्तावना, पृ० ८.

२. प्रो० डाउसन, सिस्टम ऑफ़ दी वेदान्त, पृ० १२२; दी फिलासफी ऑफ़ उपनिषद्स, पृ० २८-२६; डा० वेलवलकर, मल्टीपिल ऑथरशिप ऑफ़ दी वेदान्तसूत्राज़ (इण्डियन फिलासाफ़ीकल रिव्यू, वोल्यूम २,१६१८-१६, पृ० १४१-१५३)।

३. डा० एन० के० दत्ता, दी वेदान्त, पृ० ७०; सी० वी० वैद्य (दी भगवद्गीता—ए फ्रैश एप्रोच [डा० पी० एम० मोदी], पृ० ५१६-१७ में उद्धृत इनका मत)।

४. उमेश मिश्र कमेमोरेशन वोल्यूम (गंगानाथ झा रिसर्च इंस्टीट्यूट, इलाहाबाद, १६७०) मे पृ० १६३-२०५ पर प्रकाशित लेख—'ब्रह्मसूत्रों का बादरायणैककर्त्तृकत्व' (डॉ० रामकृष्ण आचार्य)।

५. ब्रह्मसूत्रों के वैष्णव-भाष्यों का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन (डॉ० रामकृष्ण आचार्य), पृ० १३-१७.

६. नारदाय पुरा प्राह कृष्णद्वैपायनाय सः। स वै मह्यं महाराज भगवान् बादरायणः। इमां भागवतीं प्रीतः संहितां वेदसम्मिताम्॥ (श्रीमद्भागवत १२.४.४१-४२ आदि); पराशरस्य वीर्येण पुत्रमेकमवाप्स्यसि।···द्वीपे तु बदरीप्राये बादरायणमच्युत। स वेदमेकं बहुधा विभजिष्यति ते सुतः॥ पद्मपुराण, सृष्टिखण्ड, ६.२५-२६)।

७. ततोऽत्र मत्सुतो व्यासोऽष्टाविंशतितमेऽन्तरे।
वेदमेकं चतुष्पादं चतुर्धा व्यभजत् प्रभुः॥
कृष्णद्वैपायनं व्यासं विद्धि नारायणं प्रभुम्।
को ह्यन्यो भुवि मैत्रेय महाभारतकृद् भवेत्॥
तेन व्यस्ता यथावेदा मत्पुत्रेण महात्मना।
द्वापरे ह्यत्र मैत्रेय तस्मिन् शृणु यथातथम्॥
(षडंश-विष्णुपुराण, तृतीय अंश ४.२, ५ ६)

८. वसिष्ठस्य सुतः शक्तिः शक्तिपुत्रः पराशरः।
पराशरस्य दायादः कृष्णद्वैपायनो मुनिः॥
(महाभारत, शान्ति-पर्व ३४६.७)

६. श्रीमद्भागवत १.७.१.३ आदि; पद्मपुराण, सृष्टिखण्ड ६.२६ आदि।

१०. "अवतीर्णो महायोगी सत्यवत्यां पराशरात्।···कृष्णो द्वादशधा चैव पुनस्तस्यार्थवित्तये। चकार ब्रह्मसूत्राणि तेषां सूत्रत्वमञ्जसा।" (स्कन्दपुराण के नाम से ब्रह्मसूत्र-मध्वभाष्य में उपोद्घात में उद्धृत)।

११. डॉ० बेलवलकर, ब्रह्मसूत्राज् ऑफ़ बादरायण विद दि कमेण्ट्री ऑफ़ शंकर (सू० २.१.१२); डॉ० एन० के० दत्ता, वेदान्त, पृ० ७०; जैसा कि 'वेदान्त' (डॉ० एन० के० दत्ता) पृ० ७० से ज्ञात होता है, उक्त तथ्य की ओर सर्वप्रथम ध्यान प्रो० विंडिशमैन का गया था।

१२. द्रष्टव्य, श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता (१३.४) पर शांकरभाष्य।

१३. द्रष्टव्य, श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता (१३.४) पर रामानुजभाष्य।

१४. भामती, उपोद्घात, श्लोक ५.

१५. लोकमान्य बालगंगाधर तिलक, गीता-रहस्य, पृष्ठ ५३२-५३४.

१६. द्रष्टव्य, ब्रह्मसूत्र १.२.१८-२०; १.३.१०-१२ आदि।

१७. महाभारत, आदिपर्व ६३.८६-६०; विष्णुपुराण ३.५; श्रीमद्भागवत १२.६.

१८. विष्णुराण ३.५; श्रीमद्भागवत १२.६.

१९. द्रष्टव्य, ऋग्वेद १.६५-७३.

२०. ब्रह्मसूत्रों के वैष्णवभाष्यों का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन (डा० रामकृष्ण आचार्य), पृष्ठ १६.

२१. द्रष्टव्य, महाभारत, शान्ति-पर्व ३०१.१०९; ३१६. २; ३३८.११; ३४७.८२; ३४९.६७,७३; भीष्म-पर्व ६६.३८-४०.

२२. ब्रह्मसूत्र-रामानुजभाष्य (सू० २.२.४२) में उद्धृत ।

२३. राहुल सांकृत्यायन, दर्शनदिग्दर्शन, पृ० ११-१२ एवं ५८१.

२४. बलदेव उपाध्याय, भारतीय दर्शन, पृष्ठ ४०१; वीरेश्वरानन्द, ब्रह्मसूत्र, प्रस्तावना, पृ० ८ तथा उसमें निर्दिष्ट वाचस्पति मिश्र का मत ।

२५. डा० वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल, इण्डिया एज नोन टु पाणिनि, पृ० ३३८.

२६. द्रष्टव्य, हर्षचरित (बाण), अष्टम उच्छ्वास, पृष्ठ ४०८, ४२२.

२७. महाभारत, आदिपर्व ६३.८९; शान्तिपर्व ३२८.२६-२७; विष्णुपुराण ३.६.१; श्रीभद्भागवत १२.६.५३.

KĀLĪ IN BENGAL TANTRA

SURES CHANDRA BANERJI

The Śākta cult has been very popular in Bengal through centuries. Kālī has been dominating the religious scene of this province. There are innumerable Kālī-temples. This deity is worshipped regularly in many houses. On certain occasions, e.g., Diwali, Kālī images are worshipped not only in the houses of devout Hindus, but also at public places. When epidemic diseases break out, Kālī is worshipped for the protection of lives. The importance of Kālī is evident from the fact that she heads the list of *Mahāvidyās*. Her prominence according to Bengal Tantra can be gauged by the fact that the *Mahānirvāṇa* (IV. 32) describes her as *sarveṣām ādirūpiṇi* A good number of works, dealing with Kālī and her worship, composed in Bengal, and a large number of their manuscript copies testify to the great popularity of this deity in this province.

Many Sādhakas dedicated their lives to the worship of and meditation on Kālī. Of them, Rāmakṛṣṇa figures most prominently. He is reported to have shown Kālī, in her original form, to Vivekānanda.

Many Bengali devotees composed songs glorifying this deity. Of such composers of songs, Rāmprasād is very prominent and popular.

Many patriotic songs glorify and invoke the blessings of Kālī.

We shall briefly describe the conception and worship of Kālī according to Bengal Tantra.

The origin of Kālī is obscure. Some are inclined to identify her with Rāti-devī supposed to be referred to in the Rātri-sūkta (X. 127) of the *Ṛgveda*. This *sūkta* is supposed by others to be a later interpolation. Some scholars would discover the precursor of Kālī in the fierce goddess Nirṛti of the Veda. Nirṛti is mentioned as dark and dreadful in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 2.7). She is represented in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (IV. 17) as having a noose in hand.

The word Kālī occurs, for the first time, in the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*. She is mentioned at several places in the *Mahābhārata*.

Kālidāsa (4th cent. A.D.) has mentioned Kālī (*Kumāra*. VII. 39; *Raghu*. XI. 15). Caṇḍī, whose worship with blood is mentioned in the *Kādambari* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa (7th cent.) appears to be identical with Kālī. Karālā, described in the *Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti (7th cent.), as being worshipped with human flesh in a shrine near the cremation ground, is none but Kālī.

Kālī appears to be a blend of Umā, Nārāyaṇī, Durgā, etc. The well-known salutation to Kālī, viz., -*sarva-maṅgala-maṅgalye*, etc., refers to her as Śivā and Nārāyaṇī.

It is in the Purāṇas that Kālī appears in her full glory. Among such Purāṇas the most noteworthy are *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Viṣṇudharmottara*, *Bhaviṣya*, *Devī* and *Kālikā*.

There is a general impression that Kālī is so called as she is *Kāla* or black. But, the *Mahānirvāṇa* (IV. 32) says—*Kāla-saṃgrasanāt Kālī*. The *Prāṇatoṣiṇī* reads *saṃkalanāt* or *saṃgrasanāt*. Thus, Kālī is so called as she devours or seizes times, i.e., she is timeless or beyond time.

About the forms of the deity, current in Bengal, and the mode of worship the following works are the most noteworthy : *Mahānirvāṇa*, *Kālī-tantra*, *Tantrasāra*. Of the other works, well-known is the *Prāṇatoṣiṇī*, Comparatively less known are : the *Śāktānanda-taraṅgiṇī*, *Tārā-rahasya*, *Tārārahasya-vṛtti*, *Śyāmākalpalatā*, *Śyāmā-saparyā-vidhi*, *Kālikādi-sahasra-nāmastuti-ṭīkā*, *Abhijñāna-ratnāvalī*, *Kālī-tattva-sudhābindu*, *Kālī-sarvasva-sampuṭa*, *Tārārcana-candrikā*, *Tārārvilāsodaya*, *Tārābhakti-taraṅgiṇī*, *Śyāmā-pūjā-paddhati*, *Śyāmā-ratna*, *Śyāmārcana-candrikā*, *Śyāmā-santoṣaṇa-stotra*, *Śyāmā-stava-ṭīkā*, *Pañcamaveda-sāra-nirṇaya*.

Of the various forms of the deity, mentioned in the works of Bengal, *Dakṣiṇakālikā*, *Siddhakālī*, *Guhyakālī*, Bhadrakālī, *Śmaśānakālī*, *Rakṣākālī* or *Mahākālī* are comparatively better known. Other forms are described in the *Śyāmārahasya* (VI. 5; XV. 22).

The most popular form is *Dakṣiṇakālikā*. According to the *Śyāmārahasya* (VI. 5) Kālī is so called as she is *dakṣiṇā* or generous in granting boons. She is described as follows : four hands, hideous face, dark like cloud, a garland of human heads, body smeared with blood dripping from these heads, two corpses as ear-ornaments, a girdle of hands of dead bodies, blood trickling through the corners of the mouth, three eyes bright like the rising sun, hair hanging loose on the right side, protruding teeth, large heaving breasts, naked, standing on the chest of Śiva lying like one dead, surrounded by howling and fierce jackals.

According to the *Tantrasāra,* her upper left hand holds a sword, the lower left one a severed human head, the right hands represented as granting freedom from fear and boon. She is stated to live on the cremation ground.

According to an authority, quoted in the *Tantrasāra,* she has her left and right feet in the *ālịḍha* and *pratyālịḍha* positions respectively. In the former position, representing shooting attitude, the right knee is advanced and the left leg drawn back. The latter is the reverse position.

It is traditionally believed that Kṛṣṇānanda, author of the*Tantrasāra* (1580 A.D.) conceived of the form of *Dakṣiṇakālikā* for the first time. This view is not perhaps correct ; because this form occurs in the pre-Kṛṣṇānanda works also It may be that, due to the great influence of Kṛṣṇānanda the worship of this form gained in popularity.

Animal-sacrifice is indispensable in Kāli worship. There are stories about human sacrifice too.

Some well-knowns shrines of Kāli are said to stand on five human heads (*pañca-muṇḍi*). These heads were perhaps of persons sacrificed before Kāli. There is a *pañca-muṇḍi āsana* at Halisahar, a suburb of Calcutta, where the famous devotee, Rāmprasād, is said to have attained *Siddhi.*

The *Mahānirvāṇa* (XIII. 2-13) explains the significance of the current form of the Kāli-image. The colours white, yellow, etc. are merged in black. So, all beings enter into Kāli. Hence, she is represented as black. The moon-mark on the forehead of the Devi, the symbol of eternity, signifies the repositors of nectar. She looks at the world with the eternal sun, moon, and fire, her three eyes. She chews and devours all creatures. So, she is represented as wearing a cloth in the shape of their blood. Her activity in saving the creatures from danger and impelling them to action are represented by the hand-poses of *varadāna* and *abhayadāna.*

Some are of the opinion that Kāli was originally a non-Āryan goddess and that she was subsequently admitted to the Āryan pantheon. Her dark and hideous appearance, the holding of human heads, chewing raw flesh, the jackals surrounding her, the use of wine in her worship, the designation *Śmaśāna-kāli*—all this appears to point to her origin among uncivilised people.

The above view appears to be supported by the fact that the *Harivaṃśa* (III. 7-8) mentions the worship of Kātyāyanī and Kauśikī on the Vindhyas by Śabaras, Pulindas and Barbaras. The above names are designations of Durgā. As stated above, Durgā and some other goddesses were fused into Kālī. In the *Gaüḍavaho* (8th century) mention is made of goddess Parṇaśabarī, covered with leaves, by Śabaras. This might be a form of Kālī. The worship of Kālī by dacoits and robbers in their hideouts is well-known.

ŚANKARA ON PRESCRIPTIVE AND DESCRIPTIVE SENTENCES

S. S. BARLINGAY

The question whether Śaṅkara had any specific Philosophy of Language is to be distinguished from whether he had made use of certain aspects of the Philosophy of Language for establishing his thesis. One is not sure, whether any specific theory of Language like the theory of *Apoha* or *Sphoṭa* can be attributed to Śaṅkara, although he raises several important issues relevant to the functioning and Philosophy of Language, for example, in a sense in his philosophy he gives a critique of language and maintains that by language we are not able to comprehend reality. He would for example quote from Upaniṣads and Bhagavadgītā sentences like 'वाचारम्भणं विकारो नामधेयम्' and 'यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते'. Of course, he accepted the authority of Śruti and especially made use of sentences from Śruti and Upaniṣads in particular, for establishing his thesis that the reality is one and unqualified and the world, as it appears to us, has the status of *Nāmarūpa* only. For this purpose he used certain aspects of the theory of language for interpreting certain sentences from Śruti. For example, he refutes the interpretation of Śruti as given by Jaimini, namely that the Vedic sentences are prescriptive or imperative. But from this one cannot say that other functions of language like that of commanding and prescribing are ignored by Śaṅkara. Since the problem before Śaṅkara is only a theoretical one, i.e., of knowing Brahman, those aspects only in the theory of language which are concerned with naming, and describing or identifying seemed to be more emphasized by Śaṅkara. In asserting his thesis it is certainly true that Śaṅkara does not explicitly prescribe certain practical norms except *śravaṇa*, *manana* and *nididhyāsana*. But prescribing practical norms does not come in the purview of Śaṅkara's Philosophy. It is true that Śaṅkara challenges the *kriyārthatva* meaning of the entire Vedas. But this is not the same as challenging the *kriyārthatva* meaning of *any* sentence. The problem before the Pūrvamīmāṃsakas was a practical one, and a practical problem is concerned with action or prescription. The question 'what you are to do and what you are not to do' thus assumes significance. Naturally actions and performances become your primary objectives and prescriptions and injunctions become relevant. For this purpose a *Pramāṇa* or means of knowledge either becomes irrelevant or if it becomes relevant becomes relevant in a secondary way only. What is important in practical life is to find out the authority for action. Naturally this authority of action is either your own authority or the authority of a person whom you respect as authority. Thus the view-point when you are concerned with practical life is entirely different from one when you are concerned with the theoretical enquiry, i.e., where you are concerned with knowledge alone. This attitude will naturally be reflected in language. In practical enquiry the sentences which become relevant are the sentences which are concerned with *codanā* or inducement to action and not with either naming or description, since your objective is *dharma* and not Brahman. This concept of *codanā* becomes explicit in what is stated by Pūrvamimāṃsakas as *vidhivākyas*. These *vidhivākyas* are of the type—ज्योतिष्टोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेत, पञ्चपञ्चनखा भक्ष्याः, अहरहः संध्यामुपासीत, etc. What the Pūrvamimāṃsakas insisted on was that only such sentences in *Ś*ruti are significant which indicated *vidhi* or prescriptions primarily. Sentences which do not give the prescriptive or performatory sense are useful only secondarily and only when they assist the original thesis of *codanā* or *vidhi* sentences. Such secondarily significant sentences are supposed to give only *arthavāda*. In the theory of the Mimāṁsakas the descriptive sentences are either non-significant or are only subservient to prescriptive and performatory sentences. Perhaps in the enthusiasm to interpret the Vedas as commending a pattern of behaviour to man the Pūrvamimāṃsakas had gone only too far and perhaps created a feeling that there is nothing in the Vedas which is primarily descriptive or concerned with names, etc. Śaṅkara criticises this position and focusses our attention on sentences in the Vedas which point to existence or identity. He thus makes use of sentences like अहं ब्रह्मास्मि, सर्वं खलु इदं ब्रह्म, तत्त्वमसि, सोऽहम्, रसो वै सः, and the like. All these sentences are in fact not of one type and they as a matter of fact require different explanations in the philosophic grammar. But in Śaṅkara's Logic all these sentences are significant and also have one common point, viz. they prove false the view-points of the Pūrvamimāṃsakas that the Vedic language is primarily prescriptive. For this purpose Śaṅkara, of course, makes use of one aspect of the *naive name theory* of meaning. If there is a thing we may *ostensively* know it, name it, and describe it, Brahman according to him is such a thing. It is a *bhūtavastu*. Thus if it is to be named or described or communicated in some sense, it will always be in a linguistic form that is in indicative mood and present tense. The above-quoted sentences like 'Ahaṃ brahmāsmi' also presuppose this name-theory of language though only indirectly. But it must be borne in mind that it cannot be specifically said that Śaṅkara completely disregarded the prescriptive or performatory function of language or Jaimini ignored the descriptive or naming function of language. Jaimini, for example, very clearly states this at the beginning of the second *pāda* of the first *adhyāya*,

आम्नायस्य क्रियार्थत्वात् आनर्थक्यम् अतदर्थानाम् (१-२.१);
न पूर्णत्वात् (१.२.२१); उक्तं तु वाक्यशेषत्वम् (१-२.२२).

Here Jaimini considers *other than* prescriptive meanings of sentences. But on the whole problems before Jaimini and *Śaṅ*kara are different and since both of them want to rely on the evidence of the Vedas, language has to assume different roles for them, prescriptive for Jaimini and descriptive for *Śaṅ*kara, for it is primarily on these roles of language that their Philosophy depends. It is true that 'What is the meaning of the Vedas ?' is the problem before both Jaimini and *Śaṅ*kara, But Jaimini had taken for granted that the subject of the Vedas was *dharma* and *dharma* he defined as that the object of which is will or inducement to act '*codanā-lakṣaṇo'rtho dharmaḥ*'. Thus although Jaimini classifies sentences into *vidhivākya*, *arthavāda* or *praśaṃsā*, still the primary meaning of the Vedas for him is only prescriptive, performatory or injunctive. It is against this view that *Śaṅ*kara raises an objection. He grants that Brahmas*ū*tras are nothing but the garland or collection of the sentences from the Vedas and Upaniṣads (*Vedānta-vākya-kusuma-grathanārthatvāt sūtrāṇām*), and for the interpretation of the *Sū*tras one would have to take into account the rules of the linguistic and logical syntax (*Vākyārtha-vicāraṇādhyavasānanirvṛittā hi Brahmāvagatiḥ na anumānādipramāṇāntaranirvṛttā* But *Śaṅ*kara emphasises on the 'objectivity' of Brahman (*Nanu bhūta-vastutve Brahmaṇaḥ*). However, the syntax or grammar of descriptive sentences, particularly when the object of description is existent is different from the grammar of other kinds of sentences. *Śaṅ*kara states this by saying :

तत्र एवं सति यथाभूतब्रह्मात्मविषयमपि ज्ञानं न चोदनातन्त्रम् । तद्विषये लिगादयः श्रूयमाणा अपि अनियोज्यविषयत्वात् कुण्ठीभवन्ति उपलादिषु प्रयुक्तक्षुरतैक्ष्ण्यादिवत्, अहेयानुपादेयवस्तुविषयत्वात् ।

He specifically states that the knowledge of something which exists in its own right (यथाभूतम्) cannot be dependent on anybody's will, desire or impulse. This is also true of the knowledge the object of which is Brahman or Ātman which exists in its own right. *Śaṅ*kara here points out that even sentences which appear to have prescriptive structure may sometimes have only a descriptive function. The sentences like *Ātmā vā're draṣṭavyaḥ* or *śrotavyaḥ, mantavyaḥ*, though apparently appear to be prescriptive have primarily a core which is essentially concerned with ostensive definition. The sentence which says, 'you should see etc.' really presupposes sentences which are grammatically in subjunctive mood, are really concealed indicatives. They really emphasise on knowing or indicating the Ātman. In its expanded form the sentence of the form, '*Ātmā vā're draṣṭavyaḥ*' (आत्मा वारे द्रष्टव्यः) could be '*So'yam ātmā, sa draṣṭavyaḥ*,' unless the word *draṣṭavya* (द्रष्टव्य) is needed only in a figurative sense. That it should be seen or cognized could be merely the idiomatic expression for saying that the Ātman is such and such. One can easily contrast the expressions like *yajeta* against *draṣṭavya* (द्रष्टव्य). *Yajeta* does not presuppose a prior existence of *yajña* or sacrifice or for that matter of anything else. It is concerned with something which is *possible* but which is not *actual* at that particular moment. But this indeed is not the case with regard to something which is to be cognized. The framework in which दृश् becomes significant is entirely different unless our perception is illusory. Something can be perceived only if the object of this perception already exists. Knowledge is not something which will manifest itself even in the absence of something of which it is knowledge solely on account of the performance of the Vedic rituals or man's will. It is as futile as to cut a stone with a knife. However sharp it may be it is only the knife which will lose its sharpness in this process. In the same way if we try to find out reality or Brahman merely through prescriptions, individual will or impulse, we will never ṣucceed in our effort. The language, which states about the existence of Brahman is and must be descriptive and indicative, because Brahman exists in its own right and on its own account.

The same point is elaborated by him further by taking into consideration the different aspects involved in knowing. Śaṅkara, e.g., contrasts knowledge (perceptive knowledge) with mental processes. 'Knowing' for him is not a process, not to say that it is not mental. He thus contrasts 'thinking' with 'knowing'. 'Thinking', he says, 'is very different from knowledge. It is dependent on one who wants to think. If some one does not want to think or think otherwise no one else can control him. Thinking is thinker-dependent, It is not so with knowledge which is dependent on things as they are. Thus it is not possible to create or uncreate knowledge at one's own will. It is entirely governed by the thing of which it is presentation. It is neither dependent on the knower nor on his impulse or will. Thus knowledge is very different from mental processes. In fact it is knowledge only and not a process (*Jñānam eva etat na kriyā*) (Nanu Jñānaṃ nāma mānasī kriyā......Jñānam eva etat na kriyā).

This knowledge, being the object of Brahmasūtra, when we translate into linguistic form, the form of the language would be only descriptive and not prescriptive or injunctive. This is indicated by Śaṅkara in his commentary on '*Athāto brahmajijñāsā.*' He writes, "*Abhyudaya-phalam dharmajñānaṃ taccānuṣṭhānāpekṣam. Niḥśreyasaphalam tu Brahmavijñānaṃ na ca anuṣṭhānāntarāpekṣam.* B*havyaśca dharmo jijñāsyo na jñānakāle asti puruṣa-vyāpāratantratvāt. Iha tu bhūtaṃ brahma jijñāsyam nityatvāt na puruṣavyāpāratantram. Codan*ā*-pravṛttibhedācca. Yā hi codan*ā *dharmasya lakṣaṇaṃ sā svaviṣaye niyuñjānā eva puruṣam avabodhayati. Brahmacodanā tu puruṣam avabodhayatyeva kevalam, avabodhasya codanājanyatvāt na puruṣo avabodhe niyujyate. Yathā akṣārtha-sannikarṣeṇārthāvabodhe tadvat*".

Knowledge of what to do and what not to do leads to prosperity : this is dependent on one's performance or skill. The *vijñāna* of Brahman leads to *Niḥśreyasa*. It does not depend on some other kind of performance. That impulse which is the definite characteristic of *dharma* makes the individual know the impulse itself. On the other hand the impulse to know Brahman makes the individual know. But since cognition alone is the product of that impulse, it does not make the knower the object of this impulse. Since the impulse is merely to know, it leads the knower to know just as a thing is known on account of the contact between the eye and the thing.

This very attitude of Śaṅkara is further confirmed in the grammatical-philosophical analysis of the compound *Brahma-jijñāsā.* He writes, "*Brahmaṇaḥ iti karmaṇi ṣaṣṭhī na śeṣe*". The word *Brahmajijñāsā* is to be understood not in the sense we understand the phrase 'the horse of a king'. Here there is relation between the owner and the owned. That is, it is a relation between two substantives. Nor is it to be understood in the sense in which we understand a 'rafter of a house', where though both the words 'rafter' and 'house' have independent existence, they together form a whole and exhibit a relation between a part and whole. The pharse *Brahmajijñāsā* does not point out any such relation. *Jijñāsā* is only a grammatical substantive. As a matter of fact, logically it is a verb and points out a relation between a verb and its object. *Śaṅ*kara is here pointing out that the verb 'know' or 'to desire to know' is a transitive verb and behaves like a transitive verb. Thus in the phrase *Brahmajij*ñ*āsā* the object of *jijñāsā* is Brahman and it is the object of that alone which is the object of inquiry. It is needless to say that such an inquiry is bound to be descriptive and objective or non-subjective,

*Śaṅ*kara points this out again and again by using the word '*vastutantra*'. He defines *vastu-tantra* in the following way *:*

"*Na hi sthāṇau ekasmin sthāṇurvā puruṣo anyo vā iti tattva-jñānaṃ bhavati. Tatra puruṣo anyo vā iti mithyā-jñānam. Sthāṇureva iti tattvajñānaṃ vastu-tantratvāt. Evaṃbhūta-vastu-viṣayāṇāṃ prāmāṇyaṃ vastutantram Tatra evaṃ sati Brahma-jñānam api vastutantrameva bhūta-vastu-viṣayatvāt.*"

When something is a pillar the cognition that it is a pillar or a man is not tantamount to veridical knowledge. That it is a pillar alone will be veridical on account of the existence of a pillar. Thus the prior existence of the object of knowledge makes the knowledge objective. In the same way the knowledge of Brahman too is objective.

If the knowledge is objective in character, and its expression descriptive and if the Vedas describe knowledge then at least some part of the Vedas will be concerned with descriptions and the indicative sentences in the Vedas would be meaningful. In such a case Jaimini's thesis that the sentences in the Vedas are one and all prescriptive stands repudiated.

While advocating the thesis that in the context of knowledge the meaningful language must be descriptive and in indicative mood, Śaṅkara, however, tries to point out that even an indicative sentence may have non-indicative secondary meaning, function or use. For example, when someone says 'it is a rope and not a snake', the sentence may not just be an indicative sentence ; its structure is indicative but it may tell us that we need not be afraid of *it* (*Rajjuriyaṃ nāyaṃ sarpaḥ iti vastumātra-kathane api prayojanasya dṛṣṭatvāt*). Thus while refuting Jaimini's thesis about the interpretation of the Vedic sentences Śaṅkara also points out that language may have more functions than one and even an apparently descriptive sentence may behave as a hidden prescriptive sentence and may induce people to action.

In Śaṅkara's philosophy there are several points which are important from the stand-point of linguistic philosophy. We shall mention here two points which are interesting. While trying to prove that the world is *mithyā* and Brahman alone is real he very skillfully makes use of the concept of name. He compares the world with 'name' and in establishing his thesis he incidentally brings to light many interesting points about the concept of name. World and Brahman are only like a name and bearer of a name. There is only a false identification between the two. Thus he draws a distinction between a thing and its name. A name is *mithyā* because it is different from the thing and arbitrarily given to it. It is not integral to the thing. Nevertheless, a name is useful, without a name it is difficult to communicate. So, although a name does not have an ontological status it is not nothing or *asat*. When Śaṅkara uses the model of a name for the explanation of the world he definitely has in his mind a theory about the relationship of a name and a thing. A yet another point of linguistic and philosophic significance is emphasized by Śaṅkara when he talks of *tādātmya* or what is wrongly known as identity relation between *aham* and Brahman or between *tat* and *tvam*. The first shows the *tādātmya* between the subject and the object, the second shows the tādātmya between things. Śaṅkara evidently does not want to say that *aham* and Brahman are not identical. The shadow and the thing of which it is shadow are not identical although they can not be separated from each other. If we say that A is identical with B then A and B must not be different things. B must be A. This can be logically put thus : A=B if A B and B A. The *tādātmya* relation of Vedāntins, therefore, is different from the identity relation. Nevertheless, the sentences describing *tādātmya* relation will fall under the general structure of descriptive sentences (although they may not always be descriptions proper). Now the descriptive sentences or sentences in indicative mood may indicate some relation between the subject and predicate. But this relation may not always be of one kind. And by emphasizing that the sentences like '*Aham Brahmāsmi*' or '*Raso vai saḥ*' exhibit *tādātmya* relation, it can be inferred that for Śaṅkara the relation between the subject and the predicate is not of one kind. This should help in determining the varieties of descriptive sentences.

In short, although Śaṅkara is not primarily interested in problems pertaining to the theory of language for their own sake, he makes very valid and important points in his philosophy which are relevant to the Philosophy of Language.

UPĀDĀNA-KĀRAṆA AND SAMAVĀYI-KĀRAṆA A COMPARISON

M. C. BHARATIYA

The Aristotalian conception of Material cause has its parallel in Sāṅkhya-Yoga in the conception of *Upādāna-kāraṇa*, and in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, in *Samavāyi-kāraṇa*. Hence, generally, both these causes have been translated in English by the term Material cause by many eminent scholars of Indian Philosophy. But by doing so, they have utterly disregarded the fundamental difference between the conceptions of the two. The two conceptions are, in fact, based on the totally different, rather opposite theories of causation of the two systems. The Sāṅkhya theory of causation known as *pariṇāmavāda* is a form of *satkāryavāda*, the theory that the effect is existent in its cause even before it is produced, while the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika theory of causation is *asatkāryavāda* or *ārambha-vāda*, the theory that the effect does not exist in its cause prior to its production in any form; it is completely a new entity.

Let us first analyse the conception of *Upādāna-kāraṇa* in Sāṅkhya-Yoga. It is a substance which when acted upon by *Nimitta-kāraṇa* is transformed into the form of the effect. Essentially there is no difference between an *Upādāna-kāraṇa* and its effect, because the essence of the two is the same. The difference lies in the form. For example, when a piece of clay is acted upon by *Nimitta-kāraṇa*, viz., the potter and the potter's wheel, etc., it turns into the form of a jar. The jar here is essentially clay but with a different form. For Sāṅkhya, there is no essential difference between the attributes (*dharmas*) and the substance (*dharmin*)—the two are essentially one. For example, in Sāṅkhya, the clay and the form of the clay are not essentially different; they are one, But the clay, constituting the jar, is the *Upādāna-kāraṇa* of the jar. Hence, there is no essential difference between the *Upādāna-kāraṇa*—the clay, and the effect—the jar. It is because of this that Sāṅkhya has been able to propound the theory of *satkārya-vāda*—the theory that an effect is already existent in its *Upādāna-kāraṇa* in a latent form.

Let us now analyse the conception of *Samavāyi-kāraṇa* in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. The *Samavāyi-kāraṇa* of a substance, in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, is always in the form of parts of the substance. When these parts are arranged in a particular fashion by the action of the *Nimitta-kāraṇa*, there comes to reside in these parts a substance essentially different from its parts known as *avayavin* (whole). What is important here is the fact that the essenee of the *Samavāyi-kāraṇa* is not passed on to the effect as that of the *Upādāna-kāraṇa* in the case of Sāṅkhya. The *Samavāyi-kāraṇa* here remains intact, while another substance, not existing before in any form, is produced and comes to reside in the *Samavāyi-kāraṇa*—the parts. For example, when the parts of clay are arranged by the action of the potter, etc. in a particular fashion, there is producod the jar which comes to reside in the *Samavāyi*-*kāraṇa* by *samavāya* relation. The jar here is a substance essentially different from its *Samavāyi-kāraṇa*—the parts of the clay. When the jar is produced, the *Samavāyi-kāraṇa*—the parts—also exist with their essence intact; they do not pass on their essence to the effect—the jar. Again, in the case of causation of qualities, the substance itself acts as *Samavāyi-kāraṇa*. The qualities are produced in the substance and then subsist there by *samavāya* relation. Here too the substance, e.g., the jar and the qualities such as form, etc., are completely different entities, and when the qualities are produced, the essence of the substance is not at all passed on to the qualities. Thus in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, the effect, either substance or qualities, does not exist in any form in its cause before being created, and hence Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika has been able to propound its theory of *asatkāryavāda*—the theory that an effect does not exist in its cause in any form before its creation, and also *ārambhavāda*—the theory that the effect is completely a new entity; it does not exist before.

It is very clear that there is a basic difference in the conceptions of *Upādāna*-*kāraṇa* and *Samavāyi-kārāṇa*. The *Upādāna-kāraṇa* passes on its essence to the effect while the *Samavāyi-kāraṇa* does not.[1] In fact, the term 'Material cause' connotes the first conception, not the latter, and, therefore, should be used for *Upādāna-kāraṇa* only and not for *Samavāyi-kāraṇa*. The term 'Material cause' if used for *Samavāyi-kāraṇa*, is again misleadig because the term 'Material cause' suggests that the cause is matter, whereas, in fact, *Samavāyi-kāraṇa* is not always matter; it is *dravya* (substance) which includes non-material substances also, such as soul (*ātman*), ether (*ākāśa*), etc.

Another point of difference between an *Upādāna-kāraṇa* and a *Samavāyi-kāraṇa* is worth noting. It is already said that a *Samavāyi-kāraṇa* is always in the form of the parts of the substance when a substance is produced. But it is not the parts alone which are sufficient to produce an effect. Besides the *Nimitta-kāraṇa*, there is another factor here which is important. This factor is the conjunction of the parts. Without a particular conjunction (*samyoga*) a particular effect cannot be produced. Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika accepts this cause under the name '*Asamavāyi-kāraṇa*'. Thus Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika comes to accept two types of causes besides the *Nimitta-kāraṇa*—one, the *Samavāyi-kāraṇa*, is always a substance, while the other, the *Asamavāyi-kāraṇa*, is a non-substance. It is sometimes a quality, sometimes an action. In Sāṅkhya, we see only one type of cause besides the *Nimitta-kāraṇa*—it is the *Upādāna-kāraṇa*. The reason why Sāṅkhya does not accept a cause parallel to *Asamavāyi-kāraṇa* of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika is that Sāṅkhya does not accept an essential difference between qualities (*dharmas*) and substances (*dharmins*). For Sāṅkhya, the parts and their conjunction are not two entities; they are one. This is why Sāṅkhya does not insist on taking parts of a substance as *Upādāna-kāraṇa*. For it, the parts and the substance are not essentially different and, therefore, it makes no difference whether we take the parts of the substance or the substance itself as *Upādāna-kāraṇa*. But, for Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, in case of the production of a substance, it is only its parts which are its *Samavāyi-kāraṇa*, not the prior substance, or, in other words, the prior *avayavin* residing in the parts, because the substance there is essentially different from the parts. To take an example, when a sprout is born out of a seed, for Sāṅkhya, the seed is the *Upādāna-kāraṇa* of the sprout, and it makes no difference whether we accept seed or the parts of the seed to be the *Upādāna-kāraṇa*. But, for Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, it is not the seed which is the *Śamavāyi-kāraṇa* of the sprout, but the parts of the seed. This is clear from a statement of Uddyotakara in *Nyāya-Vārtika* and Vacaspati-miśra's comment on it in *Nyāya-Vārtika-tātparya-ṭikā*. Uddyotakara, while refuting the Buddhist contention that the destruction of the seed is the cause of the sprout, says ; "The destruction of the seed is not the cause of the sprout. When the arrangement of the parts of the seed is disturbed and a new arrangement takes place, the sprout is produced from this new arrangement."[2] Commenting on it Vācaspati-Miśra poses a question : "If the new arrangement of the parts of the seed, and not the seed, is the cause of the sprout, why do the farmers wishing to have sprouts take up the seeds" ?[3] And he himself replies : "It is not possible to avoid the seed when we go to take up its parts."[4]

The seed, for Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, cannot be the *Samavāyi-kāraṇa* of the sprout because the seed is a substance different from its parts; it is an *avayavin* residing in its parts and it is destroyed when its parts are arranged to produce the sprout. This leads us to an interesting conclusion that the prior substance as such is not a *Samavāyi-kāraṇa* in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, it is only its parts which should properly be called *Samavāyi-kāraṇa*. Thus strictly speaking, a lump of clay is not the *Samavāyi-kāraṇa* of a jar, milk is not the *Samavāyi-kāraṇa* of curds, and a bunch of threads is not the *Samavāyi-kāraṇa* of a cloth. All these are substances different from their parts and only their parts are the *Samavāyi-kāraṇas*. But, at times, we find scholars calling the lump of clay, etc. as *Samavāyi-kāraṇa* of the substances produced therefrom. This must be either due to confusion or loose or figurative language. Such language has been used, besides many modern scholars, by ancient writers also, For example, Keśavamiśra, the writer of *Tarka-bhāṣā*, says : "...and again the lump of clay is the

Samavāyi-kāraṇa of a jar,"[5] Here, Keśava-miśra has obviously not differentiated between the lump of clay and its parts.

The conclusion, therefore, is that *Upādāna-kāraṇa* and *Samavāyi-kāraṇa* do not only differ in connotation but also in denotation. An *Upādāna-kāraṇa* connotes always a substance passing on its essence to its effect, while a *Samavāyi-kāraṇa*, in the case of the production of a substance, connotes the parts which never pass on their essence to the effect, and in the case of the production of the qualities, the *Samavāyi-kāraṇa* connotes the substance itself which does not pass on its essence to its qualities. Again, an *Upādāna-kāraṇa* denotes a substance, while in the case of the production of a substance, a *Samavāyi-kāraṇa* denotes only its parts, not the prior substance.

NOTES

1. This difference was first pointed out by Dr. D.N. Shastri in his *Critique of Indian Realism*.
2. Na bīja-nāśoṅ kura-kāraṇam api tu vyāhata-vyūhānāṃ bījāvayavānāṃ pūrva-vyūha-nivṛttau vyūhāntaram utpadyata iti vyūhāntarād aṅkura āvirbhavati. *Nyāya-vārtika*, IV. I. 16.
3. Nanu yadi bījāvayava-vyūhāntaram aṅkurotpāda-hetur na bījaṃ kasmād aṅkurārthinaḥ kṛṣīvalā bījam upādadate ? *Nyāya-vārtika-tātparya-ṭīkā* on the above.
4. Bījāvayavopādāne avarjanīyatayā bījam āgacchad. Ibid.
5. … mṛt-piṇḍo'pi ghaṭasya samavāyi-kāraṇam. *Tarkabhāṣā*, pramāṇanirūpaṇam.

भ्रमस्थल में प्रतीति के सिद्धान्त और वाचस्पति मिश्र

राजेन्द्र प्रसाद दूबे

पदार्थ शब्द और अर्थ का परिणाम है। यह परिणाम दूध से दही की तरह परिणत नहीं अपितु संज्ञानात्मक है। इस तरह वस्तु और वस्तुबोध की द्वैत-सत्ता सिद्ध होती है। चैतन्य की स्वप्रकाशता पदार्थ में चेतनता का संप्रेषण करती हैं। दोनों की एकरूपता होने पर वस्तु की प्रतीति होती है। अन्य स्थिति में प्रतीति का अभाव नहीं रहता, परन्तु वह यथार्थ नहीं हो पाती। इसी को कुछ लोग ज्ञानाभाव कहते हैं। अभाव के द्वारा इसे कहना उचित नहीं समझा जा सकता क्योंकि वैसी स्थिति में सत्-असत् कुछ भी नहीं बोधित हो सकता है। रज्जु में सर्पत्व का ज्ञान रज्ज्वात्मना सत् है और सर्पात्मना असत् – यह ठीक है, परन्तु रज्जु से भिन्न सर्परूप में तो वह ज्ञान असत् नहीं कहा जा सकता है। एवंप्रकारेण ज्ञान पदार्थ की दृष्टि से विरोधी स्वरूप में आ उपस्थित होता है। व्यावहारिक दृष्टि से यह विरोध औचित्य का निर्वाह नहीं कर सकेगा—ऐसा लगता है, किन्तु वातावरण वस्तुतः वैसा नहीं हो सकता।

ज्ञान प्रमात्मक और भ्रमात्मक दो तरह के होते हैं। उसमें प्रमात्मक ज्ञान के विषय में तो मतैक्य है किन्तु भ्रमात्मक ज्ञान के सम्बन्ध में मतवैभिन्य चलते हैं। भ्रान्ति सब को होती है। "स्थाणौ मम चौरप्रतीतिः समजनि" यह अनुभव सर्वजनीन है। इसी को भ्रम, मिथ्याज्ञान, अध्यास आदि के नाम से कहा जाता है। इस विषय में दार्शनिक संप्रदायों में कोई विवाद नहीं है। भ्रमस्थल में किस पदार्थ की प्रतीति होती है, केवल इसी विषय में अनेक मत दर्शनशास्त्र में वर्णित हैं। प्रायः पाँच प्रकार के मत इस विषय में प्रचलित हैं, जिन्हें ख्यातिपञ्चक कहा जाता है। 'ख्याति' का अर्थ 'ज्ञान' है, परन्तु भ्रम के स्थान पर यह प्रतीति किसकी होती है, इसी की विवेचना दार्शनिकों ने अपने-अपने ढंग से की है।

बौद्धदर्शन के चार भेदों में एक योगाचार 'आत्मख्याति' मानता है। तदनुसार शुक्ति में रजत या रज्जु में सर्प की प्रतीति होती है, मानसिक विज्ञान ही बाहर रजताकार में परिणत हो जाता है और वैसी स्थिति में विज्ञान-संतान की एक सम्पृक्त कड़ी रजत रूप में दीख पड़ती है और

बुद्धि विषय-रूप में अवभासित होती है। इसलिए जहां शुक्ति में रजत का ज्ञान होता है वहाँ अलग रजतादि की ख्याति नहीं होती है, जिससे उस वस्तु की सत्ख्याति कही जाये, किन्तु बुद्धि की ही रजत-रूप में ख्याति होती है और 'इदं रजतम्' यह बुद्धि ही रजतरूप में भासित होती है। परन्तु सुख-दुःख की तरह जब रजत को आन्तरिक नहीं मानते, ऐसी स्थिति में उसके बाह्य रूप का भ्रम कैसे हो सकता है। अतएव यह मत युक्तियुक्त नहीं मालूम पड़ता।

सौत्रान्तिक के मत में, ज्ञानाकार रजतादि का बाह्य शुक्ति में आरोप है, ऐसा बोध होता है। इसलिए इस मत को 'साकार-ख्याति' कहते हैं। इनका कहना है कि बाह्यवस्तु सत् है। उसमें ज्ञानाकारता का आरोप होता है। विज्ञानवादियों के मत में यद्यपि बाह्यवस्तु सत् नहीं है तथापि उसे अलीक में ही ज्ञानाकारता का बोध होता है, क्योंकि जो जैसा अनुभव-सिद्ध है उसे वैसा मानना चाहिए। यह स्वभावसिद्ध बात है कि शुक्ति में 'इदं रजतम्' इस ज्ञान का 'नेदं रजतम्' से बोध होता है। यहाँ इदन्ता-रूप धर्म ही बाधित होता है रजतरूप धर्मी नहीं। इसलिए उस बाधक ज्ञान से बाह्यरूप में रजत बाधित होने पर भी ज्ञान-रूप में स्थित रहता है। उसी ज्ञानाकार का शुक्तिरूप में रजत का आरोप होता है, यह उनका मत है। किन्तु इस तरह साकार-ख्याति उपपत्ति से सिद्ध नहीं होती, क्योंकि रजतादि की विज्ञानाकारता का अनुभव या अनुमान से ही प्रतिपादन किया जा सकता है। उसमें परोक्षस्थिति के कारण व्याप्ति के अभाव में अनुमान का प्रतिपादन नहीं किया जा सकता। अनुभव भी रजतज्ञान या बाधक ज्ञान के रूप में कहा जा सकता है। परन्तु 'इदं रजतम्' के द्वारा रजत का ज्ञान नहीं होता, क्योंकि वहां इदम् से अंगुल्या शुक्ति का ही निर्देश होता है।

यदि उसे हम आन्तर वस्तु कहना चाहें तो वैसा भी नहीं कह सकते क्योंकि उनके मत में प्रतिपत्ता और प्रत्यय में भेद नहीं होने के कारण 'इदं रजतम्' के बदले में वहाँ 'इदम् अहम्' यही अनुभव बताया जा सकता है और वैसा कहा नहीं जा सकता। बाधक प्रत्यय से उसे समझा जाता है, यह भी नहीं कह सकते, क्योंकि वहाँ यह विकल्प उठाया जा सकता है कि क्या वह सामने रहने वाली वस्तु को रजत से अलग कर पाता है या ज्ञानाकारता को भी दिखा पाता है और वैसी स्थिति में बाधक प्रत्ययरूप अनुभव से भी विज्ञानाकारता की व्यवस्था नहीं की जा सकती। इसलिए साकार-ख्याति कथमपि ठीक नहीं प्रतीत होती।

माध्यमिक के अनुसार एकमात्र शून्य ही सत् है, अतः उसके अतिरिक्त किसी की सत्ता ही नहीं है। भ्रम में असत् की सत्वत् प्रतीति होती है, यह उनका कथन है। इसलिए उनके सिद्धान्त को 'असत्-ख्याति' कहते हैं। वे मानते हैं कि बाह्य-वस्तु में ज्ञान-धर्म का आरोप अध्यास है--तं केचिद् अन्यत्र अन्यधर्माध्यास इति वदन्ति।[1] सौत्रान्तिक के मत में बाह्य वस्तु सत् है। उसमें ज्ञानाकार का आभास होता है। विज्ञानवादी के मत में बाह्य वस्तु सत् नहीं है, तो भी अनादि अविद्या की वासना से आरोपित असत् का बाह्य में ज्ञानाकार आरोप होता है। परन्तु शुक्ति में जब रजत अनुभव-सिद्ध है, तब उसे भ्रम कहना उपयुक्त नहीं प्रतीत होता। इसके उत्तर में इनका तर्क है कि बलवद् बाधक ज्ञान के कारण अनुभव-सिद्ध को भी अन्यथा मानना पड़ता है। शुक्ति में 'इदं रजतम्'

ज्ञान के बाद जब 'नेदं रजतम्' यह बाधक ज्ञान होता है तब उससे अनुभव के विपरीत 'यह शुक्ति है', ऐसा ज्ञान होता है – यह इनकी मान्यता है। इस बाधक ज्ञान में रजत धर्मी है और इदन्ता धर्म। 'न' से रजतधर्मी का बाध मानने पर धर्म एवं धर्मी दोनों का बाध मानना पड़ेगा। इससे अच्छा होगा कि इदन्ता-रूप धर्म का ही बाध हो, धर्मी रजत का नहीं, यही माना जाये। इस तरह बाहर बाधित होने पर भी रजत अन्तरज्ञान में व्यवस्थित रहता है और ज्ञानाकार का बाहर अध्यास होता है, यह उनका विवेचन है। सौत्रान्तिक एवं माध्यमिक में बाह्यवस्तु की सत्ता में मतभेद रहने पर भी तदाकारता का आभास दोनों मानते हैं।

अन्य-मतावलम्बी इसके खण्डन में कहते हैं कि रजत आदि की विज्ञानाकारता अनुमान या अनुभव से ही व्यवस्थापित की जा सकती है। उसमें साथ-साथ अनुमेय और अनुमापक की उपलब्धि के विना विज्ञान से अतिरिक्त वस्तु नहीं मानने वाले के मत में अनुमान का प्रतिपादन ही नहीं किया जा सकता है। बताया गया है—सहोपालम्भनियमादभेदो नीलतद्धियोः। भेदश्च भ्रान्तिविज्ञानैर्दृश्यतेन्दाविवाद्वये ।। इस तरह पृथक् साथ-साथ उपलब्धि के अभाव में कौन किसका अनुमापक बताया जा सकता है। अनुभव से भी विज्ञानाकारता का प्रतिपादन नहीं किया जा सकता, क्योंकि वहां अनुभव सत् ज्ञानरूप या बाधक ज्ञान रूप ही कहा जा सकता है जिससे विज्ञानाकारता की सिद्धि बतानी होगी। परन्तु यह अनुभव इदंकारास्पद बाह्यस्थित रजत को नहीं बताता है—यह सिद्ध है। यह आन्तर वस्तु को भी नहीं बतलाता, ऐसा भी नहीं कहा जा सकता, क्योंकि ज्ञान और ज्ञाता में अभेद होने के कारण वैसी स्थिति में 'अहम्' यही ज्ञान हो सकता है। भ्रान्तिविज्ञान तो बाह्यरूप में अपने आकार को निश्चय करता है। इसलिए अहंकारास्पद उसका विषय नहीं हो सकता और रजत प्रत्ययरूप अनुभव के कारण विज्ञानाकारता की व्यवस्था नहीं की जा सकती। बाधक प्रत्यय के कारण ज्ञानाकारता की ज्ञानाकारता समझी जाती है – यह भी नहीं कहा जा सकता, क्योंकि 'नेदं रजतम्' इस बाधक ज्ञान से केवल पुरोवर्त्ती द्रव्य को रजत से भिन्न बताया जाता है, ज्ञानाकारता का उपदर्शन बताना हास्यास्पद ही होगा। बाधक प्रत्यय से पुरोवर्तित्व के प्रतिषेध के कारण अर्थतः ज्ञानाकारत्ता का प्रतिपादन होता है—यह भी नहीं कह सकते, क्योंकि बाधक ज्ञान के द्वारा असन्निधान के अग्रहण का निषेध होता है। अतः ज्ञाता से उसे असन्निहित होना चाहिए। ऐसी स्थिति में प्रतिपत्तारूप अत्यन्त सन्निधान का प्रतिपादन कैसे किया जा सकता है। बाधक प्रत्यय से रजत का निषेध होता है न इदन्ता का, किन्तु विवेकाग्रह के कारण प्राप्त रजत-व्यवहार का बोध होता है, यह भी अनुभव विरोध होने के कारण नहीं कहा जा सकता और इसलिए यह भी कथन उचित नहीं लगता है कि रजत-ज्ञान से शुक्ति में रजत प्राप्य है जिसका बोध किया जा सकता है, क्योंकि रजत-निर्भास का आलम्बन शुक्ति को नहीं कह सकते।

सत्ता-मात्र से कोई आलम्बन नहीं होता। इस तरह आलम्बन मानने पर सत्ता-मात्र से सबको सबका आलम्बन मानना पड़ेगा। कारण होने मात्र से भी आलम्बन नहीं कहा जा सकता है, क्योंकि वैसा मानने पर इन्द्रियाँ कारण हैं इसलिए उनको भी आलम्बन मानना पड़ेगा। अतः भासमानता ही आलम्बन है, इसे ही मानना चाहिए। किन्तु रजत-ज्ञान में शुक्तिका भासित नहीं होती। वैसी स्थिति में उसे आलम्बन कैसे कह सकते हैं? भासित मानने पर तो अनुभव-विरुद्ध

मानना पड़ेगा। दूसरी बात है कि इन्द्रियों को समीचीन ज्ञान कराने की शक्ति उपलब्ध है। उनसे मिथ्या-ज्ञान कैसे हो सकता है? दोष-सहित होने पर मिथ्याज्ञान उत्पन्न कराने की शक्ति भी उनमें है—ऐसा नहीं कहा जा सकता, क्योंकि दोष केवल कार्य की उत्पत्ति के सामर्थ्य के विघात के प्रति ही कारण होते हैं। इसके विपरीत उत्पादक मानने पर तो दुष्ट कुटज बीज से बटांकुर की उत्पत्ति माननी पड़ेगी। तीसरी बात है कि इस तरह विज्ञान के अपने विषय में व्यभिचरित होने पर सब जगह विज्ञान की मान्यता में अप्रामाणिकता आ जायेगी। इसलिए उनका असत्-ख्यातिवाद युक्त नहीं लगता है।

मीमांसकों में प्रभाकर गुरु का मत 'अख्यातिवाद' है। इस सिद्धान्त में संसार में भ्रम का कोई अस्तित्व नहीं है। गुरु के अनुसार 'इदं रजतम्' इस ज्ञान में दो भाग हैं। इस स्थल में 'इदम्' अंश का प्रत्यक्ष-गहण होता है और उसके सादृश्य से रजतांश का स्मरण होता है। इस तरह उसमें प्रत्यक्ष और स्मरण दो ज्ञान रहते हैं। 'इदम्' अंश में यह ज्ञान प्रत्यक्ष है क्योंकि इस पद से निर्दिश्यमान शुक्ति के साथ चक्षु का सन्निकर्ष हो रहा है। अतः इदमंश में ज्ञान प्रत्यक्ष है और यथार्थ है। 'रजतम्' इस ज्ञान का दूसरा अंश है। यह 'इदम्' ज्ञान से पृथक् और स्मरणात्मक है जो असन्निहित-विषयक है। इसलिए 'इदं रजतम्' यह ज्ञान इदमात्मना प्रत्यक्षात्मक और रजतात्मना स्मरणात्मक है और दोनों ज्ञान यथार्थ ज्ञान हैं। यदि 'इदं पश्यामि' और 'रजतं स्मरामि' का भेद ग्रहण हो जाये तो भ्रम का कोई अवसर नहीं रहता।[2] इन्द्रियादि के दोष से उन दोनों ज्ञानों के भेद के ग्रहण नहीं होने के कारण भ्रम बताते हैं। इस तरह उनके मत में कोई ख्याति नहीं होने के कारण इसे अख्याति कहा जाता है। इस ज्ञान में वहां गृहीत-ग्रहण के रूप में रजत की स्मृति होने पर भी गृहीत अंश का प्रमोष होने के कारण वहां भ्रम होता है। इस तरह वह भ्रमज्ञान दो ज्ञानों का समूह है। इनके मत में ज्ञान में स्वतःप्रामाण्य है किन्तु स्मृति-ज्ञान में स्वतःप्रामाण्य नहीं है, अतएव वहाँ भ्रम की बात आ जाती हैं।

रामानुज ने भ्रमस्थल में 'सत्ख्याति' के सिद्धान्त को स्वीकार किया है। उनका कहना है कि ज्ञान का विषय सत् होता है, क्योंकि निर्विशेष वस्तु का ग्रहण नहीं हो सकता—सर्वं ज्ञानं सत्यं सविशेषविषयं च, निर्विशेषवस्तुनोऽग्रहणात्[3]। पञ्चीकरण-प्रक्रिया के अनुसार पृथ्वी आदि में सब जगह सब भूत विद्यमान रहते हैं। अतएव अख्यातिवाद ठीक नहीं जँचता, क्योंकि पञ्चीकरण के कारण सत्ख्याति मानने पर शुक्ति में रजतत्व की प्रत्यक्षात्मकता है ही तब ऐसी स्थिति में स्मरण की कोई बात नहीं है और तब प्रत्यक्ष और स्मरण का भेदाग्रह ही नहीं है।

रामानुज ने प्रत्येक भूत को दो विभागों में स्वीकार किया है। पुनः एक भाग चार भूतों में विभक्त होकर अन्य भूतों में मिले होते हैं। इस तरह शुक्ति आदि में रजतादि का अंश वर्तमान रहता है। अतः ज्ञान का विषय रजत होता है और वह सत् होता है। इस अंश की स्वल्पता के कारण रजतरूप में इसका सर्वथा व्यवहार नहीं होता है। इसलिए उस ज्ञान का अभिधान भ्रम होता है। शुक्त्यंश के भूयस्त्व-ज्ञान होने पर उस भ्रम की निवृत्ति होती है। स्वप्न आदि का ज्ञान सत् होता है—'तत्तत्कालावसानान् रथादीन् परमपुरुषः सृजति' आदि श्रुति इसमें प्रमाण है।

नयनवर्ती पीतद्रव्य से मिश्रित नेत्ररश्मियाँ जब शंखादि से संयुक्त होती हैं तब 'पीतः शंखः'

यह ज्ञान होता है। वहां पीतिमा से अभिभूत होने के कारण शंखगत शुक्लिमा का ग्रहण नहीं होता हैं। एवमेव जयाकुसुम का समीपवर्ती स्फटिकमणि भी रक्त प्रतीत होता है तथा पञ्चीकरण-प्रक्रिया से ही मरीचिका में जलज्ञान सत्य ही होता है, यह उनकी अभिव्यक्ति है। वस्तुत: मरीचिका में जल नहीं है इसी कारण उसको भ्रम नहीं कहा जा सकता, परन्तु इसमें वर्तमान जो जल है वह पिपासा शान्त नहीं कर सकता, इससे इसे भ्रम माना जाता है। उन्होंने आगे इस धारणा को सिद्ध किया है कि 'अवच्छेदक के बिना दिक्' इस रूप से दूसरे द्रव्य के स्वीकार न करने के कारण दिग्-भ्रम भी सत्य ही है। दर्पण में अपने मुख को मनुष्य देखता है, वहाँ नेत्रकिरणें दर्पण में टकराकर गतिहीन होने के कारण उसके साथ-साथ अपने मुख को ग्रहण कराती हैं। इसी तरह द्विचन्द्र-ज्ञान नयन की तेजोद्गति के कारण होता है। इसलिए सब ज्ञान सत्य है और विशेष विषय के साथ सम्बद्ध है, क्योंकि निर्विशेष-विषयक ज्ञानोपलब्धि अशक्य है। इसलिये सत्ख्याति ही होती है, यह उनका सिद्धान्त है।

भामतीकार वाचस्पति ने जो यह स्वीकार किया है कि शुक्ति रजतरूप से सत् नहीं है और न उसे असत् ही कह सकते हैं, क्योंकि उसका ज्ञान होता है, परस्पर ज्ञान होने के कारण सदसत् भी नहीं कह सकते, अत: अनिर्वचनीय है।[4] इसका खण्डन रामानुज ने किया है। उनका तर्क है कि सत्त्व के कारण पदार्थ का निर्वचन हो ही जाता है वैसी स्थिति में उसे अनिर्वचनीय-ख्याति शब्द से नहीं कहा जा सकता। परन्तु स्वयं रामानुज का प्रतिपादन तर्क-रहित और अव्यावहारिक प्रतीत होता है, यद्यपि पञ्चीकरण-प्रक्रिया समाधान-मात्र के लिए खड़ा है। वाचस्पति ने इस सिद्धान्त का विरोध करते हुए कहा है कि यदि निस्तत्त्व अनुभव का विषय नहीं होते तो मरीचि में जो तोय का अनुभव होता है, उससे क्या मरीचि को तोयरूप से सत् बताकर ही अनुभव का विषय बनाया गया है? इसलिए सत् ही अनुभव का विषय होता है, यह नहीं कहा जा सकता। अत: सत्ख्यातिवाद कथमपि युक्त नहीं है।

वेदान्तियों ने 'अनिर्वचनीय-ख्याति' का प्रतिपादन किया हैं। शुक्तिका में जहाँ रजत की प्रतीति होती है वहां वह सत् नहीं, क्योंकि परकाल में वह बाधित होती है। उसे असत् भी नहीं कहा जा सकता, क्योंकि प्रतीति-विषयक है। अतएव सत्त्वेन अथवा असत्त्वेन निर्वचन की अशक्यता के कारण वह रजत अनिर्वचनीय होता है, जो आध्यासिक है। इसलिए भ्रमस्थल में अनिर्वचनीय रजत की उत्पत्ति में इनकी मान्यता है। इसकी पुष्टि में उपनिषद्-वाक्य 'न तत्र रथा न रथयोगा अथ रथान् रथयोगान् पथ: सृजते' को इस सिद्धान्त में उद्धृत किया गया है। स्वप्न-दशा में न रथ होते हैं न रथयुक्त मार्ग, किन्तु स्वप्न देखने वाला स्वयं ही रथों और रथयुक्त मार्गों की सृष्टि या रचना कर लेता है। इसी आधार पर वेदान्त में स्वप्न-दशा में नवीन आध्यासिक रथ और रथयुक्त मार्ग की सृष्टि या उत्पति मानी जाती है।

जिसकी सत्ता प्रत्यक्षगोचर है उसे अनिर्वचनीय कैसे माना जाय? भामती में वाचस्पति ने इसका उत्तर देते हुए कहा है कि सत्तामात्र से पदार्थ का सत्त्व स्वीकार नहीं किया जा सकता—न प्रकाशमानतामात्रं सत्त्वम्।[5] सत्पदार्थ तो वह है जिसका तीनों काल में बाध न हो। शुक्ति में रजत की प्रतीति को सत् नहीं कह सकते क्योंकि बाद में 'नेदं रजतम्' इस ज्ञान से उसका बाध हो जाता है, और प्रतीति होने से उसे असत् भी नहीं कहा जा सकता। अत: अनिर्वचनीयता ही एक-मात्र

मार्ग है । भामती में उन्होंने लिखा है—तस्मान्न सत् । नापि सदसत् परस्परविरोधात् इति अनिवार्च्यमेव……।[6] यह प्रतिभास अध्यास के कारण होता है । परन्तु यहाँ यदि यह कहा जाय कि शरीर आदि असत् होने पर निस्तत्त्व होते हैं वैसी स्थिति में अनुभव के विषय नहीं हो सकते थे, इसलिए सत्ख्याति मानना ही उचित है, तो यह अविचारित रमणीय है, क्योंकि निस्तत्त्व भी अनुभव के विषय होते हैं । देखा जाता है कि मरीचि तोयरूप से निस्तत्त्व होने से भी अनुभव का विषय होता है । उसे हम किसी तरह तत्त्व नहीं कह सकते, क्योंकि तोयरूप से मरीचि असत् ही बताया जा सकता है । वस्तुतः वस्तुओं का तत्त्व सत् और असत् भेद से दो तरह का होता है । सत्त्व स्वतः होता है और असत्त्व परतः होता है । वाचस्पति मिश्र ने कहा भी है—स्वरूपपररूपाभ्यां नित्यं सदसदात्मके । वस्तुनि शक्यते किञ्चिद् रूपं कैश्चित् कदाचन ।। (भामती, पृ० २३)। ऐसी स्थिति में मरीचि में तोयनिर्भास ज्ञान को यदि तत्त्व का विषय मानेंगे तो वह समीचीन ज्ञान कहलायेगा । परन्तु अब तो उसमें न भ्रान्ति का प्रतिपादन किया जा सकता न उसका बाध ही हो सकता है जो कथमपि संभव नहीं होगा, क्योंकि तोय से भिन्न मरीचि को भिन्न रूप में ग्रहण करने पर ही बोध नहीं होता । उसे तोयरूप में ग्रहण करने पर तो ग्रहीता को भ्रान्त कहा जायेगा ही और उसका बाध होगा ही । अतः तोयाभावरूप मरीचि में तोयभावरूप ज्ञान कभी सत् नहीं हो सकता और वह असत् भी नहीं हो सकता है, क्योंकि "भावान्तरमभावोन्ये न कश्चिदनिरूपणात्" इस सिद्धान्त के अनुसार वस्त्वन्तर को असत् माना गया है और आरोपित रूप कथमपि वस्त्वन्तर नहीं हो सकता । उसे वस्त्वन्तर मानने की स्थिति में यदि मरीचि कहें तो उसमें 'मरीचयः' यही ज्ञान होता, तोय नहीं । यदि गंगादिगत तोय भावान्तर माना जाय तो 'गंगायां तोयम्:' यह ज्ञान होता या देशभेद के स्मरण करने पर तोय इतना मात्र ज्ञान होता, 'इह तोयम्' ऐसा ज्ञान नहीं हो सकता था । इसलिए अनुभव-विषय होने के कारण उसे सत् या असत् कुछ भी नहीं कह सकते । अतः वह अनिर्वाच्य है और भ्रम की स्थिति में देखा जाने वाला पदार्थ अनिर्वचनीय है । इसी की ख्याति होती है[7] ।

नैयायिक भ्रान्ति-निरूपण में 'अन्यथाख्याति' मानते हैं और भ्रम को विषयीमूलक स्वीकारते हैं । उनका कहना है कि भ्रान्ति में पदार्थ का मिथ्या-ज्ञान होता है, उससे पदार्थ की यथार्थता में भेद नहीं होता है । शुक्ति में समानता के कारण रजत का स्मरण होता है और उससे ज्ञान-लक्षण-संनिकर्ष द्वारा रजत का अलौकिक प्रत्यक्षरूप अनुभव होता है । इस तरह पदार्थ का स्वरूपतः बोध न होकर अन्यथाबोध होने के कारण अन्यथा-ख्याति होती है । ज्ञान में परतः प्रामाण्य मानने से यहाँ प्रवृत्ति-संवाद को प्रामाण्य का निकष माना जाता है और शुक्ति में 'इदं रजतम्' इस ज्ञान से सफल प्रवृत्ति नहीं होती है, अतः इस ज्ञान को यथार्थ अतएव भ्रान्ति कहा जाता है । वाचस्पति मिश्र ने शांकरभाष्य में वर्णित "अन्ये तु यत्र यदध्यासस्तस्यैव विपरीतधर्मत्वकल्पनामाचक्षते"—को उद्धृत करते हुए लिखा है कि जिस शुक्तिका आदि में रजत आदि का अध्यास होता है, वहां शुक्तिका आदि विरुद्ध रजतत्वधर्म की कल्पना होती है, इस तरह 'इदं रजतम्' आदि उनमें ज्ञात होता है ।

मीमांसक-प्रतिपादित अख्यातिवाद को मानने पर वैसे ज्ञान से कथमपि प्रवृति का प्रतिपादन नहीं किया जा सकता । मीमांसक स्वतःप्रामाण्यवादी हैं । प्रभाकर का मत है कि वहां भी ज्ञान में स्वतःप्रामाण्य है, फिर भी स्मृति के कारण उस ज्ञान को मिथ्या बताया जाता है । उनका कहना है कि 'इदं रजतम्' में इदमंश का प्रत्यक्ष-ग्रहण होता है और शुक्ति के गुण की समानता के

कारण शुक्ति को देखकर रजत का स्मरण हो जाता है। जब द्रष्टा प्रत्यक्षज्ञान और स्मृतिज्ञान को भूल जाता है तब इस तरह की भ्रान्ति उसे होती है। गृहीत का ग्रहण जहाँ होता है, उसे स्मति कहते हैं। किन्तु दोष के कारण वहाँ गृहीतत्व अंश का प्रमोष हो जाता है, इसलिए दोनों ज्ञान के भिन्न रहने पर भी भेद का ग्रहण नहीं होता है, जिससे 'इदं रजतम्' इस रूप में भिन्न भी वे अभेद-व्यवहार और सामानाधिकरण्य-व्यपदेश के प्रवर्तक बनते हैं। 'पीतः शंखः' आदि स्थलों में तो नयन-रश्मि में रहने वाले स्वच्छ पीतद्रव्य के पीतत्व का इसी तरह ग्रहण और पीत का अग्रहण होता है और दोष के कारण शुक्लगुण-रहित स्वरूप-मात्र से शंख भी गृहीत होता है, जिससे वैसे बोध होते हैं।

इस तरह वहाँ भेद के ग्रहण नहीं करने के कारण अभेद-व्यवहार होता है और 'नेदं रजतम्' इससे तावन्मात्र से उसे बाधित बताया जाता है और वैसी स्थिति में ही भ्रान्ति की संज्ञा उसे दी जाती है। इसलिए उनके मत में यथार्थ ही ज्ञान होता है, भिन्न तरह की ख्याति नहीं होती।

वाचस्पति मिश्र अख्यातिवाद की इस धारणा से सहमत नहीं हैं। अन्यथाख्याति के समर्थन में उनका कहना है कि पुरोवर्ती द्रव्य में 'रजतमिदम्' इस ज्ञान के बाद रजतार्थी की प्रवृत्ति होती है तथा पुरोवर्ती और रजत में समानाधिकरण बताया जाता है, यह सर्वतन्त्र-सिद्धान्त है। इस तरह चेतन के व्यवहार और व्यपदेश जब रजत आदि के रूप में ग्रहण के बाद ही हो सकते हैं, तब ग्रहण और स्मरण के भेद के अग्रहणमात्र से उसे नहीं बताया जा सकता है और वैसी स्थिति में अनुभव-विरुद्ध प्रभाकर का मत कथमपि मान्य नहीं हो सकता। यदि यह कहें कि वहाँ अग्रहणमात्र से व्यवहार-प्रवृत्ति नहीं होती है, किन्तु ग्रहण और स्मरण स्वरूपतः और विषयतः अगृहीत भेद वाले होते हैं, तब समीचीन रजत के सादृश्य के कारण उस तरह का व्यवहार होता है, तो यह भी विवेकी युक्ति नहीं है, क्योंकि उनमें समीचीन ज्ञान का सारूप्य गृह्यमाण या अगृह्यमाण रूप से व्यवहार-प्रवृत्ति का हेतु है, यह प्रश्न उठेगा। वहाँ यदि गृह्यमाण व्यवहार-हेतु कहा जाये तो उसमें प्रश्न होगा कि 'इदम्' और 'रजतम्' ज्ञान के समीचीन ज्ञान-सारूप्य का ग्रहण या उन्हीं में स्वरूपतः और विषयतः परस्पर भेदाग्रह का ग्रहण प्रवृत्ति का कारण होगा? इसमें समीचीन-ज्ञान-सदृश दोनों हैं, यह ज्ञान समीचीन ज्ञान के समान व्यवहार-प्रवर्तक नहीं बताया जा सकता है क्योंकि 'गोसदृशो गवयः' यह ज्ञान 'गौ' को चाहने वाले को 'गवय' में प्रवृत्त करा दे, ऐसा नहीं देखा जाता है। उन दोनों में भेदाग्रह का ग्रहण, यह कहना तो परस्पर व्याहत होने के कारण कथमपि संगत ही नहीं हो सकता क्योंकि भेद के अग्रहण की स्थिति में 'अनयोः' इस तरह भिन्न रूप से दो की प्रतीति होने से भेद के अग्रहण की बात ही कही जा सकती है। ऐसी स्थिति में सत्तामात्र से भेदाग्रह अगृहीत ही व्यवहार का हेतु बताना पड़ेगा।

वहाँ भी प्रश्न उठेगा कि 'इदं रजतम्' यह ज्ञान क्या पहले इदमास्पद शुक्ति में रजत का आरोप कराकर व्यवहार का हेतु बनेगा या आरोप कराने के बिना ही। इसमें विचारने पर निर्णय करना पड़ेगा कि चेतन का व्यवहार ज्ञानपूर्वक ही होता है, अतः आरोपज्ञान की उत्पत्ति के बाद ही व्यवहार का हेतु उसे बताया जा सकता है। यह भी नहीं कहा जा सकता कि चेतन-व्यवहार अज्ञान-पूर्वक नहीं होता है, किन्तु अज्ञान विवेक के ग्रहण के स्मरण के बाद तो होता है, अतः विवेकाग्रह के कारण प्रवृत्ति का प्रतिपादन ठीक है, क्योंकि रजत के प्रातिपदिकार्थ-मात्र के स्मरण से प्रवृत्ति नहीं होती, किन्तु रजतार्थी जब इदंकारास्पद शुक्ति के अभिमुख होता हैं, वहां रजतार्थी के रजतज्ञान के

बाद ही इदंकारास्पद में वैसी प्रवृत्ति का प्रतिपादन किया जा सकता है, क्योंकि रजतरूप से जानने के बाद ही रजतार्थी की प्रवृत्ति उसमें हो सकती है।

रजत से भिन्न रूप में अग्रहण के कारण प्रवृत्ति होती है, ऐसा कहने पर यह भी बताना पड़ेगा कि उस रूप में अग्रहण के कारण उपेक्षा ही क्यों न होती है? अतः रजत के आरोप के बाद ही प्रवृत्ति होती है, इसे मानना ही युक्त होगा। भेदाग्रह के कारण इदंकारास्पद में रजतत्व का आरोप कर उस जाति वाले उपकारकारणता के अनुचिन्तन के बाद उस रूप में इदंकारास्पद रजत में उसका अनुमान कर रजतार्थी की प्रवृत्ति होती है, यह अनुभवसिद्ध है। वैसी स्थिति में जबकि इदंकारास्पद में उपकार-हेतुभाव के अनुमापक तटस्थ रजत-स्मृति को कभी भी नहीं बताया जा सकता, रजतत्व का अनुमान नहीं किया जा सकता है। हेतु और साध्य के एकदेश में दर्शन की स्थिति में ही अनुमान होता है—ज्ञातसम्बन्धस्य एकदेशदर्शनादिति। इस विवेचन से सिद्ध है कि रजतार्थी को प्रवर्तक होने के कारण 'इदं रजतम्' इस तरह का तथाविध ज्ञान पुरोवर्ती वस्तुविषयक ही होता है। उसमें अनुमान का रूप यों होगा—एतद् विवादाध्यासितं रजतादिज्ञानं पुरोवर्तिवस्तुविषयं, रजतार्थिनः तत्र नियमेन प्रवर्तकत्वात्। यद्यदर्थिनं यत्र नियमेन प्रवर्तयति, तज्ज्ञानं तद्विषयम्, यथोभयसिद्ध-समीचीनरजतज्ञानं तथा चेदम्, तस्मात्तथेति। इस तरह शुक्ति ही 'इदं रजतम्' इस ज्ञान का आलम्बन है, यह युक्ति एवं अनुभव से निश्चित है। अनवभासित होने के कारण शुक्तिका आलम्बन नहीं है, ऐसा कहना तो संगत नहीं हो सकता है, क्योंकि शुक्तिकात्व अनालम्बन है, इसे मान लेने पर भी पुरःस्थित सितभास्वर कोई द्रव्य ही 'इदं रजतम्' इस ज्ञान का आलम्बन नहीं है, ऐसा सिद्ध नहीं किया जा सकता। इसका कारण स्पष्ट है कि 'रजतमिदम्' इस तरह वहाँ अनुभव करता हुआ अनुभवकर्ता अंगुली से पुरोवर्त्ती का ही निर्देश करता है, जिससे मानना ही पड़ेगा कि पुरोवर्त्ती वस्तु ही उस ज्ञान का आलम्बन है।

समीचीन ज्ञान के कारण से मिथ्याज्ञान नहीं हो सकता, ऐसा भी नहीं कहा जा सकेगा, क्योंकि दुष्ट कारणों में औत्सर्गिक कार्य के प्रतिबन्धक होने पर कार्यान्तर के उपजनन का सामर्थ्य देखा जाता है। दावाग्नि से दग्ध वेत्रबीज कदलीकाण्ड का जनक होता है तथा भस्मकरोगपीड़ित औदर्यतेज बहुत अन्न को पचाने वाला बन जाता है। यथार्थानुमान से विभ्रम की सिद्धि भी इसी कारण नहीं कराई जा सकती, क्योंकि प्रत्यक्ष से बाध के कारण अनुमान का विषय अपहृत रहेगा अतः वहां वैसा अनुमान अग्नि के अनुष्णत्व के अनुमान के समान अनुमानाभास ही हो सकेगा। यह यथार्थज्ञान का कारण नहीं कहा जा सकता। स्वतःप्रामाण्यप्रतिपादक मीमांसकों का यह आक्षेप भी युक्त नहीं हो सकता कि मिथ्याप्रत्यय में अन्यथा-ख्याति मानने पर सब प्रमाणों में ही उस व्यभिचार के कारण अनास्था हो जायेगी, क्योंकि व्यभिचरित-मात्र से अप्रामाण्य का प्रतिपादन नहीं किया जा सकता है। देखा जाता है कि जल के भास्वर शुक्ल होने पर भी चक्षु के द्वारा नील जल या सित जल, ऐसा व्यभिचरित ज्ञान होता है, फिर भी बोधक-मात्र होने से चक्षु के प्रामाण्य का व्याघात नहीं होता है। वाचस्पति मिश्र ने न्यायकणिका में इसका प्रतिपादन विस्तृतरूप से किया है तथा ज्ञान में परतःप्रामाण्य मानना भी नैयायिकों का ठीक है और प्रामाण्य का निकष प्रयोजन के लिए प्रवृत्ति ही है। उसे सफल होना चाहिए, अतः मीमांसकों का अख्याति का सिद्धान्त ठीक नहीं है। आत्मख्याति मांनने पर भ्रम की गुंजायश ही नहीं और असत्ख्याति तो कल्पनाहीन है, इसलिए अन्यथाख्यातिवाद

ही ठीक है। पूर्वानुभूत रजत का वर्तमान में ज्ञानलक्षण-प्रत्यासत्ति द्वारा अलौकिक प्रत्यक्ष होने से वैसी ख्याति के प्रतिपादन में असंगति भी नहीं अवगत होती है। इन्हीं कारणों से वाचस्पति मिश्र ने सिद्धान्तमत की तरह अन्ततः नैयायिक के मत का समर्थन किया है।

टिप्पणियाँ

१. ब्रह्मसूत्रशांकरभाष्य, भूमिका, अध्यास।

२. तद्विवेकाग्रहनिबन्धनो भ्रमः। वही।

३. यतीन्द्र-तदीपिका, पृ० ६.

४. तस्मान्न सत् नापि सदसत् परस्परविरोधात् इति अनिर्वाच्यमेव आरोपणीयम्, मरीचिषु तोयमास्थेयम्। भामती, अध्यासभाष्य।

५. भामती, पृ० २१.

६. वही, पृ० २३.

७. 'अनिर्वचनीय' एक पारिभाषिक शब्द है, जिसका अर्थ लोक की तरह 'अवर्णनीय' नहीं है। जो वस्तु सत् भी नहीं कही जा सके और न असत् ही, उसे अनिर्वचनीय कहते हैं। यह सदसद्-विलक्षण प्रातिभासिक है। ब्रह्म को वेदान्ती सत् मानते हैं और माया को अनिर्वचनीय। भ्रान्तज्ञान में भी जो पदार्थ दीखता है वह अनिर्वचनीय माया या अविद्या का कार्य अनिर्वचनीय ही होता है। स्वप्न के कार्य भी इसी प्रकृति के हैं। भामतीकार ने अध्यास के कारण होने वाले उस भ्रमात्मक ज्ञान की उपसंहृति में लिखा है—स चायमेवं लक्षणकोऽध्यासोऽनिर्वचनीय इति।

THE PURĀṆIC EPISODE OF BRAHMĀ AND SARASVATĪ

MOHD. ISRAIL KHAN

This episode has fully developed in the *Purāṇas*. Though its exposition is vague, yet it has its own characteristics and has been referred to several times in some of the *Purāṇas*. A brief account is as under :

The marriage between Brahmā and Sarasvatī, though allegorical, has been mentioned several times in some of the *Purāṇas*, and Brahmā has been shown closely associated with Sarasvatī. His engagement with the latter is really very remarkable. The *Matsya-Purāṇa* has far more to say on this point than the other *Purāṇas*. According to it, Sarasvatī was born out of the half portion of Brahmā's body as his daughter. But when he looked at her, he was fired by her peerless beauty and praised her for it incessantly : "Oh ! what an enchanting form." "Oh ! what an enchanting form." This all he said in the presence of his mind-born sons (*mānasa-putras*), which caused shame to his daughter, who with great reverence, began to circumambulate her such bare-faced father. But when she was circumambulating him, Brahmā found it troublesome to move again and again with her. He, therefore, became four-faced to have a full and continuous glance at her ; and, finally, five-faced, when she proceeded to the heaven. Ultimately, Brahmā entrusted on his sons the work of creation and married her, who was of hundred beauties (śatarūpā). Thus, he enjoyed the company of Sarasvatī for hundred years living inside the lotus-temple[1].

From this *Purāṇa*, it is not clear to understand how Brahmā, in spite of the unwillingness of Sarasvatī, won her as his wife. But the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* clarifies this point. It says that Sarasvatī was quite impassionate, when Brahmā fell under the irresistible influence of love. He had to win over the heart of his daughter.[2]

When Brahmā married Sarasvatī, he lost the very virtue of his *tapasyā* and he, therefore, had to practise hard penance. It is due to this *tapasyā* that he begot his wife from half of his body[3], who was gifted with the faculty of creation. This consort of Brahmā was beauty-incarnate and stood by her husband as *Surabhi.* Brahmā enjoyed her company and out of his union with her, a smoke-coloured progeny was born.[4] Here, it is not the clear reference to his wife by name and most probably Sāvitrī seems to be referred to, which is clear from the following. In the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* Sāvitrī has been mentioned as the wife of Brahmā and when the latter enjoyed her company, the *Vedas, Śāstras*, year, month, day, night, sunlight, dawn, etc., came into existence[5]. In the *Purāṇas*, Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī have been mentioned in different capacity. As Prakṛti they stand side by side with each other[6], while some other references present them as essentially one[7]. Sometimes, they come before us as two different wives of *Brahmā.*

SOURCES OF THE EPISODE

The seed of this episode is found in the *Ṛgveda* itself. A *Mantra* refers to it as under[8] :—

> महे यत्पित्र ईं रसं दिवे करव त्सरत्पृशन्यंश्चिकित्वान् ।
> सृजदस्ता धृषता दिद्युमस्मै स्वायां देवो दुहितरि त्विषिं धात् ॥

Some other references of the tenth *Maṇḍala* are worth-quoting, and of these, three are of capital importance. In the first *mantra* referred to above, the word '*pitre*' stands for the host of the gods who reside in the heaven, and the word '*duhitari*' is none-else than '*dīpti*' (*prakāśa*). Sāyaṇācārya understands it as : "*uṣaḥkāle hi sūryakiraṇāḥ prādurbhavanti*". Plainly speaking, here is the description of the dawn and the sun which seems to us corporal.

Let us see the sense of the consecutive *mantras*, three in number, of the tenth *maṇḍala*[9]. Here, Rudra is said to be Rudra and he (Rudra) generates Rudra. The idea underlined these lines is not clear. To explain : Rudra is Prajāpati (Lord of progeny) and Rudra produced by him are gods. *Retas* stands for *Karma* and by dint of this *Karma*, Rudra produced is either the day or the dawn. This seems to refer to the earliest stage of the creation of the world and the beings. In the beginning, it was only Prajāpati and when he had the desire for creation, he created gods out of him with the force of his *śakti*. But before the creation rose up, it was all and all darkness. It is for the reason that he divided himself in many parts. And these parts are none-else than gods, and gods are none-else than Prajāpati. This is an established fact that there are twelve Ādityas or there are eleven Rudras. This division is more or less identical. Thus, Rudra and Prajāpati are one, and gods are his progeny, which he produced in the lap of the day or the dawn. So long as there was darkness, nothing could emerge and the light was only capable of producing something. Symbolically, the day or the dawn is the very source of the things to come into existence.

This episode can be interpreted in a different way. The Vedic themes are very much shrouded in mysteries and convey to us various meanings at a time, hence the propriety of a number of interpretations.

By the study of the Vedic lore, we come to know that we are born of the essence of various gods. To quote the *Aitareya-Upaniṣad*: It says that various gods live in various regions in their gross forms, but they reside in our body in their subtle forms, *i.e.*, our gross body is represented by their atoms[10].

If the word '*duhitṛ*' is for the day or the dawn as Sāyaṇa understands, we may aptly interpret this in a different way. Prajāpati is the heavenly god and hence he would have created the heavenly gods first in the heaven (दिवि; द्यु= to shine; and दिव् is one which is incessantly shining). Taking the present discussion into account, we may say that Prajāpati would have inserted his *retas* first in the far sky, where dawn resides before the day comes. The corporal relationship and procreation thereby through the union of Brahmā and Sarasvati in question seems to refer to this phenomenon of Nature. This notion can be drawn on the study of the subject based on the naturalistic theory.

The *Purāṇas* have portrayed Brahmā and Sarasvati as husband and wife (*mithunau*). Yāska has taken *mithuna* in two different senses—one in divine sense and the other in worldly sense. The sun and the dawn fall in the first category and the husband and the wife in the second one. The episode of Brahmā and Sarasvatī is found in the *Purāṇas* and it finds its parallel in the Vedic literature as well. But it is astonishing to note that there is a vast difference in the sense *mithuna* is used in the Vedic and the Purāṇic literature. Yāska says that when the sun along with a female co-born deity, called the dawn, was born, then the gods saw the whole world[11]. This *mithuna* is divine, it lives together and depends upon each other as the derivation of the word shows : Mithuna= √ Mi + thu + nī > mithuna ; or √ Mi + th + √ van.

The meaning of *mithuna*, in which we take Brahmā and Sarasvati, does not befit for several reasons. Firstly, the couple does not live together permanently ; secondly, this couple is not happy for long ; thirdly, this couple has got separated eventually. Contrary to it, the worldly *mithuna*, full of sorrows and sufferings, have to live together. According to Sāyaṇa, this idea underlies the word *mithuna* (मिथ् + √ वन्). Yāska says—*methatirākrośa-karmā*.

Contrary to Yāska's interpretation, we find different notions of *mithuna* (*dampati*) presently in vogue. They (*dampati*) abide and lead life according to the wishes of each other. Usually, we find a complete harmony in the life of a couple (*dampati*), barring, of course, a few exceptions of disharmony. But in the *Purāṇas*, Brahmā and *Sarasvati*, in legend, have been pictured otherwise. There was no harmony of desires ; for Brahmā was enamoured by the matchless beauty of Sarasvatī and Sarasvatī was calm and impassive :

वाचं दुहितरं तन्वीं स्वयम्भूर्हरति मनः ।
अकामां चक्रमे सक्तः सकाम इति नः श्रुतम् ॥[12]

CONCLUSION

On observations, we happen to see that there are many allegoric descriptions in the *Purāṇas.* Allegoric things require proper explanation from various viewpoints. To explain a thing in hand, we may cite instances from here and there. In the *Rāmāyaṇa,* it is said that the queen Kauśalyā, at the time of *Putreṣṭi,* had to sleep with a horse (*aśva*) all night through. Horse (*aśva*) is an animal, but besides its physical description, as it is generally found, it also goes to symbolise energy.[13] The queen actually did not enjoy the company of the horse, but played vividly with that energy or force the horse stands for, while sleeping at night. Similarly, in the *Purāṇas*, it is held that Indra as godly being, enjoyed the company of a mortal woman, called Ahalyā—*ahnā yamyate, aho yamayati vā sā, i.e.*, which is spent by the day. And, thus, the night is meant here. Gotama is the husband of Ahalyā. Let us also see the connotation of Gotama along with Indra. Gotama symbolizes the dark rays emanating from the earth and Indra stands for the light (*prakāśa*) and the moon for the two-winged bird. Thus, this phenomenon could be explained like this :

In the day, light pervades everywhere, and at the fall of the night, it goes upwards. So when the god of the light went up, he took the help of the moon, figuratively called bird. This episode can be explained in a different manner. In the night (*ahalyā*), Indra (light) is diffused through two-winged bird (moon) on the earth (*gotama*).

In the foregoing lines, two instances have been cited to understand on the same line, the episode of Brahmā and Sarasvatī. This episode is very much influenced by the Ṛgvedic one which is as under :

"कामस्तदग्रे समवर्तताग्रि मनसो रेतः प्रथमं यदासीत्"

In the beginning of the creation, Brahmā wanted to manifest himself in multifarious forms. His desire is termed '*Kāma*' and '*Kāma*' is the effect of *manas* (mind)—a supreme and controlling power. In the *Vedas* and the *Purāṇas*, mind is understood to be Prajāpati.[14] The famous gnome that goes to the zenith of popularity, in some of the *Brāhmaṇas*, is : "मनो वै प्रजापतिः ". This very Prajāpati puts his *retas* (*Kāma*) in *Vāk* (Sarasvatī). Sometimes, *Vāk* is identified with Prajāpati, Viśvakarman, the whole world and Indra.[15] According to a legend concerning creation recorded in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, Prajāpati, desirous of creation, created *Vāk* (speech) out of his mind and out of her, he created waters (*āpaḥ*). Here, a sexual indulgence between the two is shown explicitly.[16] In the *Kāṭhaka-Upaniṣad*,[17] this has been expressed as under :

"Prajāpati was this universe. *Vāk* was second to him. He associated sexually with her ; she became pregnant ; she departed from him ; she produced these creatures ; she again entered into Prajāpati."

Prajāpati is the source of creation and *Vāk*, as one of the five elements for creation stands for the greatness of Prajāpati[18].

Virya (*retas*) which has been said to have been put into the womb of Sarasvati is Prajāpati's force or energy utilised to produce *Vāk*. Another reference as to how *Vāk* is produced from mind (*manas*) is worth-quoting here. Before manifestation, *Vāk* is mind itself. The identification and relation of *manas* and *Vāk* should be understood like this. Mind (*manas*) is supposed to be equally filled with *rasa* and *bala* (*rasabala-samamātrāvacchinna*). During this state of equilibrium, everything is in tranquil state and hence no effect, but when there is any stress, such as the desire for expression of an idea, it turns into breath and when the stress is acute, it turns into *Vāk*. Thus, even on this psychological ground, there is a close relationship between *Vāk* and *manas*, *i.e.*, mind and speech, symbolically referred to by the *Purāṇas* as Brahmā's (*mind's*) falling in love with Sarasvati (speech = Vāk).

We may interpret this episode still in a different way. Apparently, in the episode, there is the description of Brahmā and Sarasvati. Sarasvati is, acceptedly, a different deity from the Uṣas, the goddess of the dawn. In one of the Ṛgvedic *Sūktas*[19], the sun follows the divine and shining Dawn as a wooer follows his mistress. Like Sarasvati with Brahmā, Uṣas is also shown associated with Prajāpati. She (Uṣas) figures, prominently, in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* :[20] "प्रजापतिः स्वां दुहितरमभ्यध्यायद्दिवमित्यन्य आहुरुषसमित्यन्ये रोहितमभूतामभ्यैत्."

Here, Uṣas is different from that Uṣas who is associated with the sun as the latter's beloved. The Dawn, in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, is viewed as the daughter of Prajāpati. But there is difficulty to corroborate this with that of Brahmā and Sarasvati, where Vāk is shown as being produced by Brahmā. This may be interpreted like this.

When the Dawn comes, it raises up the seers to chant the *mantras* in honour of gods. The Uṣas comes with the sun and it is the latter who produces the former. Sometimes, in the Vedic literature, Prajāpati and Indra are deemed to be the sun. So the sun and the Dawn can be taken as parallel to Brahmā and Sarasvati. In literature and poetic composition, light (*prakāśa*) stands for knowledge. Light starts coming from the Dawn first and from the sun later on. It is the sun which motivates the Dawn and this motivation is thought of to produce knowledge (light). In the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, the daughter of Prajāpati is referred to be सीतासावित्री or सूर्यसावित्री.[21]

Some savants illucidate this episode still in a different way. Prajāpati is, unequivocally, the lord of the universe or the creatures and he did create the universe out of him. Prajāpati is also identified with year (संवत्सर) and sacrifice (यज्ञ)[22]. The root from which Sarasvati is formed is √सृ = to move, and thus, Sarasvatī is one, which is always moving. Prajāpati as year always moves through Sarasvatī, the controlling power. And when Prajāpati is identified with sacrifice, there is no contradiction at all about the episode, because in the sacrifice, there is the *viniyoga* of the Vedic *mantras*. In this *viniyoga*, *Vāk* is to be taken as wife meeting with Prajāpati as husband. During the Purāṇic period, Prajāpati has merged with the personality of Brahmā who is Supreme among the Purāṇic triad. Side by side, change did occur in *Vāk* as well and it virtually came to be styled as Sarasvatī. If this Purāṇic legend is viewed in this light, then the confusion in regard to the episode, whatsoever, will disappear, Sāyaṇācārya[23] aptly renders :

"कामं यथेच्छं कृण्वाने कुर्वाणे पितरि प्रजापतौ युवत्यां दुहितर्युषसि दिवि वा। 'दिवमित्यन्ये' इति हि ब्राह्मणं प्रदर्शितम्। मध्या तयोर्मध्येऽन्तरिक्षमध्ये वा अभीके समीपे यत्कर्त्वं कर्माभवत् मिथुनीभावाख्यं तदानीं मनानक् अल्पं रेतः जहतुः त्यक्तवन्तौ। किं कुर्वाणाविति तत्राह। वियन्तौ परस्परमभिगच्छन्तौ। प्रजापतिना सानौ समुच्छ्रिते स्थाने सुकृतस्य यज्ञस्य योनौ निषिक्तमासीदित्यर्थः। ततो रुद्र उत्पन्न इत्यर्थः।"

The Vedic and the Purāṇic literature is full of mysticism and symbolism. The things have been rendered so because of our richness of thoughts enshrined in the literature. We, therefore, ought to look into the episode from various angles. According to some scholars, this myth of Prajāpati has a reference to an astronomical event, *viz.*, the procession of vernal equinox which was the beginning of the sacrificial year. Prajāpati's incest is symbolical of the retrogate motion of new year. The year (Prajāpati) shifted itself from Punarvasu to Mṛgaśiras. This was figuratively spoken of as an incest.[24]

This very Vedic episode has been expanded by the *Purāṇas* to suit their taste. But we should see the episode's reality in the light of discussions and observations made in the foregoing pages.

By this episode, we are given a lesson, too. We may cite here an example of the *Atharva-Veda*. In the *Atharva-Veda*, the instance of Indra and the Maruts as agriculturists, shows the greatness of the occupation of agriculture[25] and suggests us that one should not be ashamed of doing the occupation of agriculture irrespective of one's high and low position. Similarly, when Brahmā fell in love with Sarasvatī (as some savants take it literally), he lost the very virtue of *tapasyā* ; and he, therefore, had to practise hard penance. This shows repentance on the part of Brahmā ; and, therefore, one should not be hesitant to repent on wrong things done.

In the Purāṇas, it is said that Brahmā has produced all the *Vedas* and *Śāstras* from his mouth. Sarasvatī is the Supreme goddess of learning and represents all sorts of sciences, and *Vidyās*. To connote this, she is given a book and a jar (Kamaṇḍalu) in her two hands in *Purāṇas*, All knowledge or learning has come out from the *Vedas*, which are reckoned to represent the mouths of Brahmā. Sarasvatī as Goddess of learning is the daughter of Brahmā, because as *Vāk*, she took her birth from them (the *Vedas* = mouths). The romance between Brahmā and Sarasvatī as shown in the *Purāṇas*, is out and out symbolic ; because Sarasvatī represents sacred learning and not profane learning[26]. We mean to say that even as goddess of learning, she represents pure and sacred learning. Since this episode between the two, proved unaesthetic, hence the idea to depict the father as husband of his own daughter was dropped later on.

NOTES

1. *MP*., III. 30—43; Vām. P., XXVIII. 5.
2. *Bhā. P*., III. 12.28.
3. *MP*., CL XXI. 20-23.
4. *Ibid*., CL XXI. 34-36.
5. *BvP*., I. 8. 1-9.
6. *Ibid*., II. 1.1 ; 4.4.
7. *MP*., III. 30-32.
8. *ṚV*., I. 71.5.
9. *Ibid*., X. 61.5-7.
10. Cf. *AU*., I. 2.4.
11. *Nirukta*, VII. 29.
12. *BhāP*., III. 12.28.
13. Aurobindo, *On the Veda* (Pondicherry, 1956, pp. 104-105.
14. See Griffith's on *ibid*., VII. 3 : 'The Mind : meaning Prajāpati.'
15. A.B. Keith, *The Religion and the Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, Vol. II (London, 1925), p. 438.
16. Cf. John Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu* Mythology (London, 1961), pp. 329-330.
17. *Ibid*., p. 330.
18. V.S. Agrawal, 'Ka' Prajāpati, *JOI*., Vol. *VIII*. No. 1 (Baroda, 1958), pp. 1-4.
19. *ṚV*., I. 115.2.
20. *Ait. Br*., III. 33.
21. *Taitt. Br*., II. 3.10.
22. Cf. V. V. Dikshit, 'Brahman and Sarasvatī', *The Poona Orientalist*, Vol. VIII (April-July, 1943), p. 66.
23. Cf. Sāyaṇa's comm. on *ṚV*. X. 61.6.
24. V.V. Dikshit, *op. cit*., p. 66.
25. Cf. Śrīpāda Dāmodara Sātavalekara, *Atharva-Veda Subodha Bhāṣya*, Pt. II (Surat. 1960), p. 61 on *AV*., VI-30.
26. V.V. Dikshit *op.cit*., p. 67,

THE PHILOSOPHY OF PAÑCAŚIKHA

A. N. PANDEY

Pañcaśikha has been called a *Kavi.*[1] He was a disciple of Āsuri, who was a disciple of Kapila.[2] The *Mahābhārata* also testifies to the fact that Āsuri was a preceptor of Pañcaśikha.[3] Pañcaśikha was honoured by Janaka, who accepted his discipleship.[4]

No work of Pañcaśikha is found today. Vyāsa in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Yoga-sūtras* and Vijñānabhikṣu in his *Yoga-vārttika* quote a few aphorisms of Pañcaśikha. Paṇḍita Rājā Rāma of the D.A.V. College, Lahore, published twenty-one aphorisms of Pañcaśikha in Nos. 4 and 5, Vol. VIII, 1922, of the Series entitled Ārṣagranthāvali, Lahore. Swāmī Hariharānanda of the Kāpila Āśrama in the district of Hoogli published a collection of *Pañcaśikha-sūtras.* This is a reproduction of the aphorisms published by Paṇḍita Rājā Rāma, with a few additions.

There is a controversy among scholars regarding the authorship of the Ṣaṣṭitantra. Some scholars have attributed it to Pañcaśikha, whereas others have refuted it.

According to the Chinese tradition, Pañcaśikha was the author of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra,* which consisted of sixty thousand verses. It is assumed that the work had sixty chapters, each chapter consisting of one thousand verses, dealing with a separate topic.

Bhāvāgaṇeśa has commented on the *Tattva-samāsa-sūtras.* His commentary is named *Tattva-yāthārthya-dipana.* He says that he has taken help from the commentary of Pañcaśikha.[5] From the statement, it appears that Pañcaśikha wrote a commentary on the *Tattva-samāsa-sūtras.* Bhāvāgaṇeśa has quoted Pañcaśikha in his commentary.

In the Śānti-Parva of the *Mahābhārata*, the views of Pañcaśikha are found.

Pañcaśikha was the son of Kapilā.[6] He was firm in mind, that has five currents. He was well-versed in the doctrine of the Pañcarātra school. He was conversant with the five sheaths that cover the soul. He performed five acts and had five qualities.[7]

Here tenets of the philosophy of Pañcaśikha are given :

1. Pañcaśikha admits three constituents (*guṇas*) ; the intelligibility-constituent (*sattva*), the activity-constituent (*rajas*), and the inertia-constituent (*tamas*). As there are three constituents, so our experiences are of three kinds : (i) those that are related to the intelligibility-constituent (*sāttvika*), (ii) those that are related to the activity-constituent (*rājasa*), and (iii) those that are related to the inertia-constituent (*tāmasa*).

   Rapture, satisfaction, joy, pleasure, etc., belong to the intelligibility-constituent; discontent, regret, grief, etc., belong to the activity-constituent; and wrong judgment, delusion, heedlessness, etc., belong to the inertia-constituent.[8]

   These constituents are agents. *Puruṣa* is a witness.[9]

2. Space, wind, heat, water and earth—these five constitute the body.[10] They unite and disunite according to their own nature. Intelligence, stomachic heat (*jaṭharānala*) and vital breaths—these three are organs of action.[11] The senses, the objects of the senses (sound, form, etc.), the nature of the objects (*svabhāva*—the power residing in the objects in consequences of which they become capable of being perceived), the faculty that dwells in the senses (*cetanā*), the mind, the vital breaths called *prāṇa*, *apāna*, etc., juices (*vikāra*), and the humours (*dhātu*)—these flow from the three mentioned above.[12]

3. In perception three elements are necessary—the sense-organ, the object and the mind.[13] Though the body, the senses and the mind are different from each other, yet they function in unison.[14] Sound, touch, form, taste, odour and the objects—these six are the causes of knowledge.[15]

4. Pañcaśikha believes in the existence of the eternal soul.[16] According to him, the soul does not meet destruction, nor does it take a different form. He admits the authority of the Vedas.[17] He says that as elephants are guided by grooms, so persons are brought back to the right path by the Vedas.[18] He says that the performance of religious acts and

their fruits are destructible.[19] The objects that are seen in this world are sure to meet destruction. Our attachment to the objects and the body bewilders us. This attachment is the cause of suffering.[20] Pañcaśikha says that one, who realizes this, annihilates attachment and never returns to this world after death.[21]

5. *Conception of Nirmāṇa-citta*[22]—The Yogi, in order to pay off the debt of the सञ्चित-कर्म, creates as many bodies as are required. Every created body has a mind (*citta*). These are artificial minds. They are controlled by the consciousness of the Yogi. They have to exhaust certain portion of the *sañcita-karma.* The artificial mind is different from the natural mind. The natural mind has habit to store up impressions in it, which become seeds of desires and activities. The artificial mind, on the other hand, is not capable of storing up impressions, so it disintegrates, when the body falls down.

6. Intellect is different from *Puruṣa.* The man, under the influence of the inertia-constituent, fails to discriminate between *Puruṣa* and intellect and forms the notion of the self in respect of intellect.[23]

   The power of the experiencer, which is not subject to change and is actionless, as if running into intellect, imitates its modifications. The power of consciousness is not actually transferred into intellect, but by reason of the reflection of consciousness into intellect, it appears that it is transferred into it.[24]

7. *Puruṣa* is intelligent, whereas the constituents are non-intelligent, The constituents are actors, whereas *Puruṣa* is non-actor. *Puruṣa* is a witness of the actions performed by the constituents.[25]

8. The conjunction of the constituents with *Puruṣa* is without beginning, so the conjunction also of the products of the constituents is without beginning.[26] If the conjunction of one *Puruṣa* with one manifestation of *Mahat* (Intellect) has ceased to exist, the conjunction of another *Puruṣa* with another manifestation of *Mahat* exists, so the conjunction may be said to be without any beginning.

9. Pañcaśikha gives the definition of invariable concomitance (*Vyāpti*).[27] He holds that 'pervadingness is the power, which consists in being the sustainer and that pervadedness is the power, which consists in being the sustained.' Intellect and the rest are pervaded by Nature.

10. Intensities of characteristic (*rūpa*) and intensities of disposition (*vṛtti*) cannot exist together, but the ordinary-ones co-exist with the intense-ones.[28] Virtue and vice, wisdom and ignorance, passion and dispass-

ion, power and weakness are characteristics of intellect. When the intensity of virtue is there, the intensity of vice cannot exist. Vice as a secondary quality may exist with the intensity of virtue. Dispositions are three—calm, turbulent and deluding. The intensity of calm disposition cannot exist with that of turbulent disposition. The turbulent disposition may exist in subdued form with the intensity of calm disposition.

11. *Liberation*—Pañcaśikha's concept of liberation is found in his aphorisms and in the Mahābhārata. He says that there is suffering in the world. He speaks of three kinds of bondage[29], i.e., *Prākṛta*, *Vaikṛta* and *Dākṣiṇa* and points out how a complete emancipation from the trammels of the world is achieved. In the *Mahābhārata*, he speaks of the sorrows of birth, then of the sorrows of (religious) acts and then of the sorrows of all states of life[30].

Puruṣa is different from intellect, but due to ignorance, the self fails to discriminate[31]. This is the cause of suffering.

Pañcaśikha preaches the doctrine of सम्यङ्मन[32]. It is the doctrine of renunciation. This state of सम्यङ्मन, in which the mind is bereft of all doubts, leads to liberation. Another reading gives सम्यग्वध in the place of सम्यङ्मन. सम्यग्वध is that doctrine, which preaches absolute and final destruction of all sufferings or according to Nīlakaṇṭha, सम्यग्वध is that doctrine, in which twenty-five principles of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy are pondered over and over again.[33]

While speaking of renunciation, Pañcaśikha says that the Vedic sacrifices exist for renunciation of wealth, vows and fasts exist for renunciation of all enjoyments, and penance and yoga exist for renunciation of pleasure. Renunciation of everything is the best kind of renunciation[34]. According to him, renunciation of actions without proper training is of no avail.

Renunciation is possible through knowledge. When knowledge dawns upon an individual, the individual realizes the ephemeral character of the objects of the universe and discords attachment to them. He says that one, who realizes the true nature of the constituents, establishes his sway over them[35]. Knowledge of the twenty-five principles enumerated in the Sāṅkhya system, brings about liberation[36].

According to Pañcaśikha, the path of liberation has three stages. The first is knowledge, the second is destruction of attachment and the last is destruction of suffering. Knowledge brings about destruction of attachment. Thereafter destruction of all kinds of suffering comes off. This is to say that knowledge is the cause of destruction of attachment and destruction of attachment is the cause of destruction of suffering[37]. Here knowledge stands for the realization that *Puruṣa* is different from intellect.

The crux of Pañcaśikha's philosophy is the achievement of knowledge, intuition, without which one cannot see the flashes of renunciation and without which attachment to the worldly objects never comes to an end.

NOTES

1. पुनः प्रशमयन् वाक्यैः कविः पञ्चशिखोऽब्रवीत् । Śānti-Parva, 212. 5.
2. *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, 70.
3. आसुरेः प्रथमं शिष्यं यमाहुश्चिरजीविनम् ।
   पञ्चस्रोतसि यः सत्रमास्ते वर्षसहस्रिकम् ॥ Śānti-Parva, 211. 10.
4. Ibid., 211-212.
5. समाससूत्राण्यालम्ब्य व्याख्यां पञ्चशिखस्य च ।
   भावागणेशः कुरुते तत्त्वयाथार्थ्यदीपनम् ॥
6. ब्राह्मणी कपिला नाम काचिदासीत्कुटुम्बिनी ॥
   तस्याः पुत्रत्वमागम्य स्त्रियाः स पिबति स्तनौ । Śānti-Parva, 211. 14-15.
7. पञ्चस्रोतसि निष्णातः पञ्चरात्रविशारदः ।
   पञ्चज्ञः पञ्चकृत् पञ्चगुणः पञ्चशिखः स्मृतः ॥

   This verse is not found in the critical edition of the Śānti-Parva. It is given there in the footnote (Śānti-Parva, 211). It is found in other editions of the *Mahābhārata*.
8. येन यस्त्रिविधो भावः पर्यायात् समुपस्थितः ॥
   सात्त्विको राजसश्चैव तामसश्चैव ते त्रयः ।
   त्रिविधा वेदना येषु प्रसूता सर्वसाधना ॥
   प्रहर्षः प्रीतिरानन्दः सुखं संशान्तचित्तता ।
   अकुतश्चित्कुतश्चिद्वा चित्ततः सात्त्विको गुणः ॥
   अतुष्टिः परितापश्च शोको लोभस्तथा क्षमा ।
   लिङ्गानि रजसस्तानि दृश्यन्ते हेत्वहेतुतः ॥
   अविवेकस्तथा मोहः प्रमादः स्वप्नतन्द्रिता ।
   कथञ्चिदपि वर्तन्ते विविधास्तामसा गुणाः ॥ Śānti-Parva, 212. 24-28.
9. अयं खलु त्रिषु गुणेषु कर्तृष्वकर्तरि च पुरुषे तुल्यातुल्यजातीये तत्क्रियासाक्षिण्युपनीयमानान् सर्वभावाननुपश्यन्नदर्शनमन्यच्छङ्कते । Quoted in the *Yyāsa-bhāṣya* on the *Yoga-sūtras*, 2. 18.
10. Śānti-Parva, 212. 8.

11. ज्ञानमूष्मा च वायुश्च त्रिविधः कर्मसंग्रहः । Ibid., 212.8.

12. इन्द्रियाणीन्द्रियार्थाश्च स्वभावश्चेतना मनः ।
प्राणापानौ विकारश्च धातवश्चात्र निःसृताः ॥ Ibid., 212.9.

The senses, the objects of the senses, the nature of the objects, the faculty that dwells in the senses and the mind are effects of intelligence; the vital breaths, of the mind and the juices and humours, of the stomachic heat.

13. कर्णौ शब्दश्च चित्तं च त्रयः श्रवणसंग्रहे ।
तथा स्पर्शे तथा रूपे तथैव रसगन्धयोः ॥ Śānti-Parva, 212. 23.

14. अयं ह्यपि समाहारः शरीरेन्द्रियचेतसाम् ।
वर्त्तते पृथगन्योऽयमप्यपाश्रित्य कर्मसु ॥ Ibid., 212. 6.

15. शब्दः स्पर्शश्च रूपं च रसो गन्धश्च मूर्त्यथ ।
एते ह्यामरणात्पञ्च षड्गुणा ज्ञानसिद्धये ॥ Ibid., 212. 12.

16. Ibid., 211.

17. श्रुतिप्रमाणागममङ्गलैश्च शेते जरामृत्युभयादतीतः । Ibid., 212. 45.

18. एवमर्थैरनर्थैश्च दुःखिताः सर्वजन्तवः ।
आगमैरपकृष्यन्ते हस्तिपैर्हस्तिनो यथा ॥ Ibid., 211. 44.

19. यदर्थं कर्मसंसर्गः कर्मणां च फलोदयः ।
तदनाश्वासिकं मोघं विनाशि चलमध्रुवम् ॥ Śānti-Parva, 211. 21.

20. Ibid., 211. 45.

21. विनाशिनो ह्यध्रुवजीवितस्य
किं बन्धुभिर्मित्रपरिग्रहैश्च ।
विहाय यो गच्छति सर्वमेव
क्षणेन गत्वा न निवर्तते च ॥ Ibid., 211. 46.

22. आदिविद्वान् निर्माणचित्तमधिष्ठाय कारुण्याद् भगवान् महर्षिरासुरये जिज्ञासमानाय तन्त्रं प्रोवाच । Quoted in the V*yāsa-bhāṣya* on the *Yoga-sūtras*, 1.25.

According to M.M. Gopi Nath Kaviraj, *Nirmāṇa-citta* and *Nirmāṇa-kāya* are identical. He writes, "Nirmāṇa-kāya and Nirmāṇa-citta are practically identical. Patañjali speaks of the Nirmāṇa-citta and how it evolved from the stuff of asmitā. Vyāsa and Pañcaśikha also refer to it under this name. But Udayana employs the term Nirmāṇa-kāya in exactly the same sense. So do the Buddhist writers, with whom the Kāya is a familiar expression .... The fact is that Siddhi leads in a wonderful manner to the unification of citta (mind) and kāya (body), so that the resultant produced may be fitly described as mind as well as body. This process of unification which, of course, presupposes an elimination of impurities in each, is to be sharlply differentiated from the other process of discrimination."

23. बुद्धितः परं पुरुषमाकारशीलविद्यादिभिरपश्यन् कुर्यात्तत्रात्मबुद्धिं मोहेन । Quoted in the V*yāsa-bhāṣya* on the *Yoga-sūtras*, 2.6.

24. अपरिणामिनी हि भोक्तृशक्तिरप्रतिसंक्रमा च परिणामिन्यर्थे प्रतिसंक्रान्तेव तद्वृत्तिमनुपतति। तस्याश्च प्राप्तचैतन्योपग्रहरूपाया बुद्धिवृत्तेरनुकारमात्रतया बुद्धिवृत्त्याऽविशिष्टा हि ज्ञानवृत्तिरित्याख्यायते। Quoted in the V*yāsa-bhāṣya* on the *Yoga-sūtras*, 2.20.

25. अयं खलु त्रिषु गुणेषु कर्तृष्वकर्तरि च पुरुषे तुल्यातुल्यजातीये तत्क्रियासाक्षिण्युपनीयमानान् सर्वभावाननुपश्यन्न-दर्शनमन्यच्छङ्कते। *Ibid.*, 2.18.

26. धर्मिणामनादिसंयोगाद् धर्माणामप्यनादिः संयोगः। *Ibid.*, 2.22.

27. आधेयशक्तियोग इति पञ्चशिखः। *Sāṅkhya-sūtras*, 5.32.

28. रूपातिशया वृत्त्यतिशयाश्च विरुध्यन्ते सामान्यानि त्वतिशयैः सह प्रवर्तन्ते। Quoted in the V*yāsa-bhāṣya* on the *Yoga-sūtras*, 3.13.

29. प्राकृतेन तु बन्धेन तथा वैकारिकेण च।
दक्षिणाभिस्तृतीयेन बद्धो जन्तुर्विवर्तते॥ Quoted by Bhāvāgaṇeśa in his commentary on the *Tattva-samāsa-sūtras*.

30. जातिनिर्वेदमुक्त्वा हि कर्मनिर्वेदमब्रवीत्।
कर्मनिर्वेदमुक्त्वा च सर्वनिर्वेदमब्रवीत्॥ Śānti-Parva, 211.20.

31. बुद्धितः परं पुरुषमाकारशीलविद्यादिभिरपश्यन् कुर्यात्तत्रात्मबुद्धिं मोहेन। Quoted in the V*yāsa-bhāṣya* on the *Yoga-sūtras*, 2.6.

32. तत्र सम्यङ्मनो नाम त्यागशास्त्रमनुत्तमम्।
शृणु यत्तव मोक्षाय भाष्यमाणं भविष्यति॥ Śānti-Parva, 212.16.

33. हन्त्रिगुणनार्थे ज्योतिःशास्त्रे प्रसिद्धः। सम्यग्वधो गुणनं पुनः पुनरभ्यस्यन्ते तत्त्वान्यस्मिन्निति सम्यग्वधो नाम साङ्ख्यशास्त्रम्।

34. द्रव्यत्यागे तु कर्माणि भोगत्यागे व्रतान्यपि।
सुखत्यागे तपोयोगः सर्वत्यागे समापना॥ Śānti-Parva, 212.18.

35. तत्त्वानि यो वेदयते यथावद् गुणस्वरूपाण्यधिदैवतं च।
विमुक्तपाप्मा गतदोषसंघो गुणांस्तु भुङ्क्ते न गुणैः स भुज्यते॥ Quoted by Bhāvāgaṇeśa in his commentary.

36. पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वज्ञो यत्र कुत्राश्रमे वसन्।
जटी मुण्डी शिखी वापि मुच्यते नात्र संशयः॥ Quoted by Bhāvāgaṇeśa in his commentary.

37. आद्यस्तु मोक्षो ज्ञानेन द्वितीयो रागसंक्षयात्।
कृच्छ्रक्षयात् तृतीयस्तु व्याख्यातं मोक्षलक्षणम्॥ Quoted by Bhāvāgaṇeśa in his commentary and by Vijñānabhikṣu in the *Yoga-vārttika* (*Yoga-sūtras*, 2.18).

वैभाषिक के अनुसार निर्वाण का स्वरूप

प्रमोद कुमार

बौद्धों के कुछ ऐसे भी दार्शनिक सम्प्रदाय हैं जो हीनयान के अन्तर्गत होने पर भी थेरबाद से भिन्न हैं। पालि त्रिपिटक केवल थेरवादियों का ही धर्मग्रंथ है। हीनयान के अन्य सम्प्रदाय जैसे वैभाषिक या सर्वास्तिवाद उसको नहीं मानते। वैभाषिक का त्रिपिटक संस्कृत में था। वैभाषिक यह नहीं मानते हैं कि पालि त्रिपिटक उनसे प्राचीन है या संस्कृत त्रिपिटक पालि त्रिपिटक पर आश्रित था।[1] वर्तमान काल में उस संस्कृत त्रिपिटक का सर्वथा लोप हो गया है, परन्तु संस्कृत त्रिपिटक से अनूदित ग्रंथ चीनी भाषा में सुरक्षित हैं।

वैभाषिक का थेरवाद से एक मुख्य अन्तर यह भी था कि थेरवादी अपने अभिधम्मपिटक को भी सुत्तपिटक तथा विनयपिटक के समान बुद्ध-वचन ही मानते हैं। वैभाषिक अपने अभिधर्मपिटक आदि ग्रंथों को यद्यपि बुद्ध-वचनों अर्थात् सूत्रपिटक पर आधारित मानते हैं तथापि उनका कथन है कि वे साक्षात् बुद्ध-वचन नहीं हैं, अपितु आचार्यों की रचना हैं।[2] अभिधर्मपिटक का मुख्य ग्रंथ कात्यायनीपुत्र का 'ज्ञानप्रस्थानशास्त्र' माना जाता है जो वर्तमान काल में अपने मूल संस्कृतरूप में उपलब्ध नहीं है, केवल उसका हुएनच्वांग-कृत चीनी अनुवाद उपलब्ध है।[3] इसी ग्रंथ का दूसरा नाम 'महाविभाषा' या 'अभिधर्मविभाषा-शास्त्र' है और इसी कारण यह सम्प्रदाय वैभाषिक अर्थात् विभाषाशास्त्र को मानने वाला कहलाता है।[4]

वसुबन्धु का ग्रंथ 'अभिधर्मकोश' बौद्ध-दर्शन साहित्य की सबसे बड़ी विभूतियों में से एक है। यद्यपि यह वैभाषिक सम्प्रदाय का ग्रन्थ है तथापि उसमें अन्य बौद्ध सम्प्रदायों, विशेषकर सौत्रान्तिक का मत भी दिया गया है।[5] 'अभिधर्मकोश' 'ज्ञानप्रस्थानशास्त्र' पर ही निर्भर है। अपने रचे अभिधर्मकोश पर वसुबन्धु ने स्वयं ही टीका भी लिखी है। अन्य टीकाओं में स्थिरमति की 'तत्त्वार्थ' दिङ्नाग की 'मर्मप्रदीप', तथा यशोमित्र की 'स्फुटार्था' प्रामाणिक एवं बहुमूल्य टीकायें हैं। कुछ समय पहले तक इस महत्त्वपूर्ण ग्रंथ का संस्कृत रूप प्राप्त नहीं था, अतः डी० ला० वाली पूसें ने इसके चीनी तथा तिब्बती अनुवाद के सहारे अभिधर्मकोश के संस्कृत मूलरूप को प्रस्तुत किया था तथा

चीनी भाषा के अनुवाद के सहारे फ्रेंच भाषा में उसका अनुवाद भी किया था। उसी का आश्रय लेकर राहुल सांकृत्यायन ने अभिधर्मकोश को संस्कृत में सम्पादित किया था।[७] सौभाग्य से अब अभिधर्मकोश का वसुबन्धुकृत भाष्यसहित मूल संस्कृतरूप भी उपलब्ध हो गया है।

सर्वास्तिवाद शब्द के कारण शंकराचार्य ने यह कल्पना की थी कि सर्वास्तिवाद का अर्थ है सबका अस्तित्व मानना अर्थात् बाह्यार्थवाद।[८] यद्यपि सर्वास्तिवादी बाह्यार्थवादी थे परन्तु सर्वास्तिवाद सम्प्रदाय का उद्भव इसलिए नहीं हुआ था कि वह मुख्यरूप से बाह्यार्थवाद का समर्थन करे।

वैभाषिक या सर्वास्तिवाद सम्प्रदाय का उद्भव थेरवाद के विरोध में हुआ था और थेरवादी स्पष्टरूप से बाह्यवस्तुओं का क्षणिक धर्मों के रूप में अस्तित्व मानते थे, इसलिए सर्वास्तिवाद शब्द का अर्थ बाह्यार्थवाद किसी प्रकार भी संगत नहीं हो सकता। शंकराचार्य ने सर्वास्तिवाद शब्द का अर्थ बाह्यार्थवाद समझकर और यह मानकर कि सर्वास्तिवाद का उद्भव बाह्यार्थवाद की स्थापना के लिए ही हुआ था, उसका खण्डन किया।[९] ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि छठी-सातवीं शताब्दी के बाद थेरवाद के पालित्रिपिटक और दूसरे साहित्य का भारत में सर्वथा लोप हो चुका था। शंकराचार्य ने लिखा है बौद्धों के तीन सम्प्रदाय हैं—सर्वास्तिवाद, विज्ञानवाद तथा शून्यवाद।[१०] इससे स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि उनका थेरवाद से किसी प्रकार का परिचय नहीं था। इसी कारण उन्होंने योगाचार के विज्ञानवाद और माध्यमिक के शून्यवाद की अपेक्षा से ही यह मान लिया कि सर्वास्तिवाद शब्द बाह्यार्थवाद के अर्थ में ही है।

उपर्युक्त तीनों दार्शनिक सम्प्रदायों का साहित्य संस्कृत में ही है, इसी कारण वैदिक दार्शनिकों का केवल इन तीनों से ही परिचय था। दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि सातवीं शताब्दी के पश्चात् बौद्ध दार्शनिक सम्प्रदायों के सिद्धान्तों के विषय में अनेक भ्रामक धारणायें प्रचलित हो गईं।

हीनयान के अन्तर्गत होने पर भी वैभाषिक का हीनयान के प्रारम्भिक सम्प्रदाय थेरवाद से भेद है, जो निर्वाण के सिद्धान्त में विशेष रूप से स्पष्ट दिखलाई देता है। हीनयान के प्राचीन सम्प्रदाय थेरवाद में निर्वाण का स्वरूप अनिश्चित रूप में पाया जाता है। परन्तु वैभाषिक सम्प्रदाय में निर्वाण का स्वरूप किसी अंश तक निश्चित रूप में है, यद्यपि उसके विषय में भी आलोचकों में परस्पर विरोधी मत पाये जाते हैं।

वैभाषिक के माने हुए तत्त्वों में निर्वाण एक 'असंस्कृत-धर्म' है जिसे 'प्रतिसंख्य निरोध' नाम से कहा गया है। इसे स्पष्ट करने के लिए वैभाषिक द्वारा माने गये तत्त्वों के स्वरूप पर एक विहंगम दृष्टि डालनी आवश्यक है। वैभाषिक के अनुसार सारे तत्त्व दो प्रकार के हैं—(१) संस्कृत-धर्म, जो सांसारिक जगत् में दिखलाई देते हैं; (२) असंस्कृत-धर्म, जो संस्कृत अर्थात् सांसारिक धर्मों से भिन्न नित्यतत्त्व हैं। संस्कृत-धर्म, जो सांसारिक तत्त्वों का नाम है, चार प्रकार के हैं (१) रूप, (२) चित्त, (३) चैत्त, (४) चित्तविप्रयुक्त।[११] श्चेरबात्स्की ने इन्हीं को तीन शीर्षकों में रखा है—(१) द्रव्य (Matter), (२) मनस् (Mind), (३) संस्कार (Force)।[१२] इनमें से 'रूप' 'द्रव्य' के अन्तर्गत, 'चित्त' और 'चैत्त' 'मनस्' के अन्तर्गत, तथा 'चित्तविप्रयुक्त' 'संस्कार' के अन्तर्गत आ जाते हैं, अतः उपर्युक्त दोनों प्रकार का वर्गीकरण वस्तुतः एक ही है।

यहाँ संस्कृत-धर्मों से विशेष प्रयोजन नहीं, प्रत्युत असंस्कृत-धर्मों से है, जो तीन प्रकार के हैं—(१) प्रतिसंख्यानिरोध, (२) अप्रतिसंख्यानिरोध, तथा (३) आकाश।[१३] ये तीनों तत्त्व असंस्कृत होने के कारण नित्य और शाश्वत हैं। इनमें आकाश रिक्त स्थान या अवकाश का नाम है जो नित्य है। प्रतिसंख्यानिरोध ही निर्वाण का स्वरूप है। प्रतिसंख्यानिरोध का अर्थ है प्रतिसंख्या अर्थात् ज्ञानपूर्वक साँसारिक ज़ीवन या क्लेशों का निरोध अर्थात् उच्छेद। प्रतिसंख्यानिरोध का शब्दार्थ वाचस्पति मिश्र ने भामती टीका में दिया है—"भावप्रतीपा संख्या बुद्धिः प्रतिसंख्या, तया निरोधः प्रतिसंख्यानिरोधः।[१४] इसका अर्थ है 'प्रति' अर्थात् भाव, सांसारिक पदार्थों के ज्ञान के प्रतिकूल, 'संख्या' अर्थात् प्रज्ञा, उसके द्वारा 'निरोध' अर्थात् क्लेश आदि सांसारिक धर्मों का उच्छेद 'प्रतिसंख्यानिरोध' कहलाता है। इस प्रकार प्रतिसंख्यानिरोध निर्वाण का ही दूसरा नाम है। अप्रतिसंख्यानिरोध का अर्थ है ऐसा निरोध जो 'प्रतिसंख्या' अर्थात् ज्ञान द्वारा न हो प्रत्युत क्लेश होने के कारणों के दूर हो जाने से स्वयमेव हो जाये। इसका तात्पर्य यह है कि जिन हेतुओं और कारणों से क्लेश होते हैं उनके अभाव में जो निरोध होता है वह अप्रतिसंख्यानिरोध है। इस प्रकार अप्रतिसंख्यानिरोध में निरोध का कोई हेतु नहीं बतलाया गया, केवल यह बतलाया गया कि निरोध के विरोधी क्लेश आदि की अवस्था के अभाव से अप्रतिसंख्यानिरोध होता है। इसी को यामाकामी ने इस प्रकार समझाया है—"जब एक मनुष्य का ध्यान किसी एक रंग पर केन्द्रित होता है तो उस समय उसे अन्य रंगों का या गन्ध आदि का ज्ञान नहीं होता है। अन्य रंगों या गन्ध के ज्ञान का अभाव केवल उन रंगों आदि का ज्ञान कराने वाले कारणों के अभाव से ही होता है"।[१५] यह 'अप्रतिसंख्यानिरोध' इस बात को स्थापित करता है कि जहां 'प्रतिसंख्यानिरोध' ज्ञानपूर्वक होता है वहां निरोध को मिटाने वाले कारणों के अभाव से उस निरोध का बना रहना स्वयंसिद्ध ही है। परन्तु जैसा कि पहले कहा गया है निर्वाण का स्वरूप तो 'प्रतिसंख्यानिरोध' ही है।

शङ्कराचार्य ने 'प्रतिसंख्यानिरोध' और 'अप्रतिसंख्यानिरोध' का खण्डन किया है,[१६] जिसके भाव को वाचस्पति मिश्र ने भामती में स्पष्ट किया है कि बौद्ध-मत में इस प्रकार का निरोध बन ही नहीं सकता, क्योंकि यदि यह कहा जाय कि किसी सन्तति में प्रकट होने वाला अन्तिम क्षण (धर्म) आगे कुछ उत्पन्न नहीं करता तो बौद्ध-मत में उसका अस्तित्व ही नहीं होगा, क्योंकि उनके मत में 'अर्थक्रियाकारित्व' अर्थात् सन्तति के अगले क्षण को उत्पन्न करना ही तो 'सत्' है। यदि वह अन्तिम क्षण अगले क्षण को पैदा नहीं करता तो वह स्वयं नहीं के बराबर है। इस प्रकार यदि अन्तिम क्षण 'असत्' है तो उससे पहला क्षण भी 'असत्' होगा, क्योकि उसने भी कोई 'सत्' पदार्थरूप क्षण को उत्पन्न नहीं किया और इस प्रकार उस सन्तति के समस्त ही क्षण या धर्म 'असत्' होंगे। इस प्रकार उस धर्म की सन्तति का ही लोप हो जाता है।[१७] इसलिए शङ्कराचार्य के अनुसार प्रतिसंख्यानिरोध बन ही नहीं सकता है।

यामाकामी सोजन ने शङ्कराचार्य के खण्डन का परिहार करते हुए बतलाया है कि वस्तुतः बौद्ध-मत के अनुसार 'अन्तिम क्षण' का 'उच्छेद' नहीं होता, अपितु 'क्लेशयुक्त अन्तिम क्षण' 'बोधि' में बदल जाता है। इस प्रकार 'क्लेश' का 'सर्वथा उच्छेद' नहीं हुआ, अपितु वह 'बोधि' में परिवर्तित हो गया। क्लेश और बोधि एक ही वस्तु के दो रूप हैं, जैसे एक ही तत्त्व 'कोयला'

(कार्बन) और 'हीरा' दोनों रूपों में प्रकट होता है। इसलिये माना गया है कि जो 'क्लेश' है वही 'बोधि' और जो संसार है वही निर्वाण है।[१८] अभिधर्ममहाविभाषाशास्त्र में यह कहा गया है कि प्रतिसंख्यानिरोध न तो सर्वथा स्कन्धों का ही रूप है और न उनसे सर्वथा भिन्न है, परन्तु उसका स्वरूप सास्रव धर्मों से भिन्न है।[१९]

शङ्कराचार्य ने इस सन्दर्भ में लिखा है कि 'प्रतिसंख्यानिरोध' से विपरीत 'अप्रतिसंख्यानिरोध' है।[२०] शङ्कराचार्य की यह बात भ्रमयुक्त है। यद्यपि यह ठीक है कि 'अप्रतिसंख्यानिरोध' 'प्रतिसंख्यानिरोध' से भिन्न है, परन्तु वह उससे विपरीत नहीं है जैसा कि उन दोनों निरोधों के ऊपर के विवरण से स्पष्ट हो जाता है। इससे भी बड़ा भ्रम शङ्कराचार्य का यह है कि उनके मत में प्रतिसंख्यानिरोध और अप्रतिसंख्यानिरोध को बौद्ध दर्शन में अवस्तु और अभावमात्र माना गया है।[२१] परन्तु वस्तुतः सर्वास्तिवाद या वैभाषिक के अनुसार निरोध अभाव या अवस्तु नहीं, प्रत्युत वह वस्तुरूप ही है।

वैभाषिक के निर्वाण के स्वरूप के विषय में अनेक विद्वानों ने तरह-तरह के मत प्रकट किये हैं, परन्तु उनमें कुछ न कुछ उलझन तथा अस्पष्टता पायी जाती है। इस विषय में केवल श्चेरबात्स्की का मत बिल्कुल स्पष्ट है और अनेक दृष्टियों से, जैसा कि आगे स्पष्ट किया जायेगा, यही मत सबसे अधिक उचित प्रतीत होता है।

वैभाषिक और सौत्रान्तिक दार्शनिक सम्प्रदायों में निर्वाण के स्वरूप के विषय में विवाद चला आता था। वैभाषिक के मत में निर्वाण एक यथार्थ तत्त्व (वस्तु) है, जब कि सौत्रान्तिक के मत में निर्वाण व्यक्तिगत सांसारिक जीवन का उच्छेदमात्र और अभावात्मक है।[२२] वैभाषिक ने यह नहीं माना कि निर्वाण कोई सुख-प्राप्ति का स्थान है, अपितु उसके मत में निर्वाण सम्पूर्ण जीवन का उच्छेदमात्र है। वह एक यथार्थ पदार्थ है अर्थात् वह एक जड़, जीवनरहित 'सत् वस्तु' है।[२३] समस्त बौद्ध और बौद्धेतर भारतीय दार्शनिक सम्प्रदाय निर्वाण या मोक्ष के स्वरूप के विषय में दो भागों में विभक्त हैं, या तो वे निर्वाण को शाश्वत मृत्यु के रूप में मानते हैं या शाश्वत जीवन के रूप में; उदाहरणार्थ थेरवाद आदि प्राचीन बौद्ध सम्प्रदाय, वैभाषिक, न्याय-वैशेषिक तथा पूर्वमीमांसा आदि निर्वाण या मोक्ष को शाश्वत मृत्यु के रूप में मानते हैं और बौद्ध महायान, वेदान्त तथा सांख्य-योग आदि शाश्वत जीवन के रूप में। श्चेरबात्स्की ने वैभाषिक या सर्वास्तिवाद के निर्वाण के विषय में स्पष्ट किया है—"जब सब प्रकार की धर्मों की अभिव्यक्ति रुक जाती है और समस्त शक्तियां, संस्कार समाप्त हो जाते हैं उस समय केवल जीवनरहित अवशेष रह जाता है। यह व्यक्तित्व-रहित शाश्वत मृत्यु है और यह एक पृथक् तत्त्व है। समस्त तत्त्वों की जीवनरहित अवस्था के रूप में यह अवशेष रह जाता है।[२४] इस प्रकार यह स्पष्ट है कि श्चेरबात्स्की के मत में वैभाषिक द्वारा माना गया निर्वाण जहां एक ओर समस्त सांसारिक धर्मों का उच्छेदमात्र और शाश्वत मृत्यु के रूप में है, वहाँ साथ ही वह जीवनरहित जड़वस्तु के रूप में यथार्थवस्तु भी है।

श्चेरबात्स्की ने वैभाषिक के निर्वाण का जो स्वरूप प्रस्तुत किया है उस विषय में कई लेखकों को शङ्का हुई है कि श्चेरबात्स्की ने परस्पर विरुद्ध बातें कही हैं। एक ओर तो निर्वाण को

उच्छेदरूप कहा और दूसरी ओर निर्वाण को जीवनरहित जड़वस्तु के रूप में बतलाया है। डा० सत्करी मुकर्जी ने श्चेरबात्स्की के मत को उद्धृत किया है—"निर्वाण जड़वस्तुरूप उच्छेद है"[25] और उसकी आलोचना करते हुए कहा है—"यहाँ हमें 'उच्छेद' शब्द का शाब्दिक अर्थ नहीं लेना चाहिए"[26], पर साथ ही व्यंग्य किया है कि श्चेरबात्स्की ने 'उच्छेद' शब्द पर जोर दिया है। इस प्रकार उन्होंने श्चेरबात्स्की के मत में प्रतीत होने वाले इस परस्पर विरोध की ओर एक दबा हुआ संकेत किया है। श्चेरबात्स्की ने स्वयं ही इसका बहुत स्पष्ट समाधान किया है तथा माध्यमिक-कारिका के टीकाकार चन्द्रकीर्ति का उद्धरण देते हुए बतलाया है कि वैभाषिक की ओर से इस विरोध का उत्तर है—"ऐसा नहीं समझना चाहिए कि निर्वाण समस्त क्लेशों की निवृत्ति-रूप है, अपितु ऐसा कहना चाहिये कि वह धर्म जिसे निर्वाण कहते हैं उस वस्तु का नाम है 'जिसमें' सारे रागों और क्लेशों का नाश हो जाता है"।[27] इस प्रकार यह स्पष्ट है कि उच्छेद का नाम निर्वाण नहीं है, अपितु निर्वाण वह जड़ शाश्वत अवस्था है 'जिसमें' सब क्लेशों का उच्छेद हो जाता है। इस प्रकार वास्तव में श्चेरबात्स्की के मत में परस्पर विरोध नहीं है।

श्चेरबात्स्की द्वारा annihilation (उच्छेद) शब्द का प्रयोग करने से उसके अभिप्राय को समझने में इतनी भूल हुई है कि डा० मूर्ति जैसे सुलझे हुए विद्वान् ने वैभाषिक के उपर्युक्त निर्वाण-सिद्धान्त के विषय में श्चेरबात्स्की को उद्धृत करते हुए[28] यह टिप्पणी की है—"इसमें कुछ अत्युक्ति (overstatement) है। वैभाषिक या किसी भी बौद्ध सम्प्रदाय ने निर्वाण को अभाव के रूप में नहीं माना है"।[29] श्चेरबात्स्की के विषय में ऐसी टिप्पणी कि मानों उन्होंने निर्वाण को अभाव-रूप में माना हो कभी भी नहीं की जा सकती है, क्योंकि श्चेरबात्स्की ने तो बार-बार इस बात को दुहराया है—"For Vaibhāṣika and early schools-both Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa are real".[30] अर्थात् वैभाषिक और प्राचीन बौद्ध सम्प्रदाय में संसार और निर्वाण दोनों यथार्थ हैं।

श्चेरबात्स्की ने इस बात पर बल दिया है कि वैभाषिक द्वारा निर्वाण को जड़ जीवनरहित सत्ता के रूप में ही माना गया है। पूसें ने इस बात को कि वैभाषिक ने निर्वाण को वस्तु के रूप में स्वीकार किया है, अपने इस सिद्धान्त की पुष्टि के रूप में माना है कि प्राचीन बौद्ध सम्प्रदाय निर्वाण को स्वर्ग के रूप में मानते थे। परन्तु श्चेरबात्स्की ने इस बात को स्पष्ट किया है कि वैभाषिक के वास्तविक सिद्धान्त के अनुसार पूसें के मत से एकदम विपरीत बात सिद्ध होती है; क्योंकि वैभाषिक का निर्वाण सुख और आनन्द के रूप में नहीं है, अपितु जड़, जीवन-रहित वस्तु के रूप में है।[31]

पूसें ने प्रतिसंख्यानिरोध-रूप निर्वाण के विषय में लिखा है—"यह एक द्रव्य है जिसका सेवन अर्हत् अपने जीवन-काल में उच्च समाधि में करता है और जो अवस्था अर्हत् की मृत्यु के बाद भी बनी रहती है, परन्तु उस अवस्था में मन या मानसिक चेतना नहीं रहती"।[32] यहां पर यह तो ठीक है कि निर्वाण में मानसिक चेतना नहीं रहती, परन्तु यह कहना भ्रामक है कि निर्वाण में मन भी किसी भी रूप में नहीं रहता; क्योंकि वैभाषिक के सिद्धान्त के अनुसार किसी भी वस्तु का सर्वथा नाश नहीं होता केवल उसका स्वरूप बदल जाता है, जैसा कि यामाकामी ने स्पष्ट किया था

कि 'क्लेशयुक्त अन्तिमक्षण' 'बोधि' में बदल जाता है।[33] पूसें के मत में सबसे बड़ा दोष यह है कि उन्होंने निर्वाण को 'द्रव्य' बतलाया है। बौद्ध सम्प्रदाय का आधारभूत सिद्धान्त ही 'अनात्मवाद' अर्थात् 'अद्रव्यवाद' है। इसलिए बौद्ध के निर्वाण को 'द्रव्य' कहना सर्वथा भ्रामक है।

निर्वाण को 'द्रव्य' कहने का भ्रम पूसें जैसे पाश्चात्य विद्वान् के लिये, जो भारतीय दर्शन के पारिभाषिक शब्दों से पूर्णरूप में परिचित नहीं होंगे, किसी अंश तक क्षन्तव्य हो सकता है, परन्तु आश्चर्य यह है कि पूसें के समान ही डा० वारियर, जिनसे आशा की जा सकती है कि वे भारतीय दर्शन के पारिभाषिक शब्दों से परिचित होंगे, उन्होंने भी वैभाषिक के निर्वाण को प्रस्तुत करते हुए निर्वाण के विषय में 'द्रव्य' शब्द का प्रयोग किया है।[34] साथ ही डा० वारियर ने डा० मुकर्जी के ग्रन्थ '*The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux*' से पूसें के मत को उद्धृत करते हुए बहुत सी भ्रामक उलझनें उत्पन्न कर दी हैं।[35] इस सम्पूर्ण प्रकरण में डा० वारियर ने जो कुछ भी लिखा है वह अधिकतर अस्पष्ट और उलझन उत्पन्न करने वाला है।

वैभाषिक के निर्वाण-सिद्धान्त का निरूपण अनेक आधुनिक ग्रन्थों में किया गया है। परन्तु दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि उन सब में कुछ न कुछ उलझन और अस्पष्टता है। इस विषय में केवल श्चेरबात्स्की का ही विवेचन विशद और स्पष्ट है[36], इसलिए प्रस्तुत शोध-लेख में उसी का आधार लेकर वैभाषिक के निर्वाण-सिद्धान्त को प्रस्तुत किया गया है।

टिप्पणियाँ

१. धर्मेन्द्रनाथ शास्त्री, भारतीय दर्शनशास्त्र, पृ० ४१.
२. वही, पृ० ४१-४२.
३. बलदेव उपाध्याय, भारतीय दर्शन, पृ० १७३.
४. Dharmendra Nath Shastri, *An outline of Critique of Indian Realism*, p. 53. इस विषय में माधवाचार्य का कथन है—'सेयं विरुद्धा भाषेति वर्णयन्तः वैभाषिकाख्ययाख्याताः', अर्थात् वे अन्य बौद्ध सम्प्रदायों की बात को 'विरुद्धभाषा' (विभाषा) कहकर मानते हैं, इसलिये वैभाषिक कहलाते हैं। द्र० सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहः, पृ० ६४.
५. Dharmendra Nath Shastri, *An outline of Critique of Indian Realism*, p. 53.
६. बलदेव उपाध्याय, भारतीय दर्शन, पृ० १७४.
७. धर्मेन्द्रनाथ शास्त्री, भारतीय दर्शन-शास्त्र, पृ० ४२.
८. वही।

९. तत्र ते सर्वास्तित्ववादिनो बाह्यमान्तरं च वस्त्वभ्युपगच्छन्ति भूतं भौतिकं च चित्तं चैत्तं च तांस्तावत्प्रतिब्रूमः। शा० भा० २.२.१८.

१०. तत्र ते त्रयो वादिनो भवन्ति केचित्सर्वास्तित्ववादिनः, केचिद्विज्ञानास्तित्वमात्रवादिनः, अन्ये पुनःसर्वशून्यत्ववादिन इति। वही, २.२.१८.

११. Samskrita-Dharmas or 'Things composite' are divided into four, viz., (1) Rūpa (रूप) or 'Matter'; (2) Citta (चित्त) or 'Mind'; (3) Caitta (चैत्त) or 'Mental'; (4) Cittaviprayukta (चित्तविप्रयुक्त) or the 'Non-mental'. Yamakami Sōgen, *Systems of Buddhistic Thought*, p. 112.

१२. Classified as elements of Matter, Mind and Force for phenomenal part. Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, p, 27.

१३. अनास्रवा मार्गसत्यं त्रिविधं चाप्यसंस्कृतम्।
आकाशं द्वौ निरोधौ च तत्राकाशमनावृत्तिः॥ अभिधर्मकोश, १.५ ; इनका क्रम यामाकामी सोजन् ने उपर्युक्त प्रकार से दिया है। द्र० *Systems of Buddhistic Thought*, p. 112.

१४. भामती २.२.२२.

१५. "Suppose your attention is fixed on one particular colour so deeply that not only can you not see any other colour, but also you cannot hear any sound, smell any odour, taste or touch anything. Now, why cannot any other colour, any sound, odour, etc., come within the range of your perception? Simply because the conditions (pratyayas) thereof are absent." Yamakami Sōgen, *Systems of Buddhistic Thought*, p. 164.

१६. निरोधद्वयमिदानीं प्रत्याचष्टे। प्रतिसंख्याऽप्रतिसंख्यानिरोधयोरप्राप्तिः। असंभव इत्यर्थः। शा० भा० २.२.२२.

१७. तत्र योऽयमन्त्यः संतानी, यन्निरोधात् संतानोच्छेदेन भवितव्यं, स किं फलं किञ्चिदारभते न वा। आरभते चेत्, नान्त्यः। तथा च न संतानोच्छेदः। अनारम्भे तु भवेदन्त्यः सः, किन्तु स्यादसन्; अर्थक्रियाकारितायाः सत्तालक्षणस्य विरहात्। तदसत्वे तज्जनकमप्यसज्जनकत्वेनासदित्यनेन क्रमेणासन्तः सर्व एव संतानिन इति तत्संतानो नितरामसन्निति कस्य प्रतिसंख्यया निरोधः। भामती २.२.२२.

१८. The answer is that the extirpation of the Kleśas is effected by their transmutation into Bodhi or enlightenment, for, according to Buddhism, Kleśa and Bodhi are but the faces of one and the same thing like carbon and diamond. We have already referred to the well-known dictum 'यः क्लेशः तद्बोधिः यत्संसारं तन्निर्वाणम्'. Yamakami Sōgen, *Systems of Buddhistic Thought*, p. 167-168.

१९. "Pratisaṃkhyā-nirodha is neither quite the same as the skandhas nor quite different from them, but its nature is different from the defiled skandhas (Sāsrava-dharmas)". Ibid., p. 166.

२०. बुद्धिपूर्वकः किल विनाशो भावानां प्रतिसंख्यानिरोधो नाम भाष्यते, तद्विपरीतोऽप्रतिसंख्यानिरोधः। शा० भा० २.२.२२.

२१. तदपि च त्रयं प्रतिसंख्याऽप्रतिसंख्यानिरोधावाकाशं चेत्याचक्षते। त्रयमपि चैतदवस्त्वभावमात्रं निरुपाख्यामिति मन्यन्ते। वही, २.२.२२.

22. It was known long ago that the Vaibhāṣika and the Sautrāntika schools were engaged in a dispute regarding the nature of Nirvāṇa. The first maintained that it was something real (vastu), the second objected that it was nothing real by itself, that it was merely the cessation of all personal life. Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, p. 25.

23. Vaibhāṣikas did not maintain that Nirvāṇa was a kind of paradise, but that the annihilation of all life (nirodha), the essence of Nirvāṇa was a reality (nirodha-satya, vastu), i.e., materialistic lifeless reality. Ibid., p. 25,

24. When all manifestations are stopped, all forces extinct, remains the lifeless residue. It is impersonal, eternal death, and it is a separate element, a reality, the reality of the elements in their lifeless condition. Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, p. 27.

25. "Materialistic kind of annihilation", उद्धृत ; Satkari Mookerjee, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux*, p. 252.

26. ....though the word 'annihilation' should not be taken literally in the sense of extinction of being, which the Vaibhāṣika emphatically denies and which the learned Professor has taken care to emphasise. Ibid., p. 252.

27. "You must not understnd nirvāṇa to be the extinction of passion (and of life), but you must say that the entity (dharma) called nirvāṇa is the thing 'in which' passion (and life) are extinct." Th. Stcherbatsty, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, p. 28.

28. Ibid., pp. 27-29.

29. This is rather an overstatement. The Vaibhāṣikas or any school of Buddhism never took Nirvāṇa as nothing. T. R. V. Murti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, p. 272,

30. Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, p. 27.

31. ....since it is exactly the reverse of what he assumes it to be. The Vaibhāṣikas did not maintain that Nirvāṇa was a kind of Paradise, but that the annihilation of all life (nirodha), the essence of Nirvāṇa, was a reality (nirodha-satya, vastu), i.e., a materialistic lifeless reality. Ibid., p. 25.

32. Prof. La Vallée Poussin maintains that 'Pratisaṅkhyānirodha' or Nirvāṇa is a 'dravya' (substance) which the 'arhat' enjoys in his life-time in the highest trance (saṃjñāvedayitanirodha) and which remains when the 'arhat' passes out of existence after death. The mind does not exist, nor any consciousness in the final Nirvāṇa. Satkari Mookerjee, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux*, p. 252-253.

33. ....the extirpation of the Kleśas is effected by their transmutation into Bodhi or enlightenment. Yamakami Sōgen, *Systems of Buddhistic Thought*, pp. 167-168.

34. It is an entity, 'dravya,' real, good, eternal and distinct from others. A. G. Krishna Warrier, *The Concept of Mukti in Advaita Vedānta*, p. 113.

35. उदाहरणार्थ डा वारियर ने "........which the arhat enjoys in his life-time in highest trance (saṃjñāvedayitanirodha) *and* which remains when the arhat passes out of existence after death" इसको उद्धृत करते हुए 'and' के स्थान पर 'but' शब्द का प्रयोग किया है जिसके कारण उलझन उत्पन्न होती है। द्र० वही, पृ० ११३.

36. द्र०, Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, pp. 27-29.

THE NATURE OF THE IGNORANCE IN THE TRIKA PHILOSOPHY OF KĀŚMĪRA

DEBA BRATA SEN SHARMA

Almost all systems of Indian Philosophy admit the existence of *ajñāna* (ignorance) in some form or the other, though they differ widely as to its nature. For instance, among the heterodox systems, the Jainas conceive *ajñāna* as a kind of thought-activity (*bhāvāsrava*) of the soul on account of which the *Karma* particles enter soul[1] and cause suffering. The early Buddhists, in course of formulating their doctrine of twelve causal connection (*dvādaśāṅgapratītyasamutpāda* doctrine), mention *avijjā* or *ajñāna* for the first time. According to *Abhidhammātthasaṅgaha*[2] *avijjā* is the ground of the origin of *Saṅkharas*, the ground of their movement, of the instrument through which they stand, etc. *Avijjā* is the ground of the *Saṅkharas* in nine ways, both in the past life and also in the future. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya*[3] speaks of fourfold *avijjā* or ignorance which stands in the way of right comprehension of fourfold cardinal matter (*āryasatyas*), viz., ignorance about sorrow, ignorance about the way it originates, ignorance about the nature of extinction of sorrow, and the ignorance about the means of bringing about this extinction of sorrow, The Buddhists thus, irrespective of the school of thought to which they belong, unanimously consider *ajñāna* to be the root cause of all the suffering in the *saṁsāra*, which pervades the entire world from time immemorial.

Among the orthodox systems the Śāṅkhya-Yoga speaks of *ajñāna* as of the nature of non-discrimination (*aviveka*) between *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*, that runs beyond creation. This *ajñāna* is beginningless, though terminable with the rise of discriminatory wisdom in the *buddhi* of the individual being. It is said to exist in two forms ; prior to the creative phase of *Prakṛti*, it exists in unmanifest form in the *Prakṛti* as identified with it. When due to the proximity of the *Puruṣa*, the equilibrium of *guṇas* in *Prakṛti* is disturbed resulting in the emergence of *tattvas*, *ajñāna* becomes manifest in the first evolute from *Prakṛti*, viz., *Mahattattva*, clouding the right perspective of the individual being. The Sāṅkhya-

Yoga thus considers *ajñāna* both as ontological concept as well as mental concept (*vikalpa*), the former being in unmanifest form existing in the *Prakṛti* causing the world appearance and the latter veiling the *buddhi* of the individual after manifestation of the world.

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika takes an altogether different view by conceiving *ajñāna* to be an *abhāva-padārtha*. According to it, *ajñāna*, though root cause of bondage in *Saṁsāra*, is essentially of the nature of absence of knowledge (*jñāna*) and as such, has no independent existence except as counter-corelate of absence of *jñāna* by which it can be eradicated. The *jñāna*, it may be pointed out here, has been regarded in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system as one of the attributes of *ātman* (self), and as such, is located in it. Though the *jñāna* is an attribute of the eternal substance *ātman*, it is not eternal attribute, for it is said to arise in the *ātman* under certain circumstances. In the absence of *jñāna*, *ajñāna* prevails, causing misery and *saṁsāra*. The *ajñāna* is beginningless, but it gets eradicated once for all with the rise of *jñāna* in the *ātman*.

The Advaita Vedānta of Śaṅkara, on the other hand, holds *ajñāna* to be positive in character, and not negative as conceived by the Naiyāyikas. Although it is conceived as being positive by nature, it cannot be held to be existent, as it is sublated with the rise of knowledge. Nor it can be regarded as non-existent, as it is directly perceived, as is conveyed by such experiences as "I do not know" or "I do not know myself", etc.[4] It is, therefore, held to be indefinite (*anirvacanīya)* by nature, and its phenomenal existence cannot be denied. The Nyāya theory about the nature of *ajñāna* as the absence of knowledge is contradicted by our experience of *ajñāna* as positive indefinite. A negation always implies the thing negatived. Having established the existence of *ajñāna* as some thing phenomenally existent, the Vedāntins go on to examine its nature and indicate its locus. The Vedāntins consider *ajñāna* to be of neither existent nor non-existent like hare's horn, but as indescribable by nature. Being phenomenally existent, it is of the nature of three *guṇas*. It is beginningless but does not exist beyond the creation. It is in fact co-terminous with the creation, and is sublated with the rise of the true knowledge of the Brahman. As to its locus, there is some difference of opinion among the Advaita Vedāntins. According to the older *ācāryas* like Padmapāda, Prakāśātmayati, etc., pure *cit* or Brahman is the locus of *ajñāna*. Though the Brahman is of the nature of illumination, yet it is not opposed to *ajñāna*, the indefinite. But the Brahman becomes opposed to it and eradicates it as when Brahman is reflected through mental modification or *cittavṛtti*. Vācaspati Miśra, in his commentary *Bhāmatī* supported by Mādhava in the *Vivaraṇaprameya-saṅgraha*,[5] however, has expressed the opinion that *ajñāna* does not rest on the pure *cit* or Brahman, but on the individual soul or *jīva*. The *ajñāna* has been conceived as un-scrutible *śakti* which is responsible for the appearance of multiplicity in the unity of Brahman.

The Trika system also subscribes to the view that *ajñāna* is, by its very nature, opposite of *jñāna*, the former being the root cause of bondage (*bandhanimitta*). Though *jñāna* has been spoken of as responsible for the achievement of *mokṣa* (liberation), but *jñāna*, in this context, in the Trika system, is not merely intellectual knowledge (*Vaikalpika-jñāna*) about the real nature of truth as conceived by the Naiyāyikas, but it is intuitive knowledge of one's essential Divinity that results in the revelation of it also simultaneously. The Trika system, in fact, postulates two distinct kinds of *ajñāna*, belonging to two different domains, viz., spiritual domain and the intellectual domain. The former is technically called the *Pauruṣa ajñāna* and the latter the *bauddha ajñāna*.[6]

As the very name suggests, the *Pauruṣa ajñāna* is that kind of *ajñāna* which has its locus in the *Puruṣa* or the pure Self, and is said to be caused by the self-imposed limitation. It is said that the Supreme Lord (*Parameśvara or Parama-Śiva*), exercising his Divine Freedom, imposes limitation on Himself out of His free will (*Svecchayā*) in order to manifest himself as the Universe (*viśva*) during the phase of creativity[7]. As a result of this, His essential Divine Nature as the Supreme Lord gets eclipsed, and He assumes the form of countless number of limited subjects, technically called *paśupramātā*.

The *paśupramātās*, being self-contracted (*svasaṁkocita*) form of the Supreme Lord are bereft of the Divine Freedom (*svātantrya*) which is the essence of the Supreme Lord's Divinity (*aiśvarya*), hence they are also called *cidaṇus*[8] (Spiritual monads). The self-imposed limitation not only causes contraction and loss of Divinity to the Supreme Lord in the form of Spiritual monad, it also entails veiling of His essential Nature, the veil is technically called the *āṇavamala*[9]. This *mala* (defilement) is the foundational *mala* and it is followed by his envelopment by two more *malas*, viz., *māyiya* and kā*rma*. The veiling by *āṇavamala* has been held responsible for the rise of *pauruṣa ajñāna*.

The *Pauruṣa ajñāna* is said to be of the nature of *ātmani anātma-bodha*, i.e., the experience of not-self in self, not-self being an offshoot from the dichotomy caused by the self-imposed limitation.[10] A word of explanation is necessary to explain this particular concept which has no parallel in other well-known orthodox systems.

It has been said that prior to this self-projection (*ābhāsa*) as the universe in exercise of His Divine Freedom (*svātantrya*), Supreme Lord experiences Himself as Pure Subject (*Śuddha ātmā*) in the absence of a second.[11] This objectless self-experience (*pratyavamarśa*) as *aham* is said to be the highest self-experience of the Supreme Lord (comparable to the well-known Upaniṣadic saying *So' ham*) on the level of *Śiva-tattva*.[12] This self-experience is followed by Supreme Lord's self-experience in the form *ahamidam* when the pure 'object', symbolised by the *idam* representing the entire cosmos, in ideal form, emerges on the level of *Sadāśiva-tattva* owing to the functioning of *Icchā Śakti* (Divine Śakti in the form of Will)[13]. Subsequently, the aspect of pure 'object' (*idam*) in the Supreme Lord's self-experience gains prominence on the level of *iśvara-tattva* when it assumes the form of '*Idameva aham*' (This is I). In the succeeding step, both the aspects of pure 'subject' (*aham*) and pure 'object' (*idam*) in His self-experience become balanced as it were, so that it takes the form of *aham-idam* (I am this), this level is called *Śuddhavidyā*[14]. Here it may be pointed out that the universe that emerges in the self-experience of the Supreme Lord on various levels, is on the ideal plane, and as such, is experienced as identical with Himself. Further, it is held that the different kinds of self-experience are due to the operation of Divine *Śakti* in pure form, technically called *Mahāmāyā*.

But when the Supreme Lord operates the Divine *Śakti* in the form of *Māyā Śakti* in order to manifest the gross physical world, the self-experience of the Supreme Lord undergoes radical change. He no longer experiences Himself as pure 'subject' and self-projected pure 'object' held in identity (*abheda* or *akhaṇḍa*). The operation of Māyā Śakti, which is responsibe for the rise of discreetness and differentiation,[15] brings about further limitation and concealment of the Divine Essence of the Supreme Lord. This causes the disappearance of both the aspects of pure subject (*aham*) and pure object (*idam*) simultaneously in His self-experience. A vacuum is thus created as it were, in the self-experience which is subsequently filled by the rise of the aspect of object (*idam*) or not-self on the level of *Māyā*, and its splitting into limited subjects and objects.[16] The Supreme Lord, on this level, becomes totally bereft of His Divine Essence and Divine Power, and is reduced to the form of limited subject, technically called *paśu-pramātā*. As a *paśupramātā*, He does not have his self-experience in the pure self or *aham* which has disappeared owing to his self-imposed limitation, and the influence of *Māyā Śakti*, but has the self-experience in the not-self or *idam*, and it is this which has been technically termed as *pauruṣa ajñāna*.

From what has been observed above, the *pauruṣa ajñāna* is the fundamental *ajñāna* (mūla ajñāna) which arises in the self-limited self or *paśupramātā* due to contraction and simultaneous veiling by the *āṇavamala*. It has therefore been rightly described by Abhinavagupta as being of the nature of *saṁkoca* or limitation (*saṁkoca-prathātmaka*).[17] It is real and substantial in the sense that it is an offshoot of self-limitation.

Though the *pauruṣa ajñāna* is said to be caused by the act of self-limitation by the Supreme Lord, which is one and unique, it is considered to be manifold by nature on account of its being associated with every limited individual being. Its eradication, therefore, is not simultaneous as would be shown presently.

It has already been shown that the veiling of an individual by *Pauruṣa ajñāna* follows from the imposition of limitation by the Supreme Lord in exercise of his Divine Freedom. It, therefore, logically follows that its eradication is not possible by any other means except by the operation of a corresponding aspect of Divine Freedom by the Supreme Lord whereby He puts an end to self-imposed limitation. It is therefore held that when the Supreme Lord operates the *anugraha* aspect of Divine Śakti to restore His self-contracted manifestations to the original Divine Status, the *Pauruṣa ajñāna* is destroyed automatically.

To put it in the technical language of the system, when the Supreme Lord operates *anugraha* aspect of Divine Freedom, there is influx of Divine Grace in an individual from Himself. This has been termed as *śaktipāta*[18]. Qualitatively speaking, *śaktipāta* is one, but it differs in intensity from individual to individual, depending on the capacity of individual to receive it. Broadly speaking, the Divine Grace, as is received by the individuals, is of three kinds, mild, intense and most intense, though Abhinavagupta speaks of nine kinds of *śaktipāta* (Divine Grace) in order of intensity.[19]

It is generally believed that the descent of Divine Grace on the individual soul brings about the destruction of *āṇavamala* all at once together with *pauruṣa ajñāna*, but it does not simultaneously lead to the rise of *pauruṣa jñāna* in all cases. For the rise of *pauruṣa jñāna* depends on the purification of the body-apparatus of the individual through the destruction of the other two kinds of *malas*, viz., the *māyiya* and the kārma. If the *Śaktipāta* is in most intense form, it leads to the complete purgation of *malas* and simultaneous rise of *pauruṣa jñāna* in the form of *sattarka* or *prātibha jñāna* (intuitive knowledge) as is the case with the *adhikārins for the Śāmbhava upāya.*[20]

Generally speaking, the descent of Divine Grace is not in very intense form, hence the purgation of *malas* is not effected completely and immediately. In such cases, the rise of *pauruṣa jñāna* is in gradual steps, depending on the personal endeavour of the individual in the form of *sādhanā*, though the destruction of *pauruṣa ajñāna* is complete and immediate with the destruction of the *āṇavamalas* in him. The *pauruṣa jñāna* has been spoken as being of the nature of *ātmani ātmabodha* (experience of self in the pure self), and as such, spiritual by its very nature.[21] The veil of arising self-imposed limitation (*āṇavamala*) which had covered the real self, having been destroyed immediately with the *śaktipāta*, the pure Divine Self shines forth immediately, and consequently, he begins to have his self-consciousness in the pure Divine Self. The *pauruṣa jñāna*, therefore has been described as the destroyer of *pauruṣa ajñāna*,[22] both being mutually opposed by their very nature, though in all cases the destruction of the *pauruṣa ajñāna* does not immediately lead to the rise of the *pauruṣa jñāna* in all its glory. This is because the annihilation of *pauruṣa ajñāna* is effected by the descent of Divine Grace or *śaktipāta*, while the rise of *pauruṣa jñāna* is dependent on the purgation of psycho-physical apparatus (i.e. body) of the individual. The *pauruṣa jñāna* is said to be *nirvikalpa* (lit. free from conceptual element) in nature,[23] and as such, is different from *bauddha jñāna* which is essentially intellectual (*vaikalpika*) by nature.

The *Bauddha ajñāna*, as the very name suggests is ignorance belonging to the level of intellect of the individual. It has been described as being of the nature of both indeterminate and erroneous knowledge (*aniścayasvabhāvaṁ viparitaniścayātmakaṁ ca*)[24]. It is indeterminate in the sense that it fails to grasp the real nature of object of knowledge. It has been called erroneous, because it gives rise to the knowledge of the opposite of what the object of knowledge really is.[25] It has its locus in the *buddhi* (intellect) of the individual. It is due to the individual's covering by the *mayiya mala.*

The *Bauddha jñāna*, which is opposite to *bauddha ajñāna*, is determinate knowledge (*niścayātmaka-jñāna*), has locus in the intellect of the individual. It is said to be conceptual by nature, and it arises from one's study of *śāstras* (or *sadāgamas*) as they embody the truth, or from hearing words of wisdom from the mouth of the teacher.[26] It has far-reaching effect, since it not only destroys the *bauddha ajñāna* by its mere presence but also helps in cleansing the psycho-physical apparatus in the individual.

If we critically examine the concept of *ajñāna* as postulated by the different orthodox and heterodox systems of Indian Philosophy, we find that *ajñāna*, in the beginning, was considered to be an intellectual concept, having its locus in the *buddhi* of the individual. Later, it came to be regarded as an ontological concept which was held responsible for the appearance of multiplicity in the unity of the Supreme Reality. It was left to the Trika system to give a new dimension to the theory of ignorance by postulating spiritual ignorance (*pauruṣa ajñāna)* arising from self-imposed limitation in addition to intellectual ignorance (*bauddha ajñāna*) which has been admitted by all the preceeding schools of thought. The Spiritual ignorance is the basic ignorance which is responsible for the loss of Divine Essence in the individual being, and this is followed by intellectual ignorance which constitutes the outer veil (*āvaraṇa*) as it were. The intellectual ignorance (*bauddha ajñāna*) affects the individual only after he is associated with a psycho-physical body, i.e., after he is covered by the *māyiya* and *kārma mala*,

NOTES :

1. *Dravya-Saṅgraha*, V. 29, Comm. by Neminātha.
2. Op. cit., VIII. 3.
3. Op. cit., II, 85.
4. Ved. Sar., p. 2.

5. Op. cit., p. 48.
6. *Tantra-Sāra*, I, p. 2-3.
7. Pr. Hd. Sū 2.
8. *Janmamaraṇavicāra*, p 2 ; *Tantrāloka* X. 144-45.
9. *Paramārthasāra*, V. 16, p. 45.
10. Ibid., V. 24 comm. p. 55.
11. Spanda-Nirṇaya, III. 13, p. 65-66 ; *Ṣaṭtriṁśattattva-saṅgraha* ,(ed. D.B. Sen Sharma), V. 2, comm., p. 9.
12. Ibid.
13. *Ṣaṭtriṁśattattvasandoha* (ed. D.B. Sen Sharma), V. 3 comm. p. 11-12.
14. Ibid., V. 3, p. 13-14.
15. Ibid., V. 5, p. 15-16.
16. *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* V. 7 comm.
17. *Tantrasāra*, p. 2-3.
18. Ibid.
19. *Tantrasāra*, XI, p. 119.
20. Ibid., III, p. 3ff.
21. Ibid., I, p. 4-5.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid., I, p. 3.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., IV, p. 21.

भगवद्गीता में यज्ञ का स्वरूप

गणेश दत्त शर्मा

यज्ञ का सामान्य अर्थ अग्निहोत्र लिया जाता है, किन्तु श्रीकृष्ण ने यज्ञ को एक वैज्ञानिक एवं दार्शनिक धरातल पर प्रतिष्ठित कर दिया है। गीता में 'यज्ञ' शब्द कर्म, त्याग, दान, तप एवं अध्यात्म-तत्त्व आदि अर्थों का अभिधायक है। इस दृष्टि से यज्ञ को अभ्युदय और निःश्रेयस् का साधक कहा जा सकता है। यज्ञ को सृष्टि-चक्र का प्रवर्तक भी माना गया है।

श्रीकृष्ण के अनुसार सारी सृष्टि ही यज्ञमय है और सर्वप्रथम यज्ञकर्ता परमात्मा (प्रजापति) है। गीता (३.१०) में वे कहते हैं—"सृष्टि के आदि में यज्ञ-सहित प्रजा की रचना करके प्रजापति ने कहा कि इस यज्ञ से तुम लोग प्रसव अर्थात् उत्पत्ति एवं वृद्धि-लाभ करो। यह यज्ञ तुम लोगों के लिए इष्ट कामनाओं का देनेवाला हो।"

सहयज्ञाः प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा पुरोवाच प्रजापतिः।
अनेन प्रसविष्यध्वमेष वोऽस्त्विष्टकामधुक्॥

यज्ञमय सृष्टि का यह सिद्धान्त वैदिक सिद्धान्त से मेल खाता है, जिसके अनुसार पुरुष की हवि से सृष्टि की उत्पत्ति हुई।[1]

सृष्टि में भी एक यज्ञमय प्रक्रिया दिखाई देती है। परमात्मा भी यज्ञ-रूप है। सर्वप्रथम याज्ञिक भी वही है। यज्ञ की इस प्रक्रिया में 'यज्ञ' शब्द का धात्वर्थ (√यज्—देवपूजा, संगतिकरण, दान) भी चरितार्थ होता है। प्रजापति सर्वप्रथम सृष्टि के लिये तप करता है।[2] यही उसकी देवपूजा है। स्रष्टा के तीव्र ताप (अभीद्धतपस्[3]) से सृष्टि के मौलिक तत्त्व[4] ऋत और सत्य की उत्पत्ति होती है और इनका परस्पर एक दूसरे के साथ संगतिकरण आरम्भ हो जाता है। इस संगतिकरण के फलस्वरूप जन्म लेनेवाली सृष्टि की समस्त भौतिक सम्पदा ही दान-क्रिया है।

यज्ञ की यही प्रक्रिया मानव एवं उसके व्यवहारों में दिखाई देती है। सृष्टि के विविध तत्त्व ही देवतत्त्व हैं। उनमें देवत्व की भावना द्वारा उनके महत्त्व को हृदयंगम करना ही देवपूजा की भावना है। देवतत्त्वों से तादात्म्य स्थापित कर उनके गुणों का उपयोग कर लेना ही संगतिकरण है।

संगतिकरण द्वारा प्राप्त सम्पदा का त्याग व सह-अस्तित्व की भावना से उपभोग ही दान की प्रक्रिया है। अग्निहोत्र में भी इसी प्रक्रिया के दर्शन होते हैं। उपर्युक्त याज्ञविधि से प्राप्त घृत एवं अन्नादि की अग्नि में आहुति से सूर्य, मेघ, वायु एवं जल आदि सृष्टि के समस्त दिव्य तत्त्व सुपुष्ट एवं मानव के लिए मंगलमय हो जाते हैं तथा अपेक्षाकृत अधिक रूप में समृद्धि प्रदान करते हैं। यह शाश्वत सिद्धान्त गीता में इस रूप में वर्णित है—

देवान्भावयतानेन ते देवा भावयन्तु वः।
परस्परं भावयन्तः श्रेयः परमवाप्स्यथ॥[५]

मानवकृत यज्ञ द्वारा देवताओं की वृद्धि और देवताओं द्वारा वृष्टि आदि से मानव-समाज की समृद्धि, पारस्परिक आदान-प्रदान द्वारा अभ्युन्नति की यह प्रक्रिया संस्कृति की आधारशिला है।

यज्ञ द्वारा संतुष्ट हुए देवता मानव को स्त्री, पशु, अन्न एवं पुत्रादि अभीष्ट भोग प्रदान करते हैं।[६] किन्तु मनुष्य का यह कर्त्तव्य है कि वह देवताओं द्वारा प्राप्त अन्नादि को अग्नि में आहुति द्वारा उन्हें समर्पित करके त्यागमयी यज्ञीय भावना से उनका भोग करे। जो ऐसा नहीं करता, गीता के अनुसार वह चोर है—'तैर्दत्तानप्रदायैभ्यो यो भुङ्क्ते स्तेन एव सः'।[७]

इतना ही नहीं जो केवल अपने ही लिए पकाते हैं, अर्थात् अपना पेट भरने में ही लगे रहते हैं, जिन्हें दीन-दुःखियों का ख्याल नहीं और जो दुनियाँ की सारी दौलत अपने घर में समेट कर दूसरों को खाने-पीने का अवसर देना ही पसन्द नहीं करते वे पापी हैं और पाप ही खाते हैं—'भुञ्जते ते त्वघं पापा ये पचन्त्यात्मकारणात्'।[८] यहाँ ऋग्वेद की वह भावना अधिक उभरी हुई दिखाई देती है जिसके अनुसार अकेला खानेवाला पापी होता है।[९] यज्ञ-रूप प्रभु की इस सृष्टि के कण-कण में यज्ञ की परम्परा दिखाई देती है। सूर्य, चन्द्र, नदी, पर्वत, समुद्र एवं वृक्ष आदि सभी पदार्थ अपनी संपदाओं का स्वयं उपभोग न करके उन्हें यज्ञीय भावना के अनुसार दूसरों के लिए लुटा रहे हैं। मानव भी इस यज्ञमय सृष्टि की एक इकाई है, अतः उसे भी यज्ञचक्र के अनुरूप ही चलना चाहिए। जो ऐसा नहीं करता उसके लिए भगवान् कृष्ण कहते हैं—

एवं प्रवर्तितं चक्रं नानुवर्तयतीह यः।
अघायुरिन्द्रियारामो मोघ पार्थ स जीवति॥ गीता ३.१६.

अर्थात् जो व्यक्ति इस प्रकार यज्ञ-पूर्वक चलाए हुए जगत्-चक्र के अनुसार नहीं बर्तता अर्थात् यज्ञादि कर्म नहीं करता, वह इन्द्रिय-सुखों में रमण करनेवाला पापायु है और वह व्यर्थ ही जीता है।

मनुष्य से जाने-अनजाने में अनेक पाप होते हैं। विशेष रूप से गृहस्थ में चक्की-चूल्हे आदि से होने वाले पाँच प्रकार के पाप तो स्वाभाविक ही हैं।[१०] इन पापों से छुटकारा पाने का उपाय भी यज्ञ ही है। जो लोग पञ्चमहायज्ञों का अनुष्ठान करते हैं और बलिवैश्वदेव तथा अतिथि-भोजन से बचे हुए यज्ञशिष्ट अन्न का भोजन करते हैं वे सब प्रकार के पापों से छूट जाते हैं—'यज्ञशिष्टाशिनः सन्तो मुच्यन्ते सर्वकिल्विषैः'।

श्रीकृष्ण के अनुसार यह यज्ञशिष्ट ही अमृत है और इसका भोग करनेवाले चिरन्तन ब्रह्म को प्राप्त करते हैं—'यज्ञशिष्टामृतभुजो यान्ति ब्रह्म सनातनम्'।[११] इतना ही नहीं स्वयं वह सर्वगत एवं सनातन ब्रह्म भी यज्ञ पर ही प्रतिष्ठित है—'तस्मात् सर्वगत ब्रह्म नित्यं यज्ञे प्रतिष्ठितम्,'[१२]। यहाँ 'ब्रह्म' का अर्थ आचार्य शंकर ने 'वेद' किया है। वस्तुतः वेद परमात्मा का निःश्वास रूप है और उसमें यज्ञ की ही प्रधानता है।

मनुष्य के प्रत्येक कर्म में श्रीकृष्ण ने यज्ञ-प्रक्रिया के ही दर्शन किये हैं। अग्निहोत्र, दान, तप, योग, स्वाध्याय, ज्ञान एवं व्रत—ये सभी कर्म यज्ञ की पुनीत परम्परा में अन्तर्भूत हैं और इनका अनुष्ठान करने वाले याज्ञिक हैं—

द्रव्ययज्ञास्तपोयज्ञा योगयज्ञास्तथा परे।
स्वाध्यायज्ञानयज्ञाश्च यतयः संशितव्रताः॥[१३]

कुछ योगिजन देवयज्ञ का अनुष्ठान करते हैं जिसके अन्तर्गत अग्नि में हवि के अर्पण द्वारा देवों का पूजन किया जाता है। दूसरे (ब्रह्मज्ञानी पुरुष) ब्रह्म-रूपी अग्नि में यज्ञ के द्वारा यज्ञ को हवन करते हैं—

दैवमेवापरे यज्ञं योगिनः पर्युपासते।
ब्रह्माग्नावपरे यज्ञं यज्ञेनैवोपजुह्वति॥[१४]

यहाँ 'योगिनः' का अर्थ आचार्य शंकर ने 'कमिणः' किया है जो कि गीता की भावना के सर्वथा अनुकूल है। साथ ही यहाँ ब्रह्माग्नि में यज्ञ के द्वारा यज्ञ को हवन करने का अभिप्राय है—'परब्रह्म परमात्मा में ज्ञान द्वारा एकीभाव से स्थित होना'। आचार्य शंकर ने भी यहां श्लोक के उत्तरार्द्ध में यज्ञ को आत्मा का वाचक मानकर आत्मा एवं ब्रह्म के एकत्वज्ञान का अभिप्राय ग्रहण किया है। इससे पूर्व भी—'ब्रह्मार्पणं ब्रह्म हविः'[१५] इत्यादि रूप में भगवान् कृष्ण ने अद्वैत-भावना से कर्म करने का उपदेश देते हुए यथार्थज्ञान की ब्रह्मरूपता या यज्ञरूपता प्रदर्शित की है। इसे अध्यात्मयज्ञ कहा जा सकता है।

इन्द्रियसंयम एवं प्राणों का नियन्त्रण भी यज्ञ है, जिसके अनुसार योगिजन श्रोत्रादि इन्द्रियों को संयमरूपी अग्नियों में होम देते हैं और शब्दादिविषयों को इन्द्रियरूपी अग्नियों में स्वाहा कर देते हैं। दूसरे प्रकार के साधक इन्द्रियों के सम्पूर्ण कार्यों को तथा प्राणों की आकुञ्चन-प्रसारणादि क्रियाओं को ज्ञान से प्रदीप्त हुई आत्मसंयमरूप योगाग्नि में होम देते हैं—

श्रोत्रादीनीन्द्रियाण्यन्ये संयमाग्निषु जुह्वति।
शब्दादीन्विषयानन्य इन्द्रियाग्निषु जुह्वति॥[१६]
सर्वाणीन्द्रियकर्माणि प्राणकर्माणि चापरे।
आत्मसंयमयोगाग्नौ जुह्वति ज्ञानदीपिते॥[१७]

यज्ञ को जीवन की प्रत्येक क्रिया में उतार देना और उसके व्यापक रूप को सरलतम एवं अलंकृत भाषा में चित्रित कर देना गीता की अपनी विशेषता है। गीता की भाषा में तो पूरक एवं रेचक नामक प्राणायाम करने वाले भी याज्ञिक हैं, क्योंकि वे अपानवायु में प्राण-वायु का और

प्राणवायु में अपान-वायु का हवन करते हैं, और कुम्भक नामक प्राणायाम करने वाले प्राण एवं अपान दोनों की ही गति को रोक कर उनका होम कर देते हैं।

अपाने जुहवति प्राणं प्राणेऽपानं तथापरे ।
प्राणापानगती रुद्ध्वा प्राणायामपरायणाः ॥[१८]

दूसरे कुछ नियत आहार (परिमित भोजन) वाले साधक प्राणों को प्राणों में ही झोंक देते हैं अर्थात् प्राणायाम द्वारा जिस वायु को वे जीत लेते हैं उसी वायु में वायु के दूसरे भेदों को विलीन कर देते हैं।[१९]

भगवान् कृष्ण ने उपर्युक्त रूप में कर्म करने वाले सभी को 'यज्ञविदः' कहा है—'सर्वेऽप्येते यज्ञविदः'[२०]। इसका अभिप्राय यह हुआ कि उनकी दृष्टि में आत्मकल्याण एवं विश्वकल्याण के निमित्त किया जाने वाला प्रत्येक कर्म यज्ञ है। आगे चलकर श्रीकृष्ण स्वयं कहते हैं—'कर्मजान् विद्धि तान् सर्वान्', अर्थात् (हे अर्जुन!) उन सब यज्ञों को तू कर्मज अर्थात् कायिक, वाचिक और मानसिक क्रियाओं द्वारा होने वाला जान। इस प्रकार के कर्मयज्ञों द्वारा ही साधक स्वर्गप्राप्ति की इच्छा करते हैं—'यज्ञैरिष्ट्वा स्वर्गतिं प्रार्थयन्ते'[२१]। कर्म ही भगवान् की अर्चना है और उसी के द्वारा मानव सिद्धि को प्राप्त करता है—'स्वकर्मणा तमभ्यर्च्य सिद्धिं विन्दति मानवः'[२२] कर्म-संन्यास का उपदेश करते हुए भी श्रीकृष्ण ने यज्ञ, दान, और तप—इन तीन प्रकार के कर्मों को न त्यागने योग्य बताया है, क्योंकि ये मनीषियों को पवित्र करने वाले हैं—

यज्ञदानतपःकर्म न त्याज्यं कार्यमेव तत् ।
यज्ञो दानं तपश्चैव पावनानि मनीषिणाम् ॥[२३]

गीता में अनेक स्थलों पर 'कर्म' के साथ 'यज्ञ' शब्द का प्रयोग हुआ है[२४]। ऐसे संदर्भों से यज्ञ एवं कर्म के तादात्म्य की स्पष्ट प्रतीति होती है। एक स्थान पर तो यज्ञ का उद्भव ही कर्म से माना है—'यज्ञः कर्मसमुद्भवः'[२५]। शतपथब्राह्मण में यज्ञ को ही सर्वश्रेष्ठ कर्म कहा है—'यज्ञो वै श्रेष्ठतमं कर्म'[२६]। वेद में यज्ञ, कर्म एवं क्रतु—ये तीनों ही पर्यायवाची के रूप में प्रयुक्त हुए हैं[२७]। स्वयं भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण ने—'अहं क्रतुरहं यज्ञः,'[२८] कहकर जहाँ भगवान् को यज्ञ-रूप बताया है वहाँ यज्ञ एवं कर्म के तादात्म्य का भी संकेत दिया है।

यज्ञ का सार 'इदं न मम' की भावना में निहित है। यही भाव 'त्वदीयं वस्तु गोविन्द तुभ्यमेव समर्पये' का है। गीता की दृष्टि में निःस्वार्थ-भावना एवं ईश्वरार्पणबुद्धि से किया हुआ कर्म ही सच्चा यज्ञ है। 'यज्ञार्थ कर्म' का भी यही अभिप्राय है, जिसके बिना मनुष्य कर्म के बन्धन में जकड़ जाता है—'यज्ञार्थात्कर्मणोऽन्यत्र लोकोऽयं कर्मबन्धनः',[२९]। यहाँ 'यज्ञो वै विष्णुः' इस श्रुति के अनुसार यज्ञ ईश्वर का वाचक है[३०]। यज्ञार्थ अथवा ईश्वरार्थ किये गए कर्म ही मानव को जन्म-मरणादि के बन्धनों से छुटकारा दिलाते हैं, क्योंकि ऐसे कर्म जन्मादि-फल-सहित स्वतः विलीन हो जाते हैं[31]। समस्त कर्मों को भगवदर्पण करने का अमर उपदेश भगवान् ने स्वयं अपनी वाणी से इस प्रकार किया है—

यत्करोषि यदश्नासि यज्जुहोषि ददासि यत् ।
यत्तपस्यसि कौन्तेय तत्कुरुष्व मदर्पणम् ॥
शुभाशुभफलैरेवं मोक्ष्यसे कर्मबन्धनैः ।[३२]

अर्थात् हे कुन्तीपुत्र ! तू जो कुछ भी कर्म करता है, जो खाता है, जो हवन करता है, जो दान करता है और जो कुछ तप का आचरण करता है वह सब मेरे अर्पण (भगवदर्पण) कर दे। इस प्रकार तू शुभाशुभफलयुक्त कर्मबन्धन से छूट जायेगा। भगवदर्पण की यह भावना गीता के उन वाक्यों के मूल में भी निहित दिखाई देती है जहाँ भगवान् ने समस्त यज्ञों का भोक्ता स्वयं को ही बताया है[३३]।

यथार्थ-कर्म एवं निष्काम-कर्म का सिद्धान्त गीता की अपनी देन है, जिसमें एक दार्शनिक गरिमा एवं वैज्ञानिकता के दर्शन होते हैं। सकाम यज्ञों का फलभोग निश्चित है और उसके लिए जन्म अनिवार्य है, चाहे वह स्वर्ग में ही क्यों न हो। अतः फल की इच्छा से किये गये यज्ञ द्वारा स्वर्ग तो मिल सकता है, मोक्ष नहीं। ऐसे यज्ञ को श्रीकृष्ण ने राजस यज्ञ कहा है[३४]। और सात्त्विक यज्ञ वह है जो कि फल की इच्छा न करने वाले व्यक्तियों द्वारा अपना कर्तव्य समझकर शास्त्रीय विधि से किया जाता है—

अफलाकांक्षिभिर्यज्ञो विधिदृष्टो य इज्यते।
यष्टव्यमेवेति मनः समाधाय स सात्त्विकः॥[३५]

फलेच्छा त्याग कर यज्ञ करने वाले जन्मादि के बन्धन में नहीं आते। जब फल की इच्छा ही नहीं तो उसके भोग का एवं तदर्थ होने वाले जन्म का प्रश्न ही नहीं उठता। इस यथार्थ स्थिति को समझने वाले ही ज्ञानी हैं। ज्ञानाग्नि उनके गत जन्म तथा इस जन्म में ज्ञानोत्पत्ति से पूर्व किये गये (सञ्चित) कर्मों को भस्मसात् कर देती है—'ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात्कुरुते तथा।'[३६]

अब रह जाते हैं प्रारब्ध-कर्म, जिनके कारण शरीर उत्पन्न हुआ है और जो फल देने के लिए प्रवृत्त हो चुके हैं। उनका नाश उपभोग द्वारा ही होना है। प्रारब्ध-कर्मों के नाश के बाद फिर शरीर का कोई प्रयोजन ही नहीं रहता और न हो पुनर्जन्म का कोई निमित्त रह जाता है। बस आत्मा अपने चरमलक्ष्यभूत भगवान् के उस परम धाम को पा लेता है जहाँ जाकर फिर संसार में नहीं लौटते[३७]। किन्तु उस परमधाम अथवा मोक्ष के धाम का आधार है वह 'ज्ञानयज्ञ' जिसे श्रीकृष्ण ने द्रव्यमय यज्ञ से श्रेष्ठ बताया है—'श्रेयान्द्रव्यमयाद्यज्ञाज्ज्ञानयज्ञः परंतप'[३८]। वस्तुतः समस्त कर्म अन्ततोगत्वा मोक्षसाधनरूप ज्ञान में ही विलीन हो जाते हैं—'सर्वं कर्माखिलं पार्थ ज्ञाने परि समाप्यते।'[३९] इस प्रकार ज्ञान-यज्ञ ही मोक्ष का सम्पादक है।

गीता में वर्णित यज्ञ के सिद्धान्त की समीक्षा करने से यह विदित होता है कि श्रीकृष्ण यज्ञ को मूलरूप से सृष्टिचक्र का प्रवर्तक मानते हैं। उनकी दृष्टि में परमात्मा, प्रकृति एवं उसकी समस्त दिव्य शक्तियाँ यज्ञ-प्रक्रिया में संलग्न हैं। मानव-जीवन भी यज्ञमय है। अभ्युदय एवं निःश्रेयस् की सिद्धि के लिए किये जाने वाले सभी कर्म यज्ञ की परिधि में आते हैं। फलेच्छा त्याग कर भगवदर्पण की भव्य-भावना से किया हुआ क्रियाकलाप ही गीता की दृष्टि में यज्ञ का वास्तविक रूप है। इसी को ज्ञान-यज्ञ की संज्ञा दी जा सकती है और इस ज्ञान-यज्ञ की चरम परिणति है 'परम पुरुषार्थ मोक्ष की प्राप्ति'।

टिप्पणियाँ

१. ऋग्वेद, पुरुषसूक्त ।
२. स तपोऽतप्यत् । स प्रजाः असृजत् । शतपथ० २.५.१.१.
३. ऋतं च सत्यञ्चाभीद्धात्तपसोऽध्यजायत । ऋक्० १०.१९०.१.
४. 'ऋत' गति-तत्त्व है और 'सत्य' केन्द्रभूत स्थितितत्त्व है। आधुनिक वैज्ञानिक शब्दावली में इन दोनों को क्रमशः इलैक्ट्रोन और प्रोटोन कहा जा सकता है।
५. गीता ३.११.
६. इष्टान् भोगान् हि वो देवा दास्यन्ते यज्ञभाविताः । गीता ३. १२.
७. गीता ३.१२.
८. गीता ३.१३.
९. केवलाघो भवति केवलादी । ऋक्० १०. ११७.६.
१०. कुण्डनं पेषणं चुल्ली उदकुम्भश्च मार्जनी । पञ्चसूना गृहस्थस्य पञ्चयज्ञात् प्रणश्यति ॥
११. गीता ४.३१.
१२. गीता ३.१५.
१३. गीता ४.२८.
१४. गीता ४.२५.
१५. गीता ४.२४.
१६. गीता ४.२६.
१७. गीता ४.२७.
१८. गीता ४.२९.
१९. अपरे नियताहाराः प्राणान् प्राणेषु जुह्वति । गीता ४.३०.
२०. गीता ४.३०.
२१. गीता ९.२०.
२२. गीता १८. ४६.
२३. गीता १८.५.
२४. यज्ञदानतपःकर्म (गीता १८.३,५); यज्ञदानतपःक्रियाः (वही, १७. २४); यज्ञतपःक्रिया., (वही १७. २५); यज्ञे तपसि दाने च (वही, १७.२७) ।
२५. गीता ३.१४.
२६. शतपथब्राह्मण १.७.३.५.
२७. देखिये, लेखक का शोधग्रन्थ (प्रकाशित), ऋग्वेद में दार्शनिक तत्त्व, पृ० १४०-१४१.
२८. गीता ९.१६.
२९. गीता ३.९.
३०. तै० सं० १.७.४.
३१. यज्ञायाचरतः कर्म समग्रं प्रविलीयते । गीता ४.२३.
३२. गीता ९.२७-२८.
३३. भोक्तारं यज्ञतपसां सर्वलोकमहेश्वरम् । गीता ५.२९.
अहं हि सर्वयज्ञानां भोक्ता च प्रभुरेव च ॥ गीता ९.२४.
३४. गीता १७.१२.
३५. गीता १७. ११.
३६. गीता ४. ३७.
३७. यं प्राप्य न निवर्तन्ते तद्धाम परमं मम । गीता ८. २१.
३८. गीता ४. ३३.
३९. वही ।

CONCEPT OF ĪŚVARA

RAM MURTI SHARMA

In Śaṅkarite Vedānta, Brahman and *Īśvara* are not two different entities, but two states of the same absolute reality. The immutable and pure Brahman, without Māyā is neither the creator of the Universe nor subject of worship. The Vedānta has clearly established that Brahman with the association of His *Māyā-Śakti* is material cause and in His own capacity as efficient cause of the whole creation. Similarly the indeterminate Brahman, who is without name and form, is never worshippable and therefore it is the determinate Brahman, associated with Māyā, who can be worshipped. Not only this, the judge of the right and wrong deeds of a person, the giver of the fruits to a person according to his *karmans* and the witness of the deeds of a person in Vedānta is *Īśvara* and not Brahman. Therefore the state of *Īśvara* is an unavoidable necessity of the Advaita Vedānta for the justification of its full philosophy. That is why the chief advocate of Advaita Vedānta—Śaṅkarāchārya, on the basis of Upaniṣadic thought, elaborated the philosophy of *Para* and *Apara* Brahman, the *Īśvara.*[1] Accordingly, the *Para* Brahman is without *avidyā* and name and form created by it, while the *Apara* Brahman or *Īśvara* is with the name and form and is the subject of worship. Prior to Śaṅkarāchārya, the concept of *Īśvara* is clearly available in the Upaniṣads. In the *Śvetāśvatara*, the *Īśvara* has been said as *Māyin.*[2] Thereon the commentator Śaṅkarāchārya has explained the *Prakṛti* as *Māyā Śakti* of *Īśvara.*[3] The idea of *Māyā Śakti* was explained in detail by Śaṅkarāchārya in his original as well as commentary works. According to the *Bhagavadgītā*, *Īśvara* abides in the hearts of all beings, causing them to turn round by His *Māyā Śakti* as if they were mounted on a machine[4]. Āchārya Gauḍapāda, the grand Guru of Śaṅkarāchārya, mentions *Praṇava* as *Īśvara*[5] which does not appear very near to Śaṅkarāchārya's concept. Vyāsa, the author of the *Brahmasūtra*, also does not refer specifically about *Īśvara*. Many Post-Śaṅkara Advaitins have explained the idea of *Īśvara* in different ways. Nṛsiṁhāśrama supports the view that when the reflection of the pure *cit-tattva* falls in *Māyā*, it is called *Īśvara* and when the reflection of the same *cit-tattva* falls in

Avidyā, it is called *Jiva*.[6] Sarvajñātma muni understands no difference between *Māyā* and *Avidyā*. In his opinion, when the reflection of *cit* falls in *Avidyā*, it is *Īśvara*, and the reflection of the same *cit* fallen in the *antaḥkaraṇa* created by *Avidyā*, is called *Jivātman* or *Jiva*. Vidyāraṇya takes the view that *Jiva* and *Īśvara* are the two calves of the *Kāmadhenu-Māyā*.[7] Sudarśanāchārya, the author of *Advaitacandrikā*, is of the view that the one *Parameśvara* is called *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Maheśa*, on account of the *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* qualities of *Māyā*.[8] Whatever may be the difference between the definitions of *Īśvara*, it is uncontroversial that *Īśvara* is associated with *Māyā* or *Avidyā*.

In Advaita Vedānta, *Īśvara* is the creator of the whole creation and the creation in His *lilā*. Otherwise for *Īśvara*, who has no desire at all and who is Ā*ptakāma*, there is no scope for creating the universe. Being *lilā*, creation is the outcome of automatic nature (*svabhāva*) of *Īśvara*. As Śaṅkarāchārya mentions, the creation proceeds from the nature of the supreme without reference to any purpose like the breathing which goes on without reference to any extraneous purpose, merely following the law of its own nature.[9] Similarly, Baladevavidyābhūṣaṇa, the Vaiṣṇava commentator of the *Brahmasūtra*, says that *lilā* is the overflow of the inner joy. As in ordinary life, a man full of cheerfulness on awakening from sound sleep dances about without any purpose, but simply from the fullness of spirit, so is the case with the creation of the world by God.

The question further remains unanswered that if the creation is the *lilā* or *svabhāva* of *Īśvara*, why there is a difference of good and bad, poor and rich etc. in creation. For this problem Śaṅkarāchārya's clear answer is that *Īśvara* is without prejudice and favour for creating a distinct creation and the distinction seen therein is due to the deeds of a person performed by him in his last or present life. In this regard Śaṅkarāchārya's analogy of cloud (*parjanya*) is quite appropriate.[10] As cloud (*parjanya*), the giver of rain, is the common cause of the production of rice, barley and other plants and the differences are due to the potentialities of the seeds themselves, even so God is the common cause of the creation, while the differences are due to the merits and demerits of the individual souls. One can further put a query that there was no *karman* which had to be taken into account before creation. Therefore the first creation at least should have been free from inequalities. The answer of the Vedāntin in this regard is that the world is without beginning and the *karman* and inequality are like seed and sprout. Thus they are causes as well as caused. If it is not admitted that the distinctions in creation are due to *karman*, it would follow that the souls are required for what they have not done and not required for what they have done.

In *Ś*aṅkara's Vedānta, no scope has been left for having any doubt regarding the distinct positions of Brahman and *Īśvara*, though basically they are one. Wheile *Īśvara* is omniscient, omnipotent and the cause of the origin, subsistence and dissolution of the whole creation, Brahman without *Māyā* is pure being, consciousness and supreme Bliss. For Him, there is nothing to be known and no place to be pervaded as He is all-pervading. As a Vedāntin believes, there is no creation apart from Brahman and thus Brahman is neither the cause of subsistence nor of dissolution. According to the theory of manifestation (*vivarta*), the world is not distinct from Brahman, but at the *paramārthika* level, Brahman itself. It is just as the pots made of clay are ultimately clay only, the same way the world of name and form is Brahman only in reality and nothing more. Therefore for a person who has realized Brahman, there is no duality of the world ; but for him there is only one non-dual reality and that is absolute Brahman. So far as the visible worldly modifications are concerned, immutable (*kūṭastha*) Brahman is incapable of them and so the modifications are only the appearances and the appearance is not real. Thus there is non-difference of cause and effect in Advaita-Vedānta. For an Advaitin, who is the supporter of *vivarta*, Brahman is like ocean and the world is like the waves and there is non-difference between the two. It is in this way that *Īśvara* with *Māyā Śakti* is the creator etc. of the world and not Brahman.

About the omniscience of *Īśvara*, a question further arises that how *Īśvara* can know every thing without senses. To solve this problem, the Vedāntin puts the argument that for *Īśvara* whose basic nature is eternal knowledge, there is no need of sense-organs or physical body. Commenting upon the problem, Śaṅkarāchārya says that just as the luminosity is the nature of the sun, so eternal knowledge is the nature of *Īśvara*.[11] Thus determinate and qualified *Īśvara*, the governor of entire universe, possesses the qualities of all-pervasion, eternity, omniscience, omnipotence, creating, preserving and reabsorbing the whole world. It is He, who is the giver of the fruits according to the deeds of the persons and who witnesses the good and bad *karmans* of doers, but who is never affected by them as a juggler and is never effected by his own jugglery. The determinate and qualified *Īśvara* of the *Ś*āṅkara Vedānta is very much similar to the *Saguṇa* Brahman of the Viśiṣṭādvaitavādin, but the *Māyāśakti* of the determinate Brahman according to Rāmānujāchārya, the Viśiṣṭādvaitavādin, is not an illusion as it is in the Vedānta of *Ś*aṅkarāchārya. Furthermore the *Saguṇa* Brahman of the Advaita Vedānta is not qualified with *cit* and *acit* like the *Saguṇa* Brahman of the Viśiṣṭādvaitavādin. But the *Saguṇa* Brahman of Rāmāuja and *Īśvara* of *Ś*aṅkarāchārya is similarly the creator, preserver and reabsorber of the entire universe. It is needless to mention that Rāmānuja does not accept the indeterminate Brahman like *Ś*aṅkarāchārya who is an absolutist.

Though *Jīva* also is a form of formless absolute reality like *Īśvara*, it is totally different from Him. Though both are associated with *Avidyā*, the *Avidyā* of *Jīva* is limited in comparison to *Īśvara* and that is why the virtues like creatorship, preservance, reabsorbency, omniscience and omni-presence are not available in the *Jīva*. Some later Advaitins like Vidyāraṇya [12], distinguishing between the two, mentioned that *Īśvara* is associated with *Māyā* while the *Jīva* has *Avidyā* as its adjunct. Śaṅkarāchārya could not make this difference between the two. The *Īśvara* in Vedānta is pure, enlightened, liberated and the knower of all, but contrary to this, the *Jīva* on account of his *Avidyā*, is impure and is always in bondage. His knowledge is limited and he remains in darkness[13] due to his ignorance about Brahman. While *Īśvara* is governor, inner ruler, distributor of the fruits of the deeds of persons and the witness of their actions, the *Jīva* is governed, innerly ruled, enjoyer of the fruits and is witnessed. The *Jīva* is thinker, worshipper and knower, but *Īśvara* is the object of thinking, worshipping and knowing of the *Jīva*. *Īśvara* is one unlike *Jīva* and the *Jīvas* are many and different due to their ignorance. Thus the basic ground of the difference between *Īśvara* and *Jīva* is the limiting adjunct.[14] While the adjunct of *Avidyā* related to *Jīva* is limited, the adjunct of *Īśvara* is not. The adjunct of *Īśvara*, *Māyā*, is eternal, unexcelled knowledge and power unlike the *Avidyā* of the *Jīva*.

NOTES

1. किं पुनः परं ब्रह्म किमपरमिति । उच्यते । यत्राविद्याकृतनामरूपादिविशेषप्रतिषेधादस्थूलादिशब्दैर्ब्रह्मोपदिश्यते तत् परम् । तदेव यत्र नामरूपादिविशेषेण केनचिद् विशिष्टमुपासनायोपदिश्यते 'मनोमयः प्राणशरीरो भारूपः' (छा० ३.१४.२) इत्यादिशब्दैस्तदपरम् । *B.S.S.B.*, 4.3.14.
2. मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यान्मायिनं तु महेश्वरम् । *Śvet.*, 4.10.
3. ईश्वरस्य मायाशक्तिः प्रकृतिः । *S.B.B.S.*, 4.10.
4. ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां हृद्देशेऽर्जुन तिष्ठति ।
   भ्रामयन् सर्वभूतानि यन्त्रारूढानि मायया ॥ *Bhagavadgitā*, 18. 61.
5. प्रणवं ईश्वरं विद्यात् । *Gauḍapāda-Kārikā*, 1.28.
6. S.N. Das Gupta, *Indian Philosophy*, *I*, p. 476.
7. मायाख्यायाः कामधेनोर्वत्सौ जीवेश्वरावुभौ । *Pañcadaśi*, Citradīpa, 236.
8. *Advaita-Candrikā*, p. 40 (Benaras, 1901).
9. See, *B.S.S.B.*, II. 1. 33.
10. *B.S.S.B.*, II. 1. 34.
11. *B.S.S.B.*, 1.1.5.
12. *Pañcadaśi*, 1.16,17.
13. या निशा सर्वभूतानां तस्यां जागर्ति संयमी । *Bhagvadgitā.*, 2.69.
14. एकस्यैव तु भेदव्यवहार उपाधिकृतः । *B.S.S.B.*, 1.2.20.

वाचस्पति मिश्र : बौद्धन्याय में बाह्य वस्तु का स्वरूप

श्रीनिवास शास्त्री

बौद्धन्याय में बाह्यवस्तु के स्वरूप पर सूक्ष्मता एवं गम्भीरता से विचार किया गया है, उसके परमार्थसत् एवं व्यावहारिक स्वरूप की भली भाँति समीक्षा की गई है। इस प्रकार की गम्भीर समीक्षा भारतीय दर्शन में अन्यत्र नहीं मिलती। आधुनिक युग के बौद्ध दर्शन के विख्यात विद्वान् प्रो० श्चेरबात्स्की ने बौद्ध-न्याय के अनेक मन्तव्यों की कान्ट के मन्तव्यों से समता दिखाई है। अतः बौद्धन्याय के सिद्धान्तों का भारतीय दर्शन तथा पाश्चात्य दर्शन दोनों के अध्ययन में ही महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान है। इस बौद्धन्याय को दिङ्नाग ने सुव्यवस्थित किया और धर्मकीर्ति, धर्मोत्तर तथा शान्तरक्षित इत्यादि विद्वानों के द्वारा यह चरमोत्कर्ष को प्राप्त हुआ। दिङ्नाग के अनुसार दृश्यमान वस्तु के दो स्वरूप हैं—सामान्य और विशेष। धर्मकीर्ति ने इन्हें सामान्यलक्षण और स्वलक्षण नाम दिया और 'इनका स्पष्ट भेद क्या है' यह भी बतलाया। उनके मतानुसार वस्तु का जो असाधारण स्वरूप है वह स्वलक्षण कहलाता है। यही वस्तु का यथार्थ परमार्थसत् स्वरूप है, क्योंकि वस्तु की यथार्थता की कसौटी है कि वह पुरुषार्थ की सिद्धि में समर्थ हो सके, वह मनुष्य के किसी प्रयोजन को सिद्ध कर सके[1]। वस्तु का दूसरा स्वरूप सामान्यलक्षण कहलाता है, 'यह एक नीला बड़ा वस्त्र है, इत्यादि शब्दों द्वारा हम जिसका व्यवहार करते हैं वह वस्तु का सामान्य स्वरूपमात्र है। उसमें मानसी कल्पनाओं का प्रयोग किया गया है, एक संख्या वाला, नीले रंग वाला और बड़ा होना—ये सब विशेषण मानसी कल्पनाओं द्वारा ही वस्त्र के साथ जोड़े जाते हैं। इस प्रकार वस्त्र का जो स्वरूप शरीर ढाँपना इत्यादि प्रयोजन-निष्पत्ति (अर्थक्रिया) में समर्थ होता है वही उसका परमार्थसत् स्वरूप है; किन्तु वस्त्र का जो स्वरूप हम कल्पनाओं में कल्पित करते हैं, जिसका शब्दों द्वारा वर्णन किया जाता है, वह तो शरीर ढाँपना आदि में समर्थ नहीं; अतः वह परमार्थसत् नहीं, अपितु वस्त्र का सामान्य स्वरूप है, सामान्यलक्षण है।

धर्मकीर्ति ने स्वलक्षण के स्वरूप का न्यायबिन्दु तथा प्रमाणवार्तिक में विशद विवेचन किया है। प्रमाणवार्तिक की टीका में मनोरथनन्दी ने स्वलक्षण के स्वरूप के विषय में ७ बातें बतलाई हैं[2]—(१) स्वलक्षण को शब्दों द्वारा नहीं कहा जा सकता, (२) इसके अपने स्वरूप का वर्णन किया जा सकता है तथा दूसरे स्वलक्षण से इसकी भिन्नता का भी वर्णन किया जा सकता है,

(३) इस स्वलक्षण को अभाव-रूप नहीं कहा जा सकता, अर्थात् यह भाव-रूप है, (४) यह असाधारण, अर्थात् सबसे विलक्षण, होता है, (५) इसकी प्रतीति के लिए इसके नाम को जानने की अपेक्षा नहीं होती, (६) अन्य स्वलक्षणों के रूप से पृथक् रूप में इसका भाव होता है, (७) यह अर्थ-क्रिया अर्थात् प्रयोजन की सिद्धि में समर्थ होता है।

धर्मोत्तर और मोक्षाकर गुप्त आदि ने भी इस स्वलक्षण के स्वरूप का विवेचन किया है। उन सब के मतों का निरूपण इससे पूर्व दो लेखों में किया जा चुका है[3]। प्रस्तुत लेख में यह दिखलाना ही हमारा उद्देश्य है कि वाचस्पति मिश्र ने स्वलक्षण के स्वरूप का किस प्रकार विवेचन किया है। वाचस्पति मिश्र ने प्रायः सभी दर्शनों पर प्रामाणिक ग्रन्थ लिखे हैं। बौद्ध दर्शन पर यद्यपि उन्होंने कोई टीकाग्रन्थ या स्वतन्त्र ग्रन्थ नहीं लिखा तथापि न्यायवार्त्तिकतात्पर्यटीका, न्यायकणिका और भामती टीका इत्यादि में बौद्ध दर्शन के मुख्य-मुख्य सिद्धान्तों का खण्डन करने के लिए उनका विशद विवेचन किया है। वाचस्पति मिश्र की यह विशेषता है कि वे खण्डन करने से पूर्व प्रतिपक्षी के सिद्धान्त का यथार्थ रूप में स्पष्ट निरूपण करते हैं। यही कारण है कि बौद्ध दर्शन के अनेक मन्तव्य जैसे वाचस्पति मिश्र के ग्रन्थों से स्पष्ट रूप में प्रकट होते हैं वैसे स्वयं बौद्ध विद्वानों के ग्रन्थों से भी नहीं। अतः एक स्वलक्षण के स्वरूप के विषय में वाचस्पति मिश्र का विवेचन अवश्य ही इस विषय के अनुसन्धान में सहायक हो सकता है।

दिङ्नाग ने विशेष (=स्वलक्षण) नामक परमार्थसत् वस्तु की स्थापना एक ओर तो न्यायवैशेषिक के विरोध में की थी, जो न्याय-वैशेषिक अवयवों से पृथक् अवयवी की वास्तविक सत्ता मानता है और सामान्य, समवाय आदि की ही नहीं अपितु अभाव की भी बाह्य-जगत् में सत्ता सिद्ध करता है। दूसरी ओर उन्होंने माध्यमिक दर्शन के विरोध में स्वलक्षण की सिद्धि की थी। माध्यमिक का कथन है कि प्रत्येक वस्तु की सत्ता आपेक्षिक सापेक्ष (Relative) है, कुछ भी वस्तु-सत् नहीं है। इस प्रकार दिङ्नाग को स्वलक्षण की स्थापना वस्तुवाद (Realism) और अवस्तुवाद (Idealism) के मध्य का एक मार्ग है जो बुद्ध की मध्यमप्रतिपदा के सर्वथा अनुकूल है। सर्वप्रथम यही विचार करना उपयुक्त प्रतीत होता है कि स्वलक्षण की स्वीकृति से न्याय-वैशेषिक के अवयविवाद का कैसे निराकरण हो जाता है।

वाचस्पति मिश्र ने न्यायवार्त्तिकतात्पर्यटीका में अवयवी की सिद्धि करने से पूर्व बौद्ध-न्याय के बाह्यार्थ-विषयक मत का पूर्वपक्ष के रूप में संक्षिप्त किन्तु स्पष्ट विवेचन किया है, जो इस प्रकार है—वह (बौद्ध) यह मानता है कि संवेदन (अनुभव) के आधार पर ही वस्तुओं के स्वरूप की व्यवस्था की जा सकती है। संवेदन के द्वारा उसी वस्तु को सिद्ध किया जाता है जो उसका विषय होती है और संवेदन का विषय वह वस्तु है जो इस संवेदन में अपने आकार को उत्पन्न करती है। बिना किसी अन्तर के व्यवस्थित हुए जो रूप आदि परमाणु हैं हम उनके अतिरिक्त किसी अवयवी घट आदि के आकार का संवेदन नहीं करते, अपितु निरन्तर-स्थित परमाणुओं के आकार का ही सवेदन होता है। यद्यपि यह स्थूलता (जो ज्ञान में भासित होती है) प्रत्येक परमाणु में नहीं हो सकती तथापि यह 'प्रतिभास' (प्रतीति) का धर्म है, जैसे 'ये बहुत हैं' इस प्रकार का ज्ञान भी प्रतिभास का स्वभाव होता है (वास्तविक नहीं होता), अतः इस स्थूलता की प्रतीति

एक अवयवी की सिद्धि करने में समर्थ नहीं हो सकती, जैसा कि (बौद्ध दार्शनिकों ने) कहा है—यह वह (अवयवी) बिना मूल्य दिये ही खरीददार बनता है, यह ज्ञान में अपना आकार अर्पित नहीं करता और प्रत्यक्षता को प्राप्त करना चाहता है[4] ।

उपर्युक्त कथन से बौद्ध दर्शन के बाह्यार्थ के स्वरूप के विषय में निम्न तथ्यों पर प्रकाश पड़ता है—

अवयवों से पृथक् अवयवी की सत्ता नहीं है, रूप आदि से अतिरिक्त घट नाम का कोई द्रव्य नहीं होता। न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीका में अन्य स्थल पर इस तथ्य का स्पष्ट शब्दों में निर्देश किया गया है—"न रूपाद्यतिरिक्तं द्रव्यं नाम किञ्चिदस्ति, नाप्यवयवातिरिक्तः कश्चिदस्त्यवयवीति सौत्रान्तिका वैभाषिकाश्च प्रतिपेदिरे" (न्या० वा० ता०, पृ० ६०८); अर्थात् रूप आदि से पृथक् कोई द्रव्य नहीं है और न ही अवयवों से पृथक् कोई अवयवी होता है—यह सौत्रान्तिक तथा वैभाषिकों ने प्रतिपादित किया था। यहाँ सौत्रान्तिक-मत में दिङ्नाग सम्प्रदाय का भी ग्रहण करना उचित प्रतीत होता है ।

अवयवी की सत्ता क्यों नहीं सिद्ध होती ? क्योंकि हमारे ज्ञान में अवयवी के आकार का आभास नहीं होता। इसलिए वह अवयवी अर्थक्रिया-समर्थ नहीं है । ज्ञान में अपना आकार उत्पन्न करना तो वस्तु की सबसे छोटी अर्थक्रिया है[5] । जब यह अवयवी इसे भी करने में असमर्थ है तो यह परमार्थसत् या यथार्थ कैसे हो सकता है ? अभिप्राय यह है कि वस्तुओं की सत्ता अनुभव से सिद्ध होती है । इस विषय में न्यायवादी बौद्ध सम्प्रदाय का दृष्टिकोण न्याय-वैशेषिक के समान ही है, क्योंकि न्याय-वैशेषिक भी अनुभव के आधार पर ही वस्तुओं को स्वीकार करने की घोषणा करता है[6] । अनुभव से वस्तु की सत्ता और स्वरूप का निश्चय कैसे हो सकता है ? बौद्धन्याय का उत्तर है कि जो वस्तु संवेदन (अनुभव) में अपने आकार को स्पष्ट रूप से उत्पन्न करती है, उसकी ही सत्ता माननी चाहिए । अर्थक्रिया-सामर्थ्य ही वस्तु की सत्ता की कसौटी है[7] । और, जिस प्रकार अग्नि की जलाना, पकाना इत्यादि अर्थक्रिया मानी जाती है, उसी प्रकार ज्ञान में अपने स्पष्ट आकार को उत्पन्न करना भी अग्नि की अर्थक्रिया है । प्रमाणवार्त्तिक तथा न्यायबिन्दु में अनेकशः यह प्रतिपादित किया गया है कि जब हम नील आदि वस्तु को देखते हैं तो वह नील आदि हमारे ज्ञान में अपने स्पष्ट आकार को उत्पन्न कर देता है और उस साकार ज्ञान द्वारा ही वस्तु का प्रत्यक्ष होता है । बौद्धन्याय की इस प्रत्यक्ष की प्रक्रिया का विशद विवेचन एक पृथक् लेख में किया जा चुका है[8] । यहां तो इतना कथन ही पर्याप्त है कि जो वस्तु परमार्थसत् है, केवल कल्पना-जन्य नहीं, वह संवेदन में अपना स्पष्ट आकार अर्पित करती है, यह आकार-समर्पण भी अर्थक्रिया-क्षमता का ही एक रूप है। यदि अन्य कोई अर्थक्रियाक्षमता वस्तु में न भी हो तो न्यूनातिन्यून यह अर्थक्रिया-क्षमता तो होनी ही चाहिए । जिस अवयवी में यह भी नहीं उसकी सता कैसे स्वीकार की जा सकती है ? इसीलिए बौद्ध न्याय में उपहास करते हुए उस अवयवी को बिना पैसे का खरीददार या उठाईगिरा कहा गया है ।

अब नैयायिक की ओर से यह शंका हो सकती है कि यदि अनुभव में अवयवी का आभास नहीं होता तो यह घट, पट आदि के रूप में किसका भास हो रहा है ? बौद्ध की ओर से

इसका समाधान किया गया है कि कुछ परमाणु विशेष आकार (वर्ण और सस्थान) में व्यवस्थित हो जाते हैं, उन्हीं में यह घट, पट आदि की प्रतीति होती है। परमाणुओं के विशेष संस्थान को ही लोक में घट आदि नाम से पुकारा जाता है। परमाणुओं से भिन्न घट नाम का कोई अवयवी नहीं है; अपितु

परमाणुओं के एक विशेष प्रकार के सन्निवेश (Arrangement) में जल जाना आदि का सामर्थ्य उत्पन्न हो जाता है, इस अर्थक्रिया-सामर्थ्य के कारण उस सन्निवेश को 'घट' संज्ञा दे दी जाती है। जल लाना आदि अर्थक्रिया-समर्थ जो वस्तु का स्वरूप है, जो प्रत्यक्ष द्वारा भासित होता है वही परमार्थसत् वस्तु है—स्वलक्षण है। उसकी 'घट' संज्ञा कल्पना द्वारा कर दी गई है, वस्तुतः उसका इस नाम से सम्बन्ध नहीं होता। इसी तथ्य को वाचस्पति मिश्र ने अन्यत्र इस प्रकार प्रतिपादित किया है—

रूप आदि परमाणु ही विशेष आकार में व्यवस्थित होकर जल लाना इत्यादि एक कार्य में नियुक्त होते हुए घट आदि कहे जाते हैं।[९]

यहाँ वाचस्पति मिश्र ने बौद्ध दर्शन का यह वचन भी उद्धृत किया है—'घट इत्यपि च रूपादय एवैकार्थक्रियाकारिणस्तथा व्यपदिश्यन्ते'[१०], अर्थात् एक अर्थक्रिया को करने वाले रूप इत्यादि ही घट इत्यादि नामों से कहे जाते हैं। यद्यपि यहाँ वाचस्पति मिश्र ने यह उल्लेख नहीं किया कि यह वचन किसका है तथापि ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि यह दिङ्नाग का ही कथन रहा होगा; क्योंकि धर्मकीर्ति ने प्रमाणवार्तिक में इसी भाव को अन्य शब्दों में प्रतिपादित किया है और प्रमाणवार्तिक के टीकाकार मनोरथनन्दी ने उसकी व्याख्या निम्न प्रकार से की है—

'तेषां रूपादीनां यत् समानं फलम् उदकाहरणादि तस्याहेतोरश्वादेर्व्यवच्छेदे प्रतिपाद्ये घटश्रुतिर्वर्तते'[११], अर्थात् उन रूप आदिकों का जो जल लाना आदि समान कार्य है उसके अहेतु अश्व इत्यादि की व्यावृत्ति करने के लिए घट शब्द कहा जाता है। प्रमाणवार्तिकवृत्ति में आगे स्पष्ट शब्दों में यह भी बतलाया गया है कि घट शब्द रूप आदि के समुदाय को कहता है[१२]।

यहाँ वाचस्पति मिश्र ने रूप आदि परमाणु (रूपादिपरमाणवः) शब्द का प्रयोग किया है। इसी प्रकार बौद्ध दर्शन के ग्रन्थों में भी रूप आदि का ही उल्लेख किया गया है, जिससे यह विदित होता है कि बौद्ध दर्शन का परमाणु न्याय-वैशेषिक के परमाणु से नितान्त भिन्न है। न्याय-वैशेषिक का परमाणु द्रव्य रूप है उसमें रूप आदि गुण रहते हैं; किन्तु बौद्ध दर्शन के अनुसार रूप आदि ही परमाणु कहे जाते हैं; यहाँ द्रव्य और गुण का भेद नहीं, शक्ति और शक्तिमान् दोनों अभिन्न हैं। बौद्ध दर्शन का परमाणु अखण्ड और नित्य नहीं है, जैसा कि वाचस्पति मिश्र ने भी कहा है—'न- बौद्धराद्धान्ते नित्यः परमाणुरिति[१३]। वस्तुतः बौद्ध दर्शन का परमाणु भी एक ऐसा स्वलक्षण है, जो अन्य स्वलक्षणों के समान अर्थक्रिया में समर्थ होने के कारण ही अपनी सत्ता को सिद्ध करता है।

अब प्रश्न यह है कि बौद्ध मत में भी परमाणु को स्थूल तो नहीं माना जाता और घट इत्यादि वस्तुएँ परमाणुओं का समुदाय-मात्र हैं, घट नाम का कोई अवयवी तो बौद्ध दर्शन को अभिमत नहीं फिर 'यह एक स्थूल घट है', इस प्रकार की प्रतीति कैसे सम्भव है? इस प्रश्न का उत्तर

अत्यन्त संक्षेप में उपर्युक्त कथन में दिया गया है। भाव यह है—यहाँ जो स्थूलता की प्रतीति होती है वह वास्तविक नहीं अपितु प्रातिभासिक है और एक जल लाना इत्यादि कार्य को करने के कारण यहां परमाणुओं के समुदाय में 'एक' शब्द का व्यवहार होता है। लोक में इस प्रकार का व्यवहार प्रचलित ही है; अनेक विद्यार्थियों के समुदाय को श्रेणी या कक्षा नाम से पुकारा जाता है, अनेक सींकों को एकत्र करके बुहारनी नाम दिया जाता है। हाँ, यह एकत्व संख्या केवल मानसी कल्पना ही है, एकत्व संख्या परमार्थसत् वस्तु नहीं। घट में एकत्व की प्रतीति भी बौद्ध मत के अनुसार संवृत्तिसत् या प्रातिभासिक ही है। इसी प्रकार स्थूलता की प्रतीति भी प्रातिभासिक है।

इस विषय में न्याय-वैशेषिक की ओर से यह प्रश्न होता है कि परमाणु तो परमसूक्ष्म हैं, अतः परमाणु का ग्रहण नेत्रों से नहीं हो सकता; फिर परमाणुओं के समुदाय का ग्रहण भी कैसे हो सकता है? अतः परमाणु-समुदाय घट रूप में भासित होता है, यह कथन युक्ति-संगत नहीं। वाचस्पति मिश्र ने इस प्रश्न के उत्तर में प्रमाणवार्तिक की निम्नकारिका को ही बौद्ध की ओर से उद्धृत किया है—

को वा विरोधो बहवः संजातातिशयाः पृथक् ।
भवेयुः कारणं बुद्धेर्यदि नात्मेन्द्रियादिवत् ॥[१४]

भाव यह है कि यद्यपि एक परमाणु का नेत्र से ग्रहण नहीं होता तथापि बहुत से सम्मिलित परमाणुओं का नेत्र से ग्रहण हो ही जाता है; क्योंकि उनमें अतिशय (शक्ति-विशेष) उत्पन्न हो जाता है। जिस प्रकार दूर से एक केश दिखाई नहीं देता किन्तु केशसमुदाय तो दिखलाई देता है अथवा एक धूलिकण का दूर से नेत्र द्वारा ग्रहण नहीं होता तथापि कण-समुदायों का ग्रहण हो सकता है। इसी प्रकार बहुत से परमाणुओं का ग्रहण भी सम्भव है।

इस प्रकार परमाणुओं का समुदाय ही जल लाना आदि एक अर्थक्रिया को करता हुआ घट नामक स्वलक्षण कहा जाता है। इसके स्वरूप के विषय में वाचस्पति मिश्र ने अन्य स्थल पर इस प्रकार बतलाया है—

प्रत्यक्ष-ज्ञान वस्तु के सामर्थ्य से उत्पन्न होता है, अतएव वस्तु उस ज्ञान का विषय कहलाती है। और, वही वस्तु प्रत्यक्ष का विषय मानी जाती है जिसके समक्ष होने से ज्ञान में उसका आकार उत्पन्न हो जाता है और न होने से नहीं होता। जिसमें समस्त अर्थक्रियाओं के सामर्थ्य का अभाव है ऐसा सामान्य तो ज्ञान में अपना स्पष्ट आकार उत्पन्न नहीं कर सकता; किन्तु स्वलक्षण ऐसा करने में समर्थ है, अतः वही परमार्थसत् है। अर्थक्रिया में समर्थ होना ही तो परमार्थसत् वस्तु का स्वरूप है। इस स्वलक्षण का यही 'स्व' अर्थात् असाधारण लक्षण-स्वरूप है कि यह देश से अनुगत नहीं होता, अतः देशात्मक नहीं होता (अर्थात् यह विस्तार नहीं रखता) और वास्तविक होता है। यह काल से अनुगत नहीं होता (अर्थात् स्थिर नहीं रहता), अतः क्षणिक है। इसलिए स्वलक्षण ही प्रत्यक्ष का विषय होता है।[१५]

इस कथन के आधार पर यह कहा जा सकता है कि (१) स्वलक्षण प्रत्यक्ष का विषय

है, सामान्यलक्षण प्रत्यक्ष का विषय नहीं। जो वस्तु ज्ञान में अपना (स्पष्ट) आकार उत्पन्न करती है उसका ही प्रत्यक्ष होता है। स्वलक्षण ज्ञान में अपना आकार उत्पन्न कर सकता है, अतः उसी का प्रत्यक्ष होता है। सामान्य लक्षण तो ज्ञान में अपना स्पष्ट आकार उत्पन्न नहीं कर सकता। जिस अग्नि की हम कल्पनामात्र करते हैं उसका तो केवल धुंधला सा भास होता है स्पष्ट नहीं। स्वलक्षण ही परमार्थसत् है क्योंकि वह अर्थक्रिया में समर्थ है। बाह्यजगत् में स्थित अग्नि ही जलाना, पकाना इत्यादि प्रयोजन की सिद्धि कर सकती है। किन्तु वस्तु का जो सामान्य स्वरूप है वह अर्थक्रिया में समर्थ नहीं होता; कल्पित अग्नि तो जलाना, पकाना आदि में समर्थ नहीं हो सकती, अतः वह वास्तविक नहीं होती, कल्पित या आरोपित रूप है।

स्वलक्षण शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति है—स्वम् असाधारणलक्षणं स्वरूपं यस्य, अर्थात् जिसका असाधारण—अन्यव्यावृत्त, सबसे विलक्षण स्वरूप होता है। इसीलिये दिङ्नाग ने इसके लिए विशेष शब्द का प्रयोग किया था। इसका असाधारण स्वरूप क्या है? इस बात पर वाचस्पति मिश्र ने एक नवीन प्रकाश डाला है। बौद्ध दर्शन के ग्रन्थों में इसका ऐसा स्पष्ट विवेचन नहीं मिलता। वाचस्पति मिश्र उस स्वलक्षण के असाधारण स्वरूप को स्पष्ट करते हुए दो बातें बतलाते हैं—१. वह स्वलक्षण देश से अनुगत नहीं होता[१६], और २. वह काल से अनुगत नहीं होता। देश से अनुगत न होने का अभिप्राय यह है कि कोई स्वलक्षण स्थान की दृष्टि से विस्तार नहीं रखता, उसके कोई अवयव या प्रदेश नहीं होते इसीलिए वह देशात्मक नहीं। जो वस्तु भिन्न-भिन्न देशों (अवयवों) में अनुगत होती है वह आरोपित या कल्पित होती है; क्योंकि एक वस्तु में अनेक विरुद्ध धर्म नहीं रह सकते। एक ही वस्तु भिन्न-भिन्न स्थानों और कालों में रहेगी तो उसमें विरुद्धधर्मों का संसर्ग होगा ही, फिर वह एक नहीं कही जा सकती[१७]। अत एव अवयवी कल्पित या आरोपित वस्तु है, परमार्थतः एक वस्तु नहीं। किन्तु स्वलक्षण तो भिन्न-भिन्न देशों में नहीं रहता, उसमें विस्तार नहीं है, अतः वह अकल्पित, अनारोपित अर्थात् यथाभूत या परमार्थसत् वस्तु है। इसी प्रकार कोई स्वलक्षण काल से अनुगत नहीं होता, इसका भाव यह है कि एक क्षण से दूसरे क्षण में वह नहीं जाता, इसीलिए वह क्षणिक है और क्षण कहलाता है, और अन्य क्षणों अर्थात् स्वलक्षणों से भिन्न है। इस प्रकार प्रत्येक स्वलक्षण अपने समान काल में अन्य स्थानों में स्थित विजातीय स्वलक्षणों से भिन्न है, वह स्थान की दृष्टि से विस्तार नहीं रखता, वह दूसरे क्षण में नहीं रहता अर्थात् अन्य क्षणों के सजातीय स्वलक्षणों से भी भिन्न है। इसीलिए वह असाधारण है, सर्वतो व्यावृत्त (unique) है।[18]

संक्षेप में वाचस्पति मिश्र के उपर्युक्त विवेचन से यह निष्कर्ष निकाला जा सकता है—बौद्धन्याय के अनुसार दृश्यमान वस्तु के दो स्वरूप हैं—स्वलक्षण और सामान्यलक्षण। इनमें स्वलक्षण ही परमार्थसत् है। उसकी सत्ता वास्तविक है कल्पित नहीं। बौद्धन्याय का मन्तव्य है कि स्वलक्षण का ग्रहण प्रत्यक्ष द्वारा होता है और सामान्यलक्षण का अनुमान द्वारा। वाचस्पति मिश्र ने हमें यह भी बतलाया है कि वस्तु का सामान्य स्वरूप या सामान्यलक्षण ही शब्द का वाच्य होता है स्वलक्षण नहीं[१९]। इस स्वलक्षण की बाह्य जगत् में स्थिति है, यह कल्पना-जन्य नहीं तथा यह विधि-रूप अर्थात् भाव-स्वरूप होता है, अभाव-स्वरूप नहीं। स्वलक्षण-सम्बन्धी ये सभी तथ्य उपर्युक्त प्रमाणवार्तिक के विवेचन को अत्यधिक स्पष्ट करते हैं।

यह स्वलक्षण या परमार्थसत् वस्तु क्या है ? पृथक्-पृथक् परमाणुओं के समुदाय में जो जल लाना आदि का सामर्थ्य है, वही घट-स्वलक्षण है। वह स्वलक्षण अवयवी के समान अनेक अवयवों में स्थित रहने वाला विस्तारयुक्त (महत्परिमाण वाली) वस्तु नहीं है, न ही वह स्थिर है। यह कहा जा सकता है कि वह सामर्थ्य-मात्र है जो अपने उत्पन्न करने वाले कारणों अर्थात् परमाणु आदि से भिन्न नहीं है, अतः स्थान में विस्तार नहीं रखता। वह अर्थक्रिया-सामर्थ्य एक क्षण ही रहता है। अतः वह काल में स्थिर नहीं, क्षणिक है। बाह्य वस्तु में जो यह विस्तार और स्थिरता की प्रतीति हो रही है वह प्रातिभासिक है, सांवृतिक है, या कहिये कि भ्रान्तिमात्र है।

फलतः स्वलक्षण की बाह्य जगत् में सत्ता है, जो अर्थक्रिया में समर्थ है वही परमार्थसत् वस्तु है। बौद्धन्याय का यह मन्तव्य लौकिक अनुभव का अनुसरण करता है। किन्तु जनसाधारण जिस घट आदि वस्तु को अनेक नील आदि गुणों से समन्वित, लम्बाई-चौड़ाई वाली तथा अनेक दिवस, मास और वर्षों तक विद्यमान रहने वाली मानते हैं, वह घट आदि परमार्थसत् वस्तु नहीं; अपितु वस्तु का सामान्य स्वरूप-मात्र है, वह कल्पनाजन्य है; स्वलक्षण या परमार्थसत् वस्तु इससे नितान्त भिन्न है। बौद्ध न्याय का यह मन्तव्य लोकानुभव का विरोध करता है। इसीलिए बौद्ध न्याय का बाह्य वस्तु-सम्बन्धी सिद्धान्त आंशिक रूप में वस्तुवादी (Realistic) है और आँशिकरूप में अवस्तुवादी (Idealistic)।

टिप्पणियाँ

१. अर्थक्रियासामर्थ्यलक्षणत्वाद्वस्तुनः। न्यायबिन्दु-टीका (साहित्य भण्डार, मेरठ, १९७५), पृ० ७८.

२. अनभिधेयत्वम्, तत्त्वान्यत्वाभ्यां वाच्यत्वम्, असदर्थप्रत्ययाविशिष्टप्रतिभासविषयत्वम् असाधारणत्वम्, संकेतस्मरणानपेक्षप्रतिपत्तिकत्वम्, अन्यरूपविविक्तस्वरूपप्रतिभासवत्त्वम्, अर्थक्रियाक्षमत्वञ्च। मनोरथनन्दिवृत्ति, प्रमाणवार्त्तिक (बौद्धभारती-ग्रन्थमाला, वाराणसी, १९६८), २.५१, पृ० ११६.

३. (क) 'बौद्धन्याये बाह्यवस्तुनः स्वरूपम्', विश्वसंस्कृतम् (साधु आश्रम, होशिआरपुर, फरवरी १९६५), पृ० ११६-१२७.

(ख) The Concept of External object in the School of Dignāga, *Darshana International* (Moradabad, April 1965), pp. 91-97.

४. न्यायवार्त्तिकतात्पर्यटीका (चौखम्बा संस्कृत सीरीज, बनारस, वि० १९२५), पृ० ३८८.

५. अन्त्या हीयं भावानामर्थक्रिया यदुत स्वज्ञानजननम्। प्रमाणवार्त्तिकवृत्ति, २. ५०.

६. 'संविदेव हि भगवती वस्तूपगमे नः शरणम्।' वाचस्पति मिश्र, न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीका, पृ० ३८९.

७. सत्त्वं नामार्थक्रियाकारित्वं भावानां नान्यत्। न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीका, पृ० ५५१.

८. (क) The Representationist Theory of Perception in Buddhist Philosophy, *Kurukshetra University Research Journal*, Vol. I, part 2.

(ख) न्यायबिन्दुटीका (साहित्य भण्डार, मेरठ) पृ० ८४-६५.

६. न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीका, पृ० २२६.

१०. वही, पृ० २२६.

११. प्रमाणवार्तिकवृत्ति, १. १०२.

१२. उदकाहरणाद्यहेतुव्यावृत्ति समुदायवाची घटशब्द आहेत्यर्थः। वही, १. १०२.

१३. न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीका, पृ० ५०८.

१४. प्रमाणवार्त्तिक, २. २२३.

१५. न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीका, पृ० १७.

१६. देशतोऽननुगमेनादेशात्मकस्य परमार्थत्वम्, न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीका की यह पंक्ति अधिक स्पष्ट नहीं हो पाई है।

१७. विरुद्धधर्मसंसर्गाद्ध्यन्यद्वस्तु देशकालाकारभेदश्च विरुद्धधर्मसंसर्गः। न्यायबिन्दुटीका, पृ० १८.

१८ स्वलक्षणानि त्रैलोक्यविलक्षणानि। न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीका, पृ० ४८३.

१९. वही, पृ० ४८३.

२०. बाह्यस्य स्वलक्षणस्य विधिरूपस्य। वही, पृ० ४८६.

IMPORT OF WORD ACCORDING TO THE BUDDHIST LOGIC

(With special reference to Mīmāṁsā Śloka-Vārttika)

MRS. VIJAYA RANI

Buddhist logicians maintain that words cannot signify the reality. Real is only the thing-in-itself (*sva-lakṣaṇa*), which is momentary, comes and vanishes away at one and the same time and, therefore, is out-side the grasp of word.[1] It is clearly said by Diṅnāga that 'the names are the product of conceptual constructions and vice-versa conceptual constructions are the product of names; they are related with each other causally, the names cannot even touch the real.[2] The name and the real are two different things. 'A man can feel what a burn is like, when he is burnt by fire, but the meaning that he gathers from the word 'burn' is quite different from this burnful feeling'.[3] It is, thus, evident that the name cannot signify the real. It can signify only the generic form (*sāmānya-lakṣaṇa*) of a thing. But this denotation of generic form always occurs in a negative form through 'the exclusion of others' called *apoha* or *anyāpoha*, in-as-much as there is no real or positive entity like 'universal' or '*jāti*' in the Buddhist view.

The theory of *apoha* was promulgated in the Buddhist system first by Diṅnāga in his *Pramāṇa-Samuccaya*, Chapter V.[4] The word '*apoha*' which is the abridged form of '*anyāpoha*' means the 'exclusion or negation of others' (*atadvyāvṛtti*).[5] The word 'cow' gives its own meaning only by the exclusion of all those things which are *more* than cow. In the very first verse of *Pramāṇa-Samuccaya*, Chapter V, Diṅnāga declares :

"......In fact word can express its own meaning only by repudiating the opposite meanings, as for instance, the words like '*kṛtaka*', i.e., that which has origin (designate their meanings only through the exclusion of their opposites like '*akṛtaka*', i.e., that which does not have origin)".[6]

In the *Apoha* chapter of the *Śl. Vār.*, Kumārila also refers to this

Buddhist view, while he says, "Those who assume the universal (*sāmānya*) in the form of 'exclusion of non-cow' as the denotation of word...."[7] Pārthasārthi's exposition of the Buddhist view is more vivid. He writes :

"There can be nothing similar in the particulars, having totally isolated natures ; nor can the particulars, which are not the object of determinate knowledge (*avikalpatvāt*), be the denotation of words due to the discrepancies of infinity (*ānantya*) and violation (*vyabhicāra*). It is, therefore, only the exclusion or negation of others, related with each and every object, which can be the import of word..."[8]

Nature of Apoha

(*i*) *Negative (abhāvātmaka)*

From Kumārila's refutation of the theory of *apoha* in the *Śloka-vārttika* it is easily intelligible that the Buddhists used to maintain the nature of *apoha* as pure negation. Kumārila has, several times, used the terms '*abhāva*', '*avastu*', '*nirupākhya*' etc. during his refutation to denote the negative character of *apoha*[9]. The meaning of the word '*apoha*' itself tells us that *apoha* is nothing but 'the negation or exclusion of others'. Words can give their exact and proper meanings only through the exclusion of others. In fact, negation of others provides a sense of definiteness and individuality to the meaning of the word concerned. In the words of Dr. Satkari Mookerjee, "That it is a definite idea means that it is not any other and this definite individuality cannot have a meaning and a *raison d'etre* unless it negates what is not. So negation constitutes its fundamental individuality ; negation is its very life and soul, without which it will be an empty nonsense."[10] In reference to the refutation of the negative character of *apoha*,[11] Śarkarikākāra and Pārthasārthi, the commentators on *Śl. Vār.* have quoted a line from Diṅnāga, which declares :

"Having assumed the unknowable' (i.e., *ajñeya*), the word '*jñeya*' sets out to denote its own meaning through the exclusion of that (i.e., *ajñeya* or that which is not knowable)."[12]

(*ii*) *Diversity & positivity in Apoha*

Repudiating the negative nature of *apoha*, Kumārila, has objected that words signifying different classes, and also the words signifying different individuals, would all come to be synonymous, if the signification of word were to consist in *apoha*[13], because *apoha*, being of negative nature (*abhāvātmaka*), would be one and the same in all the cases.[14] Meeting with this objection, the Buddhist asserts that this objection does not apply to him, because the *apohas* are accepted as different in his system.[15] The difference in *apohas* can be proved on account of the diversity in their *apohyas* (i.e., the things negated).[16]

Now the question arises how the '*apohyas*' are different ? The *apohyas* belonging to one word are different from the *apohyas* belonging to the other, because of the difference of one particular *apohya* (thing-negated)[17]. For instance, if we consider the words 'cow' and 'horse', there is only one particular *apohya*, i.e., cow with reference to horse and horse with reference to cow, which is the cause of diversity in the *apohyas* of cow and that of the horse, although the other negated objects (like elephant, camel, lion, etc.) are common in each case.[18]

Word	*Apohyas*, i.e., things-negated				*Apoha*, i.e., meaning of the word
Cow	horse,	elephant,	lion,	camel & so on	exclusion of non-cow, i.e., cow itself
	↓	↓	↓	↓	
	different	common	common	common	——
	↑	↑	↑	↑	
Horse	cow,	elephant,	lion,	camel & so on	exclusion of non-horse, i.e., horse itself.

It is, thus, evident that the *apohyas* of the words 'cow' and 'horse' are said to be different from one-another only on account of one particular *apohya*, and on account of the diversity in *apohyas*, the resultant meanings, i.e., the *apohas*, are also different.[19] Hence, the words are not proved as synonymous. Diṅnāga has already expressed in *Pramāṇa-Samuccaya* : "The words denote different meanings on account of the diversity in their *apohyas* (things-negated), although, they, by themselves, are inefficient to express the same".[20]

A different view was also accepted by the Buddhists regarding the cause of diversity and positivity in *apohas*, as has been pointed out by Kamalaśīla in his *Tattva-saṅgraha-pañjikā*. He tells us that according to some Buddhists the diversity and the positivity of *apohas* are not caused by the diversity in '*apohyas*' (things-excluded) or in substrata, but they are caused by different impressions (*vāsanās*) continuing from time immemorial.[21] This view has been referred to and rejected by Kumārila also. He says, "nor can there be assumed diversity and also positivity in *apohas* due to the diversity in impressions (*vāsanābhedāt*), because there can be no impression (*vāsanā*) with regard to a negation."[22] This refutation by Kumārila is a clear indication that this view was present in the Buddhist theory even before Kumārila. It was introduced there either by Diṅnāga or by some other Buddhist master before Kumārila. The view has been explained in *Śarkarikā*[23] as well as in *Nyāya-ratnākara*. The *Nyāyaratnākarakāra* says :

The Buddhists have said—'We do not assert that the meaning of a word appears in the form of 'exclusion of non-cow' or 'exclusion of the non-existent', on account of which there may occur mutual dependence, but we do accept that it appears in a positive form alone. It is only the investigators, who, having found the impossibility of a positive common attribute, extent in different individuals, declare that the meaning of a word, in fact, happens to be in the form of 'exclusion of others' and this negative form of meaning seems to be positive and different (in each case) due to the impressions (*vāsanāḥ*) flowing from time immemorial. Hence, there can occur no synonymity of words and mutual dependence in our theory.[24]

The Buddhists, thus, accept diversity and positivity in *apohas*, because they seem to be such due to the influence of beginningless impressions (*vāsanāḥ*).

It is to be noted regarding the nature of *apoha* that although the whole refutation of the theory by Kumārila is mainly based on the assumption of *apoha* as pure negation, Dr. Satkari Mookerjee's contention is somewhat different. According to him, "Kumārila misunderstood the real significance of Diṅnāga's doctrine."[25] "When Diṅnāga declared that word imports a negation and neither an objective universal, nor a particular, he only emphasised this negative implication of verbal import. He did not mean that negation was the primary and apparent connotation."[26]

The later Buddhist thinkers, such as Śāntarakṣita, Karṇakagomin, Jinendrabuddhi, Jñānaśrīmitra and Ratnakīrti, in view of the vehement criticism from the Realists, re-interpreted and modified the *apoha* theory. Not going through all the details how the theory underwent modifications in the hands of different Buddhist thinkers,[27] we here briefly state only the final interpretation of Ratnakīrti. He rejects Śāntarakṣita's view that a word conveys a positive meaning first, and a negative meaning later by logical implication.[28] According to him the denotation of a word consists neither in affirmation only, nor in negation only, but it consists in affirmation qualified by the negation of all other things.[29] According to some scholars[30] this interpretation is based upon a brief statement of Diṅnāga that a word conveys positive meaning qualified by the negation of others.[31]

It is, thus, evident from the above account that the Buddhist logicians have accepted *Apoha* as the import of word. The nature of *Apoha* is negative (*abhāvātmaka*). Positivity has also been accepted to some extent in *apohas*, although, with the logical point of view, more emphasis has been given on its negative aspect alone.

NOTES

1. Cf. (i) K. Kunjunni Raja, '*Theory of Meaning according to Buddhist Logicians*', Adyar Lib. Bulletin, Vol. 18, 1954, p. 182, II-13.
   (ii) Dhirendra Sharma, *DTM*, p. 27,1-5.
   (iii) R.R. Dravid, *PUIP*, p. 264, 24-29.
2. विकल्पयोनयः शब्दा विकल्पाः शब्दयोनयः ।
   कार्यकारणता तेषां नार्थं शब्दा स्पृशन्त्यपि ॥ Quoted in *NVTT*, p. 691 (Cal. S.S.).
   A verse ascribed to Diṅnāga by Prof. Stcherbatsky, see *BL*, II, p. 405, fn. 1.
3. अन्यथैवाग्निसम्बन्धाद् दाहं दग्धोऽभिमन्यते ।
   अन्यथा दाहशब्देन दाहाद्यर्थः प्रतीयते ॥ *Vākyapadiya*, II. 425.
   This verse has been often quoted by many Indian philosophers coming after Bhartṛhari, to support the Buddhist view regarding meaning : See, *Vyomavati*, p. 584; *NM*, Pt. II, p. 29; *NKC*, p. 553; *PKM*, p. 447; *TSP*, p. 345.
4. See, (i) *BL*, II, p. 404;
   (ii) Satkari Mookerjee, *BPUF*, p. 131, 19-20;
   (iii) Dhirendra Sharma, *DTM*, p. 25.
5. See, *DTM*, p. 28.
6. ———————तथाहि तत् ।
   कृतकादिवत् स्वार्थमन्यापोहेन भाषते ॥ *PS*, V, Kā. I bcd; vide, Dr. Hattori's article; *BL*, I, p. 459. The Kārikā is also quoted in *TSP*, p. 529 without ascribing to Diṅnāga.
7. अगोनिवृत्तिः सामान्यं वाच्यं यैः परिकल्पितम् । *Śl. Vār.*, Apoha, Kā. I, ab.
8. न तावद्व्यावृत्तरूपाणामत्यन्तविलक्षणानां स्वलक्षणानामनुवृत्तः कश्चिदात्मा सम्भवति, न च स्वलक्षणान्यविकल्पत्वादानन्त्यव्यभिचाराभ्यां शब्दाभिधानीयकं लभन्ते, अतोऽतद्व्यावृत्तिरेव सर्वाऽनुगता शब्दार्थ इति । *NR*, p. 566.
9. See, *Śl. Vār.*, Apoha, Kā. 15, 45, 91, 100, 145, 163 and others.
10. See, *BPUF*, p. 117.
11. See, *Śl. Vār.*, Apoha, Kā. 145.
12. अज्ञेयं तु कल्पितं कृत्वा तदपोहेन ज्ञेयशब्दः प्रवर्तते । *Hetumukha*, vide, *TSP*, p. 385. The line is quoted in *Śar.*, p. 68, *NR*, p. 608 and is ascribed to Diṅnāga.
13. भिन्नसामान्यवचना विशेषवचनाश्च ये ।
    सर्वे भवेयुः पर्याया यद्यपोहस्य वाच्यता ॥ *Śl. Vār.*, Apoha, Kā. 42. For translation, see, Eng. trans. by G.N. Jhā, p. 303.
14. तस्यावस्तुस्वरूपार्थात् सर्वत्राभिन्नरूपत्वम् । *Śar.*, p. 38, line 11.
15. See, ननु भेदादपोहानां प्रसङ्गोऽयं न युज्यते । *Śl. Vār.*, Apoha, Kā. 43 ab.
16. See, ननु चापोह्यभेदेन भेदोऽपोहस्य सेत्स्यति । *Ibid.*, Kā. 47 ab.
17. Cf. सर्वशब्देषु चैकैकमपोह्यमतिरिच्यते ।
    तत्रासाधारणत्वेन तन्मात्रापोह्यता भवेत् ॥ *Ibid.*, Kā. 56.
18. Cf. यथा गव्यश्वेन सहाऽऽलोच्यमाने गोरपोह्योऽश्वापोह्यादश्वमात्रमतिरिच्यते, अश्वापोह्ये च गोमात्रं, हस्त्यादिकं तु द्वयोः साधारणम् । NR, p. 580.
19. See, NR, p. 580.

20. अपोह्यभेदाद्भिन्नार्थाः स्वार्थभेदगतौ जडाः। *PS*, V, Kā. 14 ab (vide, Dr. Hattori's article; quoted in *TSP*, p. 379, 5-6 and p. 365-10.

21. Cf. तत्र केचिद् बौद्धाः परिहारमाहुर्न खल्वपोह्यभेदाद् आधारभेदाद्वाऽपोहानां भेदः—— ——वासनाभेदाद्भेदः सद्रूपता चापोहानां भविष्यति। *TSP*, p. 376.

22. See, न चापि वासनाभेदाद् भेदः सद्रूपताऽपि वा।
अपोहानां प्रकल्प्येत न ह्यवस्तुनि वासना॥ *Śl. Vār.*, Apoha Kā. 100.

23. See, *Śarkarikā*, p. 54.

24. 'शक्यास्त्वाहुः, नाऽगोनिवृत्तिः असन्निवृत्तिरित्येव रूपं शब्दार्थाऽवभासं ब्रूमः, येनेतरेतराश्रयः स्यात्, किं तु वस्तुरूपतयैव शब्दार्थो भासते, परीक्षकास्तु व्यावृत्तेष्वनुवृत्तं वस्तुरूपमसंभावयन्तो तद् व्यावृत्तिरूपमाचक्षते, अनादिकालवासनावशाच्च व्यावृत्तिरूपमपि सद्रूपमिव भिन्नमिवाऽवभासते, अतो न पर्यायत्वं नेतरेतराश्रयत्वमिति। *NR*, p. 592.

25. *BPUF*, p. 118, line 29-30.

26. Ibid., line 25-29.

27. For details see Dr. Satkari Mookerjee, *BPUF*, p. 130 ff.; Prof. Stcherbatsky, *BL*, I, pp. 461 ff, K.K. Raja, *ITM*, pp. 90 ff; H.K. Ganguli, *PLC*, pp. 211 ff; R.R. Dravid, *PUIP*, pp. 282 ff.

28. न हि विधि प्रतिपद्य कश्चिदर्थापतितः पश्चादपोहमवगच्छति। As in *RN*, 54, line 6-7.

29. नास्माभिरपोहशब्देन विधिरेव केवलोऽभिप्रेतः। नाप्यन्यव्यावृत्तिमात्रम्। किन्त्वन्यापोहविशिष्टो विधिः शब्दानामर्थः। As in *RN*, p. 54, line 1-2.

30. See, Dhirendra Sharma, *DTM*, p. 29-30, fn. 42.

31. शब्दोऽर्थान्तरव्यावृत्तिविशिष्टानेव भावान् आहेति। *PSV*, V, on Kā. 36d (vide, Dr. Hattori's article ; quoted in *TSP*, p. 371; *PKM*, p. 436.

SECTION V

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY, CULTURE, AND ART

EVOLUTION OF THE ICONOGRAPHY OF ŚIVA

K. D. BAJPAI

In the Vedic-Purāṇic religion Śiva occupies a unique position. In the entire range of Indian religious history, no other popular deity reflects such an interesting amalgam of divergent traits as we find in the case of Śiva.

The earliest form of Śiva can be traced back in the Vedic Rudra, representing an all-powerful god. The word 'Rudra' occurs in the early and the late Vedic literature for the element of destruction. Yāska and other early commentators have identified Rudra with Agni (*Agnirapi rudra ucyate*, Nirukta X. 7).

Tryambaka, used for Śiva in the later texts, originally stood for *Paramātmā*, the supreme deity. Goddess Ambikā, who is later on recognized as the consort of Śiva, is mentioned as the sister of Rudra (cf. *Yajurveda*, III. 57). The later conceptions that Śiva has three eyes, that he drank poison (which made him *nilagriva*), that he wears tiger-skin and garlands of snakes are not mentioned in the Vedic literature. According to some of the early Vedic texts, the clouds (*megha*, also called *giri*) were the abodes of a form of Agni (i.e., lightning). This was the basis of making the Kailāsa mountain the abode of Śiva. Similarly, *vṛṣabha* (meaning cloud in the early texts) came to be associated with Rudra-Śiva as his *vāhana* (mount).

In the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (VI. 1. 3. 18) Agni has eight names, including the name Rudra. This gave an idea to the Purāṇa-writers that Śiva has eight heads. The number, however, varied and according to the number of three *guṇas*, four Vedas and five natural elements (earth, water, fire, sky and air), the number of Śiva's heads became three, four and five respectively. Similarly, 7 to 12 Rudras (usually recognised as 11) were also mentioned by the Purāṇa-writers.

One of the popular forms of Śiva-*worship* is the liṅga-pūjā. The flames of burning fire go up horizontally resembling *Śiśna* or *liṅga*. This basic concept gave rise to the cult-image resembling *Jyotirliṅga*. The Aryans originally did not adhere to the liṅga-worship. They rather abhorred the idea, as can be inferred from their despiteful attitude towards the *Śiśnadevas*.

Rudra became Śiva in the Purāṇic pantheon and gradually assumed a place among the three main deities (*trimūrti* or trinity), Enormous literature grew around him in the form of separate Śaiva Purāṇas and the *āgama* literature. The earlier fierceful form of Rudra was now mellowed down into Śiva and Śaṅkara of auspicious nature, the bestower of goodness. The benevolent form now given to an erstwhile cruel deity was conceived on almost the same lines as we find in the case of malevolent Yakṣas.

It is interesting to note that later literary accounts and the iconographic prescriptions for Śiva tend to retain his Rudra form in various ways. The *āyudhas* associated with Śiva, such as *triśūla*, *ḍamaru*, *vajra*, *pāśa*, *sarpa*, *aṅkuśa*, *muṇḍamālā*, *agni* etc. eloquently prove this. His five main forms represent the mingling of the two divergent aspects of Śiva. These five forms are : *Sadyojāta*, *Anugraha*, *Aghora*, *Īśāna* and *Tatpuruṣa*. Śiva, in course of time, became the Aryan deity *par excellence*. All the super-human attributes were then assigned to him and he was regarded by the Śaivites as the supreme deity.

The Purāṇas, the *āgamas* and other texts give detailed accounts of the iconography of various forms of Śiva. When the idea of the *pañcadevas* gained supremacy, various syncratic statues showing Śiva conjointly with Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Umā etc. were carved. The images of Hari-hara, Harihara-Hiraṇyagarbha, Ardhanārīśvara and a few other forms indicate this fusion. Apart from the *saumya* forms of Śiva, numerous statues of the deity representing him in the fierce attitude are known. In the Medieval art, Śiva is shown killing Tripura, Gajāsura, Andhaka etc.

The images of Śiva with Umā in various forms, such as āliṅgana, vṛṣabhārohaṇa, kalyāṇasundara etc. are remarkable for their unusual aesthetic and ornamental excellence.

The earliest plastic representation of Śiva is supposed to occur on a seal from Mohenjodaro, wherein he is seated in the *Paśupati* form, surrounded by several animals. Some of the stones in the form of phallus found in the Indus valley culture are also regarded as symbols of Śiva, the lord of procreation.

In the historical period the worship of Śiva in the *liṅga* form became very popular. This form, based on philosophical concepts, was popularized by the artists also. On some silver punch-marked coins, the *liṅga* symbol is clearly seen. Some scholars associate the symbols of *triśūla, paraśu* and hill occurring on the punch-marked and tribal coins with lord Śiva. The five-headed Śiva-liṅga from Bhītā bears a Brāhmī inscription of about 100 B.C. This image can be said to be the earliest representation of Sadāśiva in art. The early *Eamukha liṅgas* are known from Gudimallam, Mathura and a few other sites. In the Gupta period the carving of *Mukha-liṅgas* became more common. The *Ekamukha-liṅgas* from Bhumara, Khoh and Udaigiri bear excellent workmanship and facial expression. From Nachna, Tumain and Mathura beautifully carved four-faced *liṅgas* have been obtained. Kālidāsa has eulogised, in his *Mālavikāgnimitra* and *Śākuntala*, Śiva of eight forms. An important eight-headed Śiva-liṅga was found at Mandsaur and recently another such figure has been acquired from Mundhāl for the Nagpur Museum. In the Medieval period huge *liṅgas* showing on them one hundred or one thousand phallus-symbols were prepared.

The human form of Śiva also began to appear from about 2nd cent. B.C. On the coins of Ujjayinī, Śiva is found in various forms. On some coins he holds a *daṇḍa.* This may be the earliest indication of the Lakulīśa form. A few of the Ujjayinī coins represent Śiva in the Naṭeśa form and in others he is standing with Umā. A few of the coins show him three-faced. On a rare coin of king Savitṛ, recently published by me, Śiva holds *daṇḍa* and *kamaṇḍalu.* The coin was found at Ujjain and can be assigned to 2nd cent. B.C.

Śiva was also a very popular deity of the *janapadas* of Kauśāmbī and Kosala. On the tribal coins of these regions bull of Śiva appears in a prominent form. The dynasties of the Nāgas and the Maghas are also well-known to have given bull on their coins. On some silver coins of Skandagupta and on the Valabhi coins, we get the figure of the animal.

On a silver coin of Dharghosha, an Audumbara king, a figure has been identified with sage Viśvāmitra. My contention is that it is the figure of Śiva, who was also known as *Viśvamitra* (friend of the universe). The Kuṇinda kings too showed Śiva on their copper coins. The Indo-Pārthians and the Kushāṇas issued their coins with a prominent figure of Śiva on them. On some of the coins of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva, Śiva has three heads and four hands. Umā is also shown with Śiva on some coins of Huvishka.

On a rare Nāga coin from Pawaya (district Gwalior) I have recently identified the figure of Śiva. The name of the king, who issued it, has been read by me as Ravināga. On the obverse of the coin, Śiva is standing holding a scarf or a small daṇḍa in his right hand.

Śiva in the Naṭarāja form was very popular in South India. In the art of the Cholas, the Pallavas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Hoyasalas, numerous interesting images of Naṭarāja have been found. In the North, some important images of Naṭeśa are known from Tumain, Sirpur, Udayapur, Badoh and Malhar. Recently some rare images of Naṭeśa in the form of ardhanārīśvara have been discovered in Central India.

INTERPRETATION OF THE EXPRESSION MĪḌHA-VIDHĀNAM IN THE JŪNĀGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADĀMAN I, ŚAKA YEAR 72

SADHU RAM & YASH PAL

INTRODUCTION

The Jūnāgarh Rock inscription of the Western Kṣatrapa king Rudradāman was ably edited by Prof. Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.* VIII, 36ff. Rudradāman was a very powerful monarch who had become completely Indianized. It goes to his credit that, being a prince of a foreign tribe, he became proficient in Sanskrit grammar, music, logic and other sciences. Not only that, he shone as a writer of sweet and charming prose and verse, excelling by the proper use of proper words and literary embellishments. Besides learning, he was no less qualified in the art and strategy of war, pugilistic combats, use of weapons as well as in the management of horses, elephants and chariots. Above all, he became a believer in *ahiṃsā*, and took a life-long vow not to take human life except in war. He was so benevolent that when an enormous breach was caused in the dam of the Sudarśana lake by torrential rains and swollen rivers, he spent money from his personal treasury on its repair to save and protect his subjects from that calamity, in spite of the advice of his councillors and executive officers to the contrary owing to the enormity of the damage. This shows the marvellous influence of Indian culture on barbarous foreign tribes who invaded India for political conquest and not to proselyte as was forcibly done by bigots, religious fanatics and vandals of later mediaeval ages.

The history of the Sudarśana lake goes back to the times of the Mauryas when a Vaiśya Puṣyagupta, the provincial governor of the emperor Candragupta Maurya constructed the dam of this lake, and to which conduits were provided by Aśoka's governor of Surāṣṭra, the Yavana king Tuṣāspha in the 3rd cent. B.C. That strong dam stood for about four centuries, and gave way to an unprecedented flood in the rivers arising from the mountain Ūrjayat caused probably by a cloudburst which turned the earth into a vast ocean.

THE EXPRESSION miḍha-vidhānam : This expression occurs in line 3 of the inscription as 'the final member of a *Bahuvrihi* compound beginning with *suprativihita* in line 2. It has been variously interpreted. Bhagawanlal Indraji took it to be a separate epithet of the lake and rendered it as 'the outline of which runs in curves like stream of urine,' to which Bühler added a note saying that *mūtra-rekhā* was a common expression in Gujarātī for 'crooked.' Apparently, both the scholars took *miḍha* to be synonymous with *go-mūtraka*, but this hardly suits the context. Following this very line of argument, Prof. Kielhorn took *miḍha* to be identical with Pāli *milha* (*Jātaka*, IV, 244) meaning 'excrement, dirt, foul matter.' He was, no doubt, right in saying "*miḍha-vidhānam* forms a part of a *Bahuvrihi* compound commencing with *suprativihita* ; *miḍha* or *miḍha-vidhānam* must denote something that was provided for the lake like conduits etc." But under the fixation of the idea of foulness associated with urine in his mind, he translated the expression as 'arrangement for guarding against foul matter or impurities falling into the lake.'

As the lake was fed by rivers arising from the mountain Ūrjayat, and there being no factories and sewages to pollute the waters of the rivers, the question of foul matter does not arise. Even if for argument's sake, the existence of foul matter be admitted, it could not have been floating on the surface of water like a flotsam which could be gathered and thrown out. It must be dissolved in the water. Here one may ask, could it be possible or feasible to remove it, and what were the means of ridding the water of its foulness ?

It appears that the attention of scholars was mainly focused on the foul smell of urine (although modern uro-therapists recommend it for internal use without abhorrence for curing all sorts of ailments), and have overlooked the action denoted by the root √ *mih* 'to pass urine, to make water, to release water,' and also the sense of feminine noun *mih* 'downpour of water.' In this connection, it is significant that the words *meha*, *miṁha* in Indian dialects mean 'rain.' *Miḍha*, therefore, should mean 'passing or releasing of water' whether by an animal body or by a cloud. Hence, *miḍha-vidhānam* means 'arrangement for the release of water from the lake' by means of channels and flood-gates for the purpose of irrigation.

THE IDEALS OF THE ANCIENT INDIAN STATE

N. C. TYAGI

The concept of state as it is understood in modern times was completely indistinguishable from 'Government' in ancient India ; and 'Government' was used in the sense which the 'state' conveys today. Since the government was generally monarchical, the term 'king' became really synonymous with government and state. As such, the ends and ideals set before the king automatically became the ends and ideals of the state. Material and moral good of the people remained the main ideal of the ancient Indian state. The *Atharvaveda* records that the kingdom of Parīkṣit abounded in milk and honey.[1] King Aśvapati of the Kekaya kingdom had completely idealised his state and he could safely boast that "in his kingdom there was no thief, no close-fisted person, no drunkard, no man without sacrificial fire in his house, no one uneducated, no adulterer, much less an adulteress."[2] It was this state of affairs that the Hindu polity stood and aspired for.

All-round welfare, doing utmost good, affording general happiness, ensuring full protection, in a word the complete identification of the ruler's interests with those of his subjects was deemed to be the end and ideal of the state. "The king," says Gautama, "(shall be) good (*sādhu*) in his acts and speech, he shall be impartial towards his subjects and he shall do what is good for them."[3] In other *Dharma-sūtras* the king's duties as the guardian of the people are specially emphasised. Āpastamba lays down that he (king) alone is said to be a welfare-worker (*kṣemakṛt*), in whose dominion, be it in village or forest, there is no fear from thieves.[4] The Pāli canon too declares the attainment of happiness of the people to be the object of kingly life. Nay, the purpose of the kings coming into being was the happiness of the subjects. The *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* observes that Tathāgata Buddha and the *cakkavatti* king are the two beings who take birth on this earth for the happiness of the many folk.[5]

The highest ideal is placed before the king by the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, who says : "In the happiness of the subjects lies the happiness of the king, in their welfare his welfare ; the good of the king does not consist in what is pleasing to himself but what is pleasing to the subjects constitutes his good."[6] Kauṭilya compares the king to the performer of a sacrifice : "Of a king the sacrificial vow is exertion (readiness to action), satisfactory discharge of his duties is his performance of sacrifice, equal behaviour towards all is his sacrificial fees as well as his purificatory bath after the sacrifice."[7]

The Kauṭilya's ideal of state is echoed in the *Viṣṇu*-Dharmaśāstra : "The king who is pleased when his subjects are joyful, and grieved when they are in grief, will obtain fame in this world and will be raised to a high position in heaven after his death."[8]

The idea of common happiness as the ideal of the state is several times repeated in *Jātaka*-stories. In the *Mahākapi-Jātaka,* the monkey-king (the Bodhisattva) sacrificed himself in order to save his 80000 followers from certain death. His captor, the human king asked him : "What he was to them and what they were to him, that he endangered his own life and made himself a bridge for their safe coming over river. His successful endeavour to secure the happiness of those under his rule raised him higher than the feeling of physical or mortal pain."[9] The human king was then admonished to learn from example and seek the happiness of his whole realm, his beasts of burden, his troops and the inhabitants of his cities.

The Mahābhārata repeats the same ideal of identification of the ruler's interests with those of his subjects. Emphasising the necessity of *daṇḍa*, it says : "Sceptre of justice is the refuge of all. It is the only guarantee for virtue, righteousness, prosperity and universal happiness."[10] The king is charged with the ideal of welfare of the subjects in another extract : "The king should constantly behave like a pregnant woman. As the mother disregarding for her own likes seeks the good of the child in her womb, so should the king behave towards his subjects. The righteous king should constantly behave so as to give up what is dear to him for the sake of what is beneficial to his people."[11] The wealth of kings was meant for the welfare and benefit of the people and not for their personal enjoyments. In the *Udyogaparva* a king declares : "His wealth was meant for the benefit of the *Paura-jānapadas* (the urban and the rural people) and never for his own pleasures ; for that king who at his sweet will gives away what (really is not his but) belongs to others, does not become endowed with spiritual merit nor with fame."[12] The welfare of the subjects was all important to the author of the *Mahābhārata*. No sacrifice was so great as the welfare of the subjects. Bhīṣma justifies the king's relinquishing even his eldest son for the sake of the people. He quotes the old story of king Sagara, son of Bāhu, sacrificing his eldest son Asamañjas, who used to catch and drown the citizens' children in the river.[13] King Marutta is warned by his grandmother in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* that the king's body is not meant for pleasure but for undergoing great trouble in protecting the earth and carrying out his duties.[14]

In several stories of Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* the wise men have admonished individual kings not to neglect the welfare and happiness of their subjects, to bestow rewards and punishments on those that deserve and thus enhance the people's welfare and happiness together with affection for their ruler.[15] These ideals were reflected in literature also. Kālidāsa tells us that the king Dilīpa did not swerve even by the breadth of a line from the path that had been from the days of Manu.[16] All his activities were directed towards the sole object of the good of his subjects.[17]

Another kingly ideal was 'doing good to the whole world' (sarvalokahita). The idea of doing good to the whole world is repeatedly echoed in the *Mahābhārata* and *Arthaśāstra.* In the Śāntiparva the purpose of the king's duties is explained as the good of the whole world.[18] The authoritative dictum quoted in the Arthaśāstra represents the ideal ruler as one who is devoted to the good of all beings.[19] The boon of 'no-fear' to all beings was declared to be the goal of virtuous and righteous kings by the *Jātakas.*[20] Under the benevolent rule of the kings there was no room or need for anxiety. Kālidāsa narrating king Aja's rule says that the powerful king mercifully treated his newly acquired kingdom, lest it should suffer anxiety.[21]

Rājarṣi or the royal sage was another ideal that the ancient Hindu polity had contemplated for the kings. Kauṭilya titles the seventh chapter of the first book of his work as *Rajarṣivṛttam* 'Life of a Saintly King'. The life of a sage is a life of renunciation. Every act of a sage was meant and done for the good of others. Similar aspirations were fixed for the kings in ancient India. Janaka Videha of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka fame was the first *Rājarṣi.* Allusions to this concept we find more in the works of Kālidāsa. All the kings of the Raghu dynasty have been painted in the style of *rājarṣis.* Of king Dilīpa of Raghu dynasty, Kālidāsa writes that he dwelt like a sage in his kingdom.[22] In *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, the poet regards king Duṣyanta to be little inferior to a sage.[23]

Gratification of the people was regarded an ideal for the kings. The idea of gratification originates from the word *rājan* commonly used for kings. In Sanskrit the word *rājan* can be derived from two roots *rāj*, meaning 'to rule', or 'to shine' and rañj 'to please or gratify'. All these meanings are very aptly applicable to kings. But the king was called *rājan* particularly because he pleased his subjects by doing utmost good to them. In Sanskrit canon it became an axiom for kings. The *Mahābhārata* explains that the king is styled *rājan* since he keeps his subjects gratified or contented.[24] Further, the Mahābhārata lays down the king's duties as "pleasing all the subjects, and protecting this entire world."[25] Kālidāsa has also conveyed the same meaning of the world *rājan*. Of Raghu, he writes, that he justified his title *rājan* by pleasing his subjects just as the moon and the sun had obtained their names by pleasing and warming respectively.[26] In Buddhist scriptures, too, the same concept has been advanced, and *prajārañjana* was considered to be the fore-most duty of kings.[27] The Jaina emperor Khārvela accepted and implemented the genuine spirit of his attribute, and he did please his subjects thirty-five thousand in number.[28] The Buddhist emperor Aśoka never felt tired of performing his single duty of doing good to his subjects.[29] In the kingdom of Valabhī (Saurāṣṭra, Gujarat) there was a great sovereign, Guhasena (559-67 A. D.) whose title of 'king' was obvious and suitable, because he pleased the hearts of his subjects by properly preserving the path laid down in the scriptures.[30] The Vāyu-Purāṇa describes in detail the righteous functions of king Yayāti. It records that he gratified all the people in accordance with the law (dharma) and protected them like a second Indra.[31]

NOTES

1. Atharvaveda, XX. 127.
2. Na me steno janapade na kadaryo na madyapo nānāhitāgnirnāvidvānna svairī svairiṇī kutaḥ. Chāndogya Upaniṣad, V. 11.5.
3. Gautama Dh. S., II. 11.5 & 6.
4. Āpastamba Dh. S., II. 10.25.15.
5. Aṅguttara-Nikāya I, pp. 76-77.
6. Prajāsukhe sukhaṁ rājñaḥ prajānāṁ ca hite hitam.
   Nātmapriyaṁ hitaṁ rājñaḥ prajānāṁ tu priyaṁ hitam. Arthaśāstra, Bk. I, Ch. 19. 39.
7. Rājño hi vratamutthānaṁ yajñaḥ karmānuśāsanam.
   Dakṣiṇā vṛttisāmyaṁ ca dīkṣitasyābhiṣecanam. Arthaśāstra, Bk. I, Ch. 19. 38.
8. Prajāsukhe sukhī rājā tadduḥkhe yaśca duḥkhitaḥ.
   Sa kīrtiyukto loke'smin pretya svarge mahīyate. Viṣṇu Dh. S., III. 98.
9. Taṁ maṁ na tapate bandho vadho me na patessati.
   Mukhamaharitaṁ tesaṁ yesām rajjamakāriyam. Jātakas. No. 407, III, p. 373.
10. Mahābhārata, 'Sāntiparva, 120. 34-35.
11. Yathā hi garbhiṇī hitvā svaṁ priyaṁ manaso'nugam.
    Garbhasya hitamādhatte tathā rājñāpyasaṁśayam.
    Varttitavyaṁ kuruśreṣṭha sadā dharmānuvarttinā. Ibid., 56.45-46.

12. Paurajānapadārthaṁ tu mamārtho nātmabhogataḥ.
    Kāmato hi dhanaṁ rājā pārakyaṁ yaḥ prayacchati.
    Na sa dharmeṇa dharmātman yujyate yaśasā na ca. Ibid., Udyogaparva, 118. 13-14.
13. Asamañjāḥ suto jyeṣṭhastyaktaḥ paurahitaiṣiṇā. Mahābhārata, 'Sāntiparva, 57.8.
14. Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, 133. 33-34. Quoted by Kane, P.V., in H.D.S. III, p. 62.
15. Jātakamālā, XXII. 66-70.
16. Rekhāmātramapi kṣuṇṇādāmanorvartmanaḥ param.
    Na vyatīyuḥ prajāstasya niyanturnemivṛttayaḥ. Raghuvaṁśa, I. 17.
17. Ibid., I. 15-30.
18. Hitārthaṁ sarvalokasya, Mahābhārata, Sāntiparva, 37.26 ; Sarvalokahite rataḥ, 68.5 ; Sarvalokahitaṁ dharmaṁ kṣatriyeṣu pratiṣṭhitam, 64.5.
19. Sarvalokahite rataḥ. Arthaśāstra, Bk. I, Ch. 2.
20. Abhayaṁ ca yo sabba bhutesu deti. Jātakas, IV, p. 338.
21. Raghuvaṁśa, VIII. 7-8.
22. Rājye rājyāśramamunim. Ibid., I. 58.
23. Ṛṣibhyo nātibhinne rājani. Abhijñānaśākuntalam, Act. II.
24. Rañjitāśca prajāḥ sarvāstena rājeti śabdyate. Mahābhārata, 'Sāntiparva, 59.125.
25. Rañjayan prakṛtīḥ sarvāḥ paripāhi vasundharām. Ibid., 53.44.
26. Rājā prakṛtirañjanāt. Raghuvaṁśa, IV. 12.
27. Dhammena pare rañjetīti kho vāseṭṭha rājā. Dīgha-Nikāya, Aggañña-Suttānta, III, p. 93.
28. Sircar, D. C., Select Inscriptions, p. 215, Pakatiyo ca rañjayati.
29. Nāsti hi kammataraṁ sarvalokahitatpā. R. E. VI.
30. Fleet, J. F., C. I. I. Vol. III, p. 166.
31. Vāyu-Purāṇa, 93. 65-67.

GODDESSES AND WOMEN IN INDIAN MYTH AND ART

MRS. KAPILA VATSYAYAN

"O Goddess who removest the sufferings of thy supplicants, be gracious!
Be gracious, O mother of the whole world!
Be gracious, O queen of the universe! safeguard the universe!
Thou, O Goddess, art queen of all that is movable and immovable.

Thou alone hast become the support of the world,
Because thou dost subsist in the form of the earth,
Be thee, who existest in the form of water, all
This universe is filled, O thou inviolable in thy valour!

Thou art Viṣṇu's energy boundless in thy valour,
Thou art the germ of the universe, thou art illusion sublime,
All this world has been bewitched, O goddess!
Thou indeed when attained, art the cause of
Final emancipation (mokṣa) from existence on the earth.

All sciences (*vidyās*) are portions of thee, O goddess!
So are all women without exception in the worlds,
By thee alone as mother, this world has been filled,
What praise can be there for thee?
Thou art beyond praise, the sublimest expression."

This is the prayer or praise which Indra, the most powerful god of the Hindu pantheon, along with Agni (God of Fire) offered to the goddess after she had slain all the demons (asuras) in a famous text called the *Devi-māhātmya* 'The Glorification of Great Goddess' (11.2-5).

The praise comes after ten long chapters which describe the goddess's (Devi's) conflict against the twin demons called Madhu and Kaiṭabha, the battle with the boar-buffalo demon called Mahiṣa, and the war against others called

Śumbha and Niśumbha, Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa, and Raktabīja. The prayer of the gods is the culmination of a series of mighty conflicts and not a romantic deification of the beautiful woman who in helpless innocence is to be rescued by knights. Similar hymns and invocatory verses can be found throughout Indian literature and examples can be multiplied hundred-fold. Serpent, tree, vegetative nymphs, river and earth are goddesses scattered throughout Indian art. Monuments, sculptural relief or painting, Buddhist, Jaina or Hindu, give them a place of pride. They guard shrines, are the entrance to portals, and are indispensable for any ritual or worship. They develop into mighty goddesses as, or more powerful than the Hindu gods ; and the celestials and mortals pay them homage and are supplicant before them. They continue to be remembered in the annual cycle of the Indian and the contemporary Indian calender is interspersed with the festivities of spring revolving around Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, the autumnal goddess Durgā, the vanquisher of the powerful demons, and the fierce Kālī, the killer of all evils.

Myths revolving around nymphs, goddesses, courtesans, celestial anp terrestial, are woven into all literature and art, and the corpus of Indian mythical and artistic tradition would be reduced to one-third if these lovely, alluring powerful and benign women were excluded.

The mythical and the imaginative of the collective psyche has, however, to be seen also against the other polarity of the texts and manuals of law and social conduct (the *Dharmaśāstras*) where a seemingly different picture is presented. Manu's oft-quoted statement appears to sum up the attitude : "A woman should never be independent. As a daughter, she is under the surveillance of her father, as a wife of her husband, and as a widow of her son". But the same Manu, while speaking of a house, says that 'where a woman rules the home, the gods dwell', and later in the context of the role a teacher, he states : "A master exceedeth ten tutors in claim to honour, the father a hundred masters, but the mother a thousand fathers in right to reverence and in the function of a teacher".

This puzzling phenomenon of the exalted place of the woman in Indian myth, art and literature as the ever-resplendent, ever-beautiful and the all-powerful in her aspects of equanimity and dynamic valour and the lack of legal and socio-economic equality has been the cause of innumerable statements on Indian women who have been enigma to many. What are the causes of this polarity or inconsistency in perspectives and attitudes ? Does it reflect an ambivalence which, it has been said, characterized the Indian mind in most spheres, or can we discern behind the seeming dichotomy a cohesive vision, which manifests itself in a system of clearly differentiated categories at different planes of human existence.

Although the female principle and the mother goddess cult has been known to most ancient civilizations, it survives most potently in India. From the Indus Valley Civilization and the Harappan culture to the tribal and village deities of contemporary India, she plays a dominant role unlike the cult of Virgin Mary which declined early and the near extinction of the mother figure in Judaism and Islam.

Before an attempt is made to resolve this puzzling phenomenon, a picture of a few goddess, heroines, wives, daughters, courtesans and scholars should be presented. Their bear enumeration may enable us to understand the dialectics of this world view and the significant place of the Indian woman in myth, art and literature.

We have already spoken of the mother goddess and her appearance in the Indus Valley Civilization. Whether travelling from Western Asia or belonging to the pre-Aryan or Dravidian substratum of Indian civilization, she dominates the scene. She is seen as a fertility goddess in innumerable terracotta figurines and as a dancer in the famous bronze statuette, popularly called the dancing girl. She is both dancing girl and a fertility figure, as she holds a bowl of grain in her hand. The cult of the mother goddess and fertility survives today in tribal and rural village India. No village is without its *grāma-devi* who protects the village. She is fecundity personified and is known by different names but essentially she symbolizes fertility. Many trees, rivers and sea nymphs and goddesses constitute the themes of the Vedic hymns, despite the fact that historians have stated that Ṛgvedic culture is perhaps the only major culture in which the mother goddess is conspicuously absent and that the Vedas reflect a patriarchal society.

While the mother goddess cult may be absent explicitly, it is not possible to ignore the importance of the nymphs and goddesses who pervade the Vedic pantheon. From the Ṛgveda to the Atharvaveda, they appear consistently changing roles assuming different manifestations, leading to the inconvertible conclusion that possibly the mother goddess and the worship of the earth as goddess and life-giver fused into one. The fertilising waters and the sanctity of the earth have remained fundamental to the Indian world view for centuries. Its potency can be seen in contemporary India at both the tribal, rural and sophisticated levels.

The earth and the waters constitute the basis of innumerable myths in Indian literature ancient and medieval. It is this life-giving attribute which is invoked in the first two verses of the hymn quoted above. The two basic elements of natural phenomena give rise to a series of goddesses and heroines. Instead of presenting the diverse manifestations of the female principle in historical time, it would be more appropriate to see these together as the embodiments of the earth, water, sky and energy principles of the Indian world view.

The *Atharvaveda* devotes an important section to *Pṛthivī-sūkta* (the Earth-Hymn). While the Mother Earth retains many of the attributes and functions of the Earth Mother of the Ancient Near East, many more are added. She is Pṛthivī (earth), but is also Aditi, the mother of Varuṇa (water), and is the common womb of existence. She is 'what has been born and will be born', upon whose ground the citadels constructed by the gods unfold themselves, every region of her is the womb of all, this earth holds people of manifold varied speech, of different customs, she milks a thousand streams of wealth upon this earth, day and night join, black and bright unite ; and she bestows brilliancy and strength and protects all.

Although the sky as father and earth as mother is a common feature of most ancient religions, in India the conception is overlayed with many other goddesses who continue to symbolize the earth. In the Ṛgveda, the goddess Pṛthivī (Earth) denotes one of the two parts constituting the physical world. She (Pṛthivī) is mother and the heaven or the sky (द्यौ) is father, and jointly the two are *Dyāvā-Pṛthivī*.

The idea of the earth's motion and its consequent incessant movement is reflected in the same Veda (RV. VII. 99) where it is stated that the solar Viṣṇu supported the vault of the heaven and fixed her firmly. Later in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (II. 1. 1.8), the earth is likened to a lotus leaf which floats on the waters of existence. To the gods, Pṛthivī (Earth) is Aditi, the life and light-giver, later to the agriculturists and human, she is Sītā, the Earth principle of the epics.

In the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, the earth is identified with *Śrī*. In some of the later *Upaniṣads* she is identified with Lakṣmī, the goddess of harvest and fortune. In *paurāṇic* literature, the earth has been frequently described as an aspect of the *Ś*akti (in all-pervading energy) or the great mother. Ultimately, it is this earth goddess which assumes the resplendent form of Durgā, the most dominating goddess of contemporary India. She is the autumnal goddess representing the season of harvest and mellow fruitfulness and ripeness. She is the benign energy who vanquishes demons and evil forces and she is the giver of food—Annapūrṇā. In all her manifestations, she is the bounty whether of spring or of autumn, of knowledge or of fortune. She is thus associated with honey in all her aspects and is conceived as the bee ; because she is the depository of water, milk, juice, in a word all that we could call life.

The Earth goddess and her various manifestations are closely linked with the conception of the eternal waters and the vegetation which emerges from them. Sarasvatī is an aspect of the Earth goddess. She is also related to Durgā, the autumn's spring manifestation. She is a river goddess. In the Vedas, she is a sacred river and gradually she is personified as river goddess closely associated with her more well-known counterparts, the *Gaṅgā* and the *Yamunā*. Undoubtedly, ancient geography speaks of Sarasvati as a river, and undoubtedly the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā are the two mighty rivers which flow through India, but their significance in Indian myth goes far below their physical reality. The *Ṛgveda* praises Sarasvati as the best amongst the mothers, best amongst the rivers, and the best amongst the goddesses. In the next phase of her evolution, she is identified with *Vāk* (speech). The Vedic seer invokes *Vā*k (speech) as a goddess :

> "When, uttering words which no one comprehended, *Vāk*,
> Queen of gods, the gladdener, was seated,
> The heaven's four regions drew forth drink and vigour :
> now whither hath her noblest portion vanished ?
>
> The Deities generated Vāk the Goddess,
> and animals of every figure speak her.
> May she, the gladdener, yielding food and vigour,
> the Milchcow *Vāk* approach us meetly lauded.
>
> Step forth with wider stride, my comrade Viṣṇu; make room Dyaus,
> for the leaping of the lightning.
> Let us slay Vṛtra, let us free the rivers :
> let them flow loosed at the command of Indra."
>
> (RV. VIII. 89.10-12)

Later *Vāk* and the river goddess Sarasvati are fused into the one, as the personification of learning. It is as the goddess of learning (*Vidyā*) that India and many other countries of South East Asia worship her. She is to the Indian Logos the eternal knowledge, the supreme source of creativity and is associated in the Vedas with two other goddesses, namely, Iḍ*ā* and Bh*ā*rati. Sarasvati is described as the snow-white goddess with garments and everything associated with her is white denoting her purity including the white swan which is her vehicle. Indian literature, classical and medieval, is replete with hymns to this goddess of learning in her diverse manifestations. Indian sculpture and iconography depict her riding a swan holding a *Viṇā* (lute), a book and rosary, and countless images of her can be seen through a period of nearly two thousand years.

As significant is the assimilation of the myth of the Sarasvati into the myth of the Gaṅgā. The sacredness of the confluence of three rivers, Sarasvati, Gaṅgā and Yamunā, in Prayāga (Allahabad), is well-known ; the three rivers merge into one another ; in the related myths a transmutation takes place. However, in time to come the myth of the *Gaṅgā* assumes a most important pivotal role in Indian civilization and culture. Gaṅgā's relation to the serpents is basic. Each contains the life-increasing power of the waters. As a result we often find them together in myth and art. Sometimes the Gaṅgā assumes a mermaid form and often Indian sculptural relief shows the lower half as mermaid and the upper human and protected by a hood of snakes.

Mythically the Gaṅgā is the holy water in the K*amaṇḍalu* (the water-vessel) of Brahman which purifies the world. She descends from the heaven from the foot of Viṣṇu as Trivikrama when he covered the universe with his three steps. But the Gaṅgā is also the drop of water at the top of one of the matted locks (*jaṭās*) of Śiva. It is this drop of water from the celestial heaven which fills the ocean (sāgara). There is the interesting story of how when the gods (Devas) and the demons (Asuras) fought, the latter hid themselves in the ocean, the waters of which were inaccessible to the former (Devas). At the request of the celestials, Agastya, the sage, proceeded towards the mighty ocean which he sipped in a trice. It was now easy for the Devas (the celestials) to conquer the *asuras* (the demons), because the latter could no longer hide themselves. How-ever, for the welfare of the world and life to flow, it was essential that the ocean got the waters again, and the sage be requested to release the waters he had sipped. This was no longer possible as he had digested the waters. Finally, Brahman reassured the celestials that the ocean would be filled when Bhagīratha, another human, would bring Gaṅgā down to the earth with his penance. Later, Bhagīratha undergces great penance with a view to ensure her descent to earth, without of course devastating the universe. Gaṅgā agrees to descend from the heaven. But someone is needed to control the force of her dynamic descent—it is feared that she may devastate the earth, and Śiva's aid is sought ; he alone can harness the flow. It is thus that she becomes the drop in the matted locks of Śiva. Indeed, the matted locks of Śiva are identified with the Gaṅgā. The waters of the ocean rise to the heaven and flow again, in rhythm. The myth of the descent of the Gaṅgā from the heaven constitutes the theme of countless sculptural reliefs and iconographical forms, the most outstanding amongst these being the famous relief in Māmmallapuram in South India. Here the penance of the human man Bhagīratha is an essential component of the myth ; a penance and austerities alone can call forth the life-giving waters. In iconography, Gaṅgā is often seen held in Śiva's locks. She dances with him in his consort, but is also his adornment. She is all this, but above all, she is the great purifier and the sustainer of all life. Naturally and logically, the *Gaṅgā* is the entrance to temples. She is seen as the guardian of temple in door jambs of temples. Always the attitude of the goddess suggests abundant water and food and a harvest of splendid crops. Instead of emerging from the water-vessel of Brahman, she herself carries the vessel brimming with water, the *pūrṇakumbha* (the full pitcher). Indeed, the common motif of *pūrṇa-kumba* is the symbol of the full brimming waters of life. No Indian ceremony is begun without the installation of this vessel, the *kumbha.*

Some scholars have compared the Mediterranean goddess Artemis and Gaṅgā. Although both are acknowledged in heaven, on earth, and in the under-world, the strongly matriarchal flavour of the Indian myth continues in India, but gets obliterated in Greece and elsewhere. In fact, the development of the myth in the two civilizations is a good indicator of the distinctive world views which evolved.

The confluence of the twin rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā has arrested the imagination of the Indian artist Kālidāsa, and the Gupta artist is fascinated by the comingling of the white stream of the Gaṅgā and the blue stream of the Yamunā. In Udayagiri there is a magnificent sculpture depicting the theme. Elsewhere the two appear together as deities of shrines.

Volumes could be filled on the river goddesses of India, particularly Gaṅgā, who has been a physical and mythical presence in Indian literature and art unlike any of her counterparts in the world. In essence, she symbolizes the 'durifying waters of creation and is the source of all life. Earth and the waters, the Pṛthvī and the Gaṅgā remain basic to all conceptions of creation in the Indian world view. While earth and the waters give rise to the significant body of Indian myths all centering around goddesses, there are the other beautiful nymphs and celestial maidens of Indian lore who have inspired poets and sculptors, musicians and dancers alike. They are both the goddesses and water-goddesses, and are known by a variety of names, Yakṣis, the Vṛkṣikās, the *Śālabhañjikās*. They appear in Indian art early and occupy every nook and corner of Indian sculpture whether sacred or profane. A common deduction made about them is that despite all their variety, they symbolize fertility in some form or the other. The tree-worship also has been known to many cultures, but perhaps it does not assume as great a significance as in India.

Fergusson considers them as the pictorial representation of "the primitive faiths of the casteless Dasyus who inhabited northern India before the advent of the Āryans". Vogel studies as part of the *Nāga* or serpent cult, Vincent Smith speaks of them as fertility goddesses, Coomaraswamy wrote one of his earliest books on them and their male counterparts, the Yakṣas. They are seen in Indian art from the earliest Mauryan remains (2nd cen. B. C.) to the medieval sculpture and painting. They are mentioned in classical Sanskrit literature and Kālidāsa centres the plot of one play, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, around the ceremony of the woman for the tree (the *aśoka-dohada* motif in Act III). The myth in all its diversity of manifestation is an excellent example of a purely functional aspect of life being transmuted into myth. The *aśoka*, a tree, is known for its medicinal value in curing certain feminine diseases. Its bark and flowers are used in indigenous medicine even today. The tree is thus essential for the natural health and regularity of a woman's biological system. The myth inverts the functions and makes it into the woman's embrace of the tree being essential for the flowering of the tree : thus the word *aśoka-dohada* or the generic word śālabhañjikā (she who leans on the tree). In some parts of India, there continues to be a periodic ritual where women embrace the tree and partake of its bark or flower.

The myth then enters literature, architecture, and sculpture, and becomes a dominant artistic motif. Viewers of Indian art will easily recall the outstanding example of the motif in Sāñcī, where she performs a purely architectural function as diagonal bracket and is the symbol of the fullness of vegetation and life. She appears repeatedly in Indian art of all ages and regions as bracket or ceiling figures, isolated reliefs in conjunction with tree plants and animals. The medieval temples of Khajuraho, Bhuvaneśvara, the temples of Mount Abu and Ranakapura are crowded with these figures on the outer walls and as pillar or ceiling figures. While she is tree and plant, she is also the celestial beauty (the *surasundari*) and the dancer. In plastic form she is invariable in the attitude of dance and often holds musical instruments symbolizing the sound of music and harmony. She is in close proximity with the animals or occasionally rides them. Nameless, she is the epitome of the inherent harmony of plant, animals and human life. She is the ecological balance between the natural and the human. The *Yakṣi* is another manifestation of the goddess of the forest, the *Araṇyāni* of the Vedas. The poet invokes her :

> "Goddess of wild and forest who seemest to vanish from the sight,
> How is it that thou seekest not the village ? Art thou not afraid ?"
> (RV. X. 146.1)
>
> "The goddess never slays, unless some murderous enemy approach."
> (RV. X. 146 5)
>
> "Now have I praised the Forest Queen, sweet-scented,
> redolent of balm,
> The mother of all sylvan things, who tills not
> but hath stores of food". (RV. X. 146.6)

Earth, water, tree provide the basis of three distinct types of goddesses and women in myth and art. The sky, although the father, is the atmosphere which sustains other goddesses. Predominant amongst the goddesses of the atmosphere is Dawn (Uṣas) and her companion is Night (*Rātri*). A famous hymn of the Ṛgveda invokes Dawn. She is described as a dancer who appears on the stage and unveils herself. She is the provider of light and life. The verse runs :

> "Oh Uṣas, nobly born, Daughter of Heaven, whom the Vasiṣṭhas with
> their hymns make mighty,
> Bestow thou on us vast and glorious riches.
> Preserve us, evermore, ye Gods with blessings".
> (RV. VII. 77.6)

and again,

> "The fire well-kindled sings aloud to greet her,
> and with their hymns the priests are chanting welcome.
> Uṣas approches in her splendour, driving all evil darkness far away, the
> Goddess". (RV. VII. 78.2)
>
> "Rich daughter of the sky, we all behold her, yea,
> all men look on Dawn as she is breaking".
> (RV. VII. 78.4)

> "Inspired with loving thoughts this day to greet thee,
> we and our wealthy nobles have awakened.
> Show yourselves fruitful, Dawns,
> as ye are rising. Preserve us ever-more".
> (RV. VII. 78.5)

But the earth and the waters, the sky and the netherworld must have a centre and hub around which the wheel moves spatially and temporally. This mythical centre is the Mount Meru or Mandāra known by different names in other cosmologies. In India, the daughter of this Mountain, Himavat, is Haimvatī or Umā or Pārvatī. In an earlier incarnation, she is Satī who consumes herself in the fire. As Umā, she is Girij*ā* (the daughter of the Mountain), and now she is also Aparṇā (who does not partake even of leaves). She goes through the penance as Bhagīratha had gone through penance to bring the waters of the Gaṅgā down to earth. The woman goes through penance so as to become the consort of Śiva. Umā is no ordinary girl, no princess. She is of divine descent and perhaps none other than the great mother herself. As a maiden, she is the quintessence of all virtues and beauty, and is destined to marry Śiva and become the other half of his body. She waits upon him, worships him with flowers and with water, he tests her disguised as a *Yogi* and ultimately accepts her. Their alliance is not mere romantic love and thus their nuptial becomes a prototype for human marriage and provides a divine precedence and model for conjugal love so necessary for the maintenance of the universal order. Kālid*ā*sa immortalises the myth in his work *Kumārasambhava* on which he presents the model of conjugal inseparability which leads to the most important idea of the *Ardhanārīśvara*, the androgynous primeval being.

All through Um*ā*, the fair and resplendent, quiet and austere, but never submissive, is aware, right through, of the Gaṅg*ā* in Śiva's locks. The daughter of the Himālaya and the celestial flow of the heaven have a playful rivalry which has constituted the theme of many sculptural reliefs, mural paintings and medieval poetry. Both aspects of conjugal harmony and the respective austerities of Umā and Śiva run parallel. In her mood of dynamism or fierceness, she becomes Kālī who challenges *Ś*iva in a dance. Together the two dance, symbolizing the life process of the universe and its creatures.

Each of the goddesses enumerated above are also dancers all signifying the rhythm movement of the universe and the music of the spheres.

We could elaborate further but the few representative examples enumerated are perhaps sufficient indication of the bewildering complexity of the goddesses and women, nymphs and dancers who *people* the pages of Indian literature and fill the walls of Indian stūpas and temples.

And through them all, can one discern an unifying under-current ? The last myth of Umā and Śiva explicitly incorporates the principle of woman or goddess as complimentary to the male principle. She is above all the energy principle, the female principle of creation. She is fair and dark as the god, benign (*Saumya*) or fierce (*raudra*). Thus Sarasvatī, Umā, Girijā are white, Durgā, Lakṣmī red, and Kālī dark and black.

Energy (*Śakti*) is manifested through them all whether earth, river, tree, plant or mountain. But she is hardly ever exclusive, independent. She is the indispensable half of the male principle and thus if on the mundane plane Manu says that she is either daughter, wife or mother, dependent upon the father, husband or son, he is perhaps voicing a whole culture based on the principle of complimentariness, and inter-dependence. The statement has to be understood along with the other where it is stated that the woman's presence brings the blessings of the gods, and that as a teacher she is equal to a thousand teachers.

At the level of speculative thought and iconical symbol, the conception of complimentariness and of eternal energy self-annihilating and self-rejuvinating, it can be recognized as the *Liṅga* and the *Yoni* (phallus and the uterus) and the Śiva and Śakti, the Puruṣa and Prakṛti.

So if God exists as the creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe, he must also possess infinite power through which he creates, preserves and destroys the universe. In fact, His very being presupposes infinite power by virtue of which He himself exists. This belief in the power of God is a universal belief ; the Indian views this power or universal energy as something like a female counterpart of the possessor of this power. This power or *Śakti* being conceived as a counterpart of the possessor of *Śakti* came to be recognized as the consort of the possessor. Thus no good is manifest without his *Śakti*. On the philosophic level, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* Upaniṣad enumerates the philosophy of this energy principle :

"In the beginning was the cosmic Being as the Ātman (Soul) in human form who could never feel happy or enjoy himself through any process of self-realization for he was all alone. So he desired a second to him. His being was something like a neutral point where the ultimate principles of the male and female lay unified in deep embrace as it were. This unified being divided himself into two—as the male and female, which formed the first pair, and all the pairs of the universe are the replicas of this first pair."

In all schools of thought particularly Buddhist and Hindu, the idea of *Śakti* began to play an important role. Whatever has been created in the phenomenal world has been created from the union of the two, energy and matter, the consumer and the consumed. They represent the two aspects of the non-dual truth, the one internal and the other external—one innominating, unchangeable and immortal (*amṛta*) and the other obstructive, gross and perishable : the one cause-potency, the other effect-potency. And so the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad says : "Know *māyā* (the unspeakable mysterious power of god) as Prakṛti (Nature) and the possessor of *māyā* as the great Lord (Maheśvara)", and again, "He who is one and colourless brings forth various colours through the agency of his various types of powers". Finally, she is *Māyā* as Radhakrishnan explains :

A complimentary theme is that of *Rātri*, the Night. The night too is invoked as a gooddess, a *devi*, who is the daughter of the heaven above, who pervades the worlds, who protects all beings and gives them shelter. Later this night is explained as coming forth from the *māyā* (creative power) of Brahman. She is then called Bhuvaneśvari (the sovereign power over the worlds). The poets invoke her as :

> "With all her eyes the Goddess Night looks forth approaching many a spot :
> She hath put all her glories on.
>
> Immortal, she hath filled the waste, the Goddess hath filled height and depth.
> She conquers darkness with her light.
>
> The goddess as she comes hath set the Dawn her Sister in her place".
> (RV. X. 127. 1-3)

The Dawn and the Morning are seen in their dual divinity. The two goddesses endlessly follow similar paths, but they never cross, nor is there any rivalry between them. They are indeed the divine mothers of the celestial order (ṛta).

Earth, water, tree and plant maintain the spatial balance of the cosmos, the night and dawn are the keepers of celestial temporal order and each is the goddess, mother, wife, woman or girl. They are essential for the celestial or terrestial order, the *ṛta*, a central concept of Indian cosomology and philosophic thought. Any disturbance in the order needs penance, ritual or sacrifice.

The *Māyā* (magic deed or design) is commonly translated as illusion. *Māyā* indicates the power of the gods and the demons to take any measurable transitory forms (*māyās*), the manifoldness of which is the reflection or manifestation of the ultimate, but never the ultimate.

The concept of the ultimate unmanifest and the manifold manifestations evolves into the myth of *Kṛṣṇa*, the dark lord, and the innumerable gopīs, the diversified manifest. While this is neither necessary nor is there time to elaborate on this conception, in the context of the rise of Vaiṣṇavism, it is important to remember that the conception of the multiplicity of manifest and the wholeness of the unmanifest would logically lead to the myth of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopis. However, into this myth of the Kṛṣṇa and the Gopis, the one male and many females, enters the figure of Rādhā. Although she has earlier prototypes, Jayadeva, the writer of the *Gīta-Govinda* gives her human flesh and blood unlike any of her slightly characterized predecessors. She is woman, no doubt, longing, pining, full of misgivings, mistrust, jealousy, consequent repentance and reconciliation, but she is divine in her union. She takes the initiative of the love affair, and through the twenty-four cantos, we see the woman develop into the mighty goddess Śrī, Lakṣmī and Caṇḍī, for whom the god undergoes as much longing, pain and suffering. If the manifest human yearns for god the god also is incomplete without her. The union of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa couched in human language is the symbol of the eternal interplay of the human and the divine, the female and the male. Although thus, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa become one amongst all the other pairs, the position of Rādhā as the symbol of the human love for the divine remains unique in Indian myth and literature. It constitutes a most important distinct stream in post-twelfth century literature, art and theology on which more can be said elsewhere and independently. Here it was only necessary to link it with the central conception of *Māyā* and multiple manifestation of energy.

To return, however, to the conception of Māyā and Prakṛti (Nature), Prakṛti is always the primal material nature. The prefix *Pra* indicates a natural process (urge), *Kṛti* (creation) in this context has both an active and passive sense of both producing and produced. She becomes the active female principle through which the inactive male principle of the cosmos is manifested. Together they constitute Nature and its dual function of generation and destruction which are of necessity interdependent. No wonder *Prakṛti* is personified as goddess of the cosmic will and energy of the evolutionary process. Thus she is *Śakti* (energy), the eternal dancer (nartaki), who dances before the *Puruṣa* (the male) in a voluntary act of the display of her dynamic capacities and her power of flux.

There have been countless interpretations of Śiva, Śakti, Puruṣa, Prakṛti in Indian philosophy. Fundamentally Śiva and Śakti, Puruṣa and Prakṛti are two aspects of the same truth, static and the dynamic, the negative and the positive, the abstract and the concrete, the male and the female. In the Buddhist Tantras the non-dual perfectly illumined consciousness is the highest truth from which flow the two currents of *Śūnyatā* (the perfect knowledge of the essencelessness of all things) and *Karuṇā* (universal compassion) or *prajñā* (perfect enlightenment) *and upāya* (expedience). *Prajñā* is static, the negative aspect of the truth, while *upāya* is dynamic, the positive aspect: the *prajñā* and *upāya* of the Buddhist Tantras stand for the same truth as the Śakti and Śiva of the Hindu Tantras with the peculiarity that unlike the Hindu Tantras, the Buddhist Tantras call the static or negative aspect of the truth the female, and the dynamic or positive aspect the male.

The Hindu and Buddhist Tantric pantheon thus cumulatively evolves into a series of pairs—Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī or Śrī, Rāma and Sitā, Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, and finally *Śiva and Pārvatī*. Ardhanārīśvara is the form of Śiva where the two (Śiva and Pārvatī) are together inseparable in one body.

From the above narration it will be clear that although the female principle dominates, it is not exclusive. Also the woman is not evil or the cause of the original sin. This basic difference makes Indian culture different from its contemporary Western counterparts. The devī is the embodiment of energy in the three states of human consciousness, called *jāgṛti* (awakening), *svapna* (dream state), and *suṣupti* (sleep) or inertia or the three constituents of the self spoken of as *manas*, *prāṇa* and *vāk* (mind, life and matter). The conflict described in the *Devī-māhātmya*, where she vanquished three sets of demons, is thus at the level of *psychic* man (Madhu-Kaiṭabha), at the level of the vital man (the Mahiṣa), and at the level of physical man (Śumbha-Niśumbha, Caṇḍa & Muṇḍa and Raktabīja). The goddess combines in her form the three *guṇas*, three types of human tendencies, i.e., sattva, *rajas* and *tamas*. She moves from the gross, physical to the subtle meta-physical. Her complete victory implies the annihilation of darkness on these three planes. The victory of the goddess is universal vindication of the divine principle against the forces of darkness and disorder and she is the restorer of the cosmic order.

The goddesses of whom we have spoken are all the manifestations of this supreme Devī—energy, on all the planes and in all the elements of the world. It is these conceptions which become the basis of the heroines of Sanskrit literature, epic and lyrical

While seemingly they are all law-abiding, faithful and submissive, they are all celestial in one sense or another. The heroine of *Rāmāyaṇa*, the ideal of Indian womanhood, Sitā, is no ordinary human. She is born of the earth found in the furrows of the field and returns to the womb of the mother. In all her trials and turbulations, she is unruffled, strong and unsubmissive. So is Kuntī, the mother of the five Pāṇḍavas, who also gave birth to her first son Karṇa through divine intervention, and so is Draupadi. Whether she represents polyandry or not, she is always a symbol of understanding and fortitude. And finally, there are the wives who are deserted or who are separated from their lovers or husbands, but who through penance (*tapasyā*) and discipline and through suffering invariably are victorious and achieve a harmony. They are the human counterparts of Satī, Umā and Pārvatī. These are the Damayantī, Sāvitrī and Śakuntalā. The moral of each of these stories is that although the woman suffers, longs, yearns or battles against the adversities, it is she who in the last analysis, brings life, pulls the heroes out of the death and is thus the object of respect or veneration. Through her suffering both she and her male counterpart are purified and ultimately the two unite. Earth, tree, water and sky principles continue to be the basis of these women characters. Sītā is the earth; Urvaśī, the tree or river goddess; Umā or Pārvatī of Kālidāsa, the mountain-maiden. They all people the dramas and epics of Sanskrit literature and are only another aspect of the mythical cosmogony and speculative thought. Each in her distinctive manner embodies the creative principle of energy.

The courtesans of Vedic literature and classical Sanskrit literature are not women of ill-fame. They have a special role to play. Although strictly outside society, they are cultivated, beautiful, and above all, good and even virtuous. Urvaśī herself is a celestial courtesan of Indra's court, sent to earth for a flaw in acting. So is Menakā. But Menakā is the mother of Śakuntalā and of Umā. So are the others. They represent the woman who is essential in the social order, but one who is not necessarily only in the bondage of wedlock. Vasantasenā of Bhāsa's play and Śūdraka's play is a class by herself. She too suffers at the hands of the villains of the court, but is ultimately united to her simple and faithful Cārudatta. In short, their vindication after a period of perils and turbulations must lead to the harmony of union.

The celestial and terrestial courtesans, however, can also be temptresses, not like Medusa, but through their alluring charm, they can bring about the downfall of weak men. Tilottamā of epic literature is the par-excellence dancer courtesan of that variety. However, there are few of that kind. Largely they are benign patterned on Menakā, Urvaśī, Vasantasenā, Āmrapālī and others in Buddhist literature. There are then the monks, nuns and saṁnyāsins of literature. They are the scholars. We come across. The first human prototype of the scholar is Gārgī, the daughter of Vacaknu. She debates with Yājñavalkya. Her first question is: "What is the warp and woof that links all that is above the sky, beneath the earth, and between them both, or that links, what people call, past, present and future ?" 'Space', replied Yājñavalkya, and then Gārgī asks him to elaborate. He elaborates that the warp and woof uniting time and space and all existence is an indissoluble whole, self-existence.

But all this beauty and energy is only one side of the coin. If mythology, literature, speculative thought, art and sculpture and painting conceive of the woman as the beautiful energy principle, the law-givers and social scientists of ancient and medieval India relegate her to the home for ever, consider her impure, and sometimes unworthy of education. While this male chauvinism provides the basis of many social ills in the Indian context at the level of legal and social rights, it did, nevertheless, consider her as the supreme mistress of the home and finest teacher. Her position as mother, wife and daughter was sacrosanct and is ever so. The law-giver and the social organiser gives her different rights which are complimentary to a man's but not equal rights. The principle of competition is eliminated. This had its positive and negative aspects.

Women's lib, therefore, acquires a different complexion in the Indian context. The principle of complimentariness is so ingrained that it does not allow either man or woman to consider themselves in a race for the same goals. Their areas and spheres of work are different and distinct but complimentary. However, in the past two hundred years, much has happened in the Indian sub-continent to negate the principle, we have spoken about. Thus, although at the plane of thought, religion and ritual, she occupies a significantly high status, in the middle class social structure, she suffers as her other counterparts. However, time and again, whenever a voice has been raised against oppression, it is both men and women who have raised it. It is significant that all religious and social reformers, Rājā Rāmmohan Roy, Swāmī Vivekānanda, Swāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī, Gandhi and Nehru have been the protagonists of women's freedom and equality. But whenever a woman has broken the norms, she has been accepted as leader, because she embodies the energy principle and is Devī. The countless women saints, poetesses and political leaders of the Indian sub-continent belong to this category. Little wonder that despite the proverbial backwardness and under-development, it is these parts of the world where women leaders have been more readily accepted than in the West. Whether it was a Razia Begum or Chand Bibi or a Rānī Jhānsī, or Andal or a Habba Khatun or Lalla, Mīrābai, they have been considered to be the re-incarnation of the Devī in human form.

Contemporary Indian fiction and poetry have drawn upon these prototypes of myth, legend and history for their characters. The social reformers have drawn up the women who are outside society—the courtesans and the prostitutes who have upheld moral and social values. Sharat Chandra a writer of Bengal crowds his novels with them. Rabindranath, Aurobindo pick upon mythical characters, specially the latter in Sāvitrī. Premchand is the realistic who recreates rural India, but he too never negates the principles enumerated above.

SECTION VI

MISCELLANEOUS

SANSKRIT AND ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURE STUDIES IN THE USSR

G. M. BONGARD-LEVIN

Sanskrit studies began in this country more than a century ago, The important and pioneer work done by I. P. Minayev, S. F. Oldenburg, Th. I. Stcherbatsky gave the Russian school of Sanskritology one of the honourable places in world science. Consistent historical approach to the study of different aspects of Ancient Indian culture, consideration of historical and cultural facts, development of India within the context of world civilization at large—these have always been the characteristic features of our Indology. Russian scholars always looked upon ancient Indian heritage with profound respect and admiration, and they never tired to stress the greatness of the achievements of the Indian people in various fields of culture.

Sanskritology and classical Indology form a prominent part of our Oriental studies. Due to the constant efforts of Russian scholars, MSS fund contains one of the richest collections of Indian texts in the world ; it is a safe basis for scientific research as well as for publishing hitherto unknown monuments of Indian literature. Especially valuable is the Central Asiatic fund, belonging to the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, containing many unique Buddhist MSS in Sanskrit and Saka-Khotanese language, brought to Russia by scientific expeditions of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Very important is the contribution of Russian scholars to the studies of Buddhism as well as the philosophical thought of Ancient India, and to the compilation of the greatest among existing Tibetan-Sanskrit dictionaries, Soviet Indologists maintain and develop these glorious traditions. The interest in Indian culture in the USSR is year after year growing rapidly ; the number of scientific works in Sanskritology and Ancient Indian culture is increasing, the subjects of scientific researches are expanding, young talented scholars join the research work.

It is possible to point out some principal trends in this branch of Oriental studies especially developed during the recent years.

I. Linguistic researchers in Sanskrit and Prakrits

There has been completed the "Vedic grammar" by T. Y. Elizarenkova, which is the first grammar of this kind in Russian. There has also been published a number of articles on Sanskrit.[1] In the series of concise grammatical essays on Oriental languages, published by the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, V. V. Vertogradova has published her book "Prakrits"[2]. A new Sanskrit-Russian dictionary compiled by V. A. Kotshergina is coming out soon.

Ancient Indian languages are dealt with in the works dedicated to general problems of the development of the Indo-Aryan languages including the modern ones[3].

II. Publication and translation of texts

Some prominent texts of the Sanskrit and Prakrit literature have been translated into Russian recently. There have been published selected hymns of the "Ṛgveda"[4] and the "Atharvaveda",[5] the Russian translation of the fifth book of the "Mahābhārata" (Udyogaparva) by V. I. Kalyanov,[6] the translation of the "Vanaparva" has been completed by Y. V. Vasilkov and S. L. Neveleva. These publications of the Ancient Indian Epic continue successfully the academic translation of the "Mahābhārata" commenced in 1950 (it is supposed to publish the complete translation of the "Mahābhārata" in Russian in the forthcoming years). Some time earlier, B. L. Smirnov, a well-known scholar, published the translation of selected parts from the "Mahābhārata" in Ashkhabad. (Turkmen SSR).

Of great scientific interest is the translation of Ānandavardhana's "Dhvanyāloka" made by Y. M. Alikhanova, and supplied with a detailed introduction—"The Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavardhana and his doctrine of poetry".[7]

Continuing the translations from the "Kathāsaritsāgara" of Somadeva I. D. Serebryakov has published two new books of translations.[8] Recently there has been published an anthology of Indian lyrics (Amaru, Hāla, Bhartṛhari) translated by Y. M. Alikhanova and V. V. Vertogradova.[9] In the book "Poetry and Prose of Ancient East", which appeared in 1973 in the series "Library of the All-World Literature", there have been published fragments from the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, Jātakas, from the "Suttanipāta", the "Thera and Therigāthā", extracts from the dramas of Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Śūdraka, Harṣa, Bhavabhūti, Vararuci.[10] With the help of Sanskritologists poets-translators have prepared the translations of selected works by Kālidāsa.[11] The expositions of great Sanskrit Epics the "Mahābhārata" and the "Rāmāyaṇa" ("The three great legends of the Ancient India", M., 1978) and the principal Ancient Indian myths based on the Vedas, Epics and Purāṇas ("Myths of Ancient India", M., 1975) by E. N. Tyomkin and V. G. Erman deserve special mention. All the translations and expositions mentioned above are supplied with detailed commentaries and prefaces reflecting the modern methods of study of the Sanskrit literature. Soviet Indologists carry on the publication of Buddhist Sanskrit texts from the Central Asia started by academician S. F. Oldenburg long ago.

G. M. Bongard-Levin has published some fragments from the Sanskrit version of the "Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra",[12] two fragments from the "Saddharma-puṇḍarika".[13] M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya has recently prepared for the publication some un-published fragments from the "Saddharmapuṇḍarika", contained in the manuscript fund of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

III. The Study of Ancient Indian Literature

The research work of Soviet scholars has been carried out in different directions dealing both with general problems of the development of literature and with special problems, connected with the work of individual writers. An important work on the Classical Epics of Ancient India is the book by P. A. Grintser "Ancient Indian Epics, Genesis and Typology" (M., 1974), in which the theory of the oral origin of the Ancient Indian Epics has been elaborated and its correlation with other monuments of World Epic and mythological traditions established.[14] A detailed analysis of mythological ideas and images in the "Mahābhārata" has been made by S. L. Neveleva in her book "Mythology of Ancient Indian Epic (the Pantheon)" (M., 1975). Successfully study of the problems of the Epic is done by Y. V. Vasilkov.[15] V. S. Sementsov[16] has recently completed the book on the Vedic prose dealing mainly with the problem of "ritual symbolism" in the texts of the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. In the field of the classical Sanskrit literature studies the work of I. D. Serebryakov on the literary process in India in VII-XII centuries A. D. and his "Essays on the Ancient Indian literature" published in 1971[17] deserve special mention. V. G. Erman has published a book "Kālidāsa" (M., 1976) in the series "Writers and

Thinkers of the East"; P. A. Grintser is to publish a book "Bhāsa : An outline of his creative work" in the same series. A general essay on Ancient Indian theatre has been written by Y. M. Alikhanova.[18]

Problems of the history of Sanskrit poetics acquire a high rank in the works of Soviet Sanskritologists. Beside the above-mentioned introduction to the translation of the "Dhvanyāloka" written by Y. M. Alikhanova special attention should be drawn to the book by E. N. Tyomkin "The views of Bhāmaha, and the dating of his treatise Kāvyālaṅkāra" (M., 1975).

Experts of modern Indian literature also apply to the history of Ancient Indian literature. In this connection the works of E. P. Chelyshev should be mentioned first.

The latest works by the Soviet Sanskritologists-experts in the field of literature are indicative of the great success achieved by Soviet scholars in the studies of Ancient Indian literature. Sanskrit literature is regarded as a part of world literary process ; a comparative typology of Ancient Indian literature is drawn and the role of a creative individuality and the significance of the regional features in the history of its formation is revealed in these works.

IV. Philosophy, science, religion

Great attention is paid by Soviet Indologists to the study of philosophical teachings of Ancient India, as well as the scientific progress ; they deal with various aspects of principal religious doctrines of Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism.

During recent years special attention has been given to the study of the Ancient Indian materialism and its role in the history of Indian culture,[19] to the general and specific problems of philosophical and religious doctrines,[20] to the analysis of some conceptions of Buddhism,[21] Vedic mythology and cosmogony[22]. A general essay on Hinduism by N. R. Guseva "Hinduism"[23] as well as the work of A. I. Volodarsky on Ancient Indian mathematics and astronomy[24] has appeared recently.

A special collection of articles has been dedicated to the works of the outstanding Buddhologist academician Th. I. Stcherbatsky (Indian culture and Buddhism, M., 1972)[25].

General problems of Ancient Indian culture have been discussed in the joint work ("The Culture of Ancient India", M., 1975), the contributors of which are Y. M. Alikhanova, G. M. Bongard-Levin, V. V. Vertogradova, A. I. Volodarsky, P. A. Grintser, G. F. Ilyin, I. D. Serebryakov, Some questions of the Ancient Indian Mythology connected with the problem of the origin of Indo-Aryans are examined in the book by G.M. Bongard-Levin and E. A. Grantovsky ("From Scythia to India", M., 1974).

V. History, Problems of social and economic relations

After the publication of the comprehensive book on the history of Ancient India[26] Soviet Indologists continued their researches of different periods of the Ancient Indian history and social structure of the society. In G. M. Bongard-Levin's book (India in the Mauryan period, M., 1973) a detailed study of the characteristics of political, social and cultural history of the country in the Mauryan period has been made. General problems of class structure of the Ancient Indian society, of the theory of land property in Ancient India are discussed in the articles by G. F. Ilyin, G. M. Bongard-Levin, A. A. Vigasin, A.M. Samozvantsev, E. M. Medvedev, L. B. Alayev[27]. Special attention is paid to the analysis of the "Arthaśāstra". Recently there has been published a book by A. M. Samozvantsev (The Theory of Land Property in Ancient India) (M., 1978).

VI. Sanskrit and the problems of historical and cultural contacts of Ancient India

Due to the archaeological discoveries in Central Asia during the recent years there have been obtained new unique data about close historical and cultural ties between Ancient India and Central Asia[28]. New written monuments have been discovered. M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya[29], G. M. Bongard-Levin[30], and V. V. Vertogradova[31] are occupied with their study and publication.

Soviet scientists also study the problems of historical and cultural connections between Ancient India and South-East Asia (first of all the articles by Y. V. Maretin[32], Y. M. Osipov[33], B. B. Parnickel[34] should be mentioned.

Soviet Indologists-Sanskritists take an active part in the elaboration of problems of the cultural heritage of Ancient Indian civilization, the role of Sanskrit in contemporary India. In 1975 the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, became a member of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies. A Committee of Sanskrit and Ancient Indian Culture Studies attached to the All-Union Council of Orientalists has been set up. It was made responsible for the coordination of all Sanskrit studies in our country. At present there are Sanskrit courses in the Institute of Asian and African countries attached to the Moscow State University, in the philological and historical faculties of the same University, in the Oriental faculty of the

Leningrad State University, in the Tbilist State University, and in the Vilnius State University. In the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, post-graduates also study the Sanskrit.

The main centres of Sanskrit and Ancient Indian Culture Studies

1. Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Moscow.
2. Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad.
3. Institute of Asian and African countries attached to the Moscow State University, Moscow.

NOTES

The books and articles written or translated in Russian language have been mentioned in the notes in brackets.

1. (T. Y. Elizarenkova, "Phoneme distribution within the verbal stem in the Ṛgveda", "Problems of the history of languages and culture of the peoples of India", M., 1974); (A. A. Zaliznyak, "On types of stems in Sanskrit and morphological changes", "Essays on the phonology of the Oriental languages", M. 1975).
2. (V. V. Vertogradova, The Prakrits, M., 1978).
3. (T. Y. Elizarenkova, Researches in the diachronical phonology of the Indo-Aryan languages, M., 1974).
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5. (The "Atharvaveda", Selections, tr. by T. Y. Elizarenkova, M., 1976).
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PRĀYAŚCITTA WITHOUT FAULT

J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT

It is a pleasure to contribute a few lines in felicitation of a veteran Indologist. One of the greatest problems for the Indologist in our times is the simple fact that by the time he has mastered the enormous bulk of primary materials he has little energy left for original or comparative work, and little taste for studies which, if they go behind his sources, devalue the accumulations of a life-time. Now there is a well-known and (to the Western mind) very difficult proposition in the ancient Indian structure of social control, for which no Sanskritist (so far as I know) has offered a solution. The problem is immensely ancient and the precepts (we can hardly call them rules) were laid down in the *sūtra* period, i.e., well before Manu and Yājñavalkya. The state of society, and the indigenous variety of sociology current amongst those very small groups of thinkers who provided our basic continuous *dharma*-texts, were primitive in comparison with the outlook of more sophisticated scholars and jurists of, say, a millennium ago. Therefore we have not only the basic texts, the *sūtras* and the *smṛtis* which were largely based upon them, but the juridical and comparative reflections arrived at on the basis of the same fundamental material by scholars who were as far away from the sources as we are from them. The problem I am going to mention struck commentators, and it is interesting to see them come up with a solution.

Solutions to problems are so seldom given in our *dharma-śāstra*, while the normative precepts are very numerous. The teachers had neither the time nor the inclination to explain them. They could at best compare discordant texts, and attempt to make an intellectual whole out of them. In this respect heroic work was done. But explanations, or what we should call explanations, were very rare. The student was expected to swallow, and absorb, not to criticise or to pick and choose. So it is that even the great Mahāmahopādhyāyā Dr. P. V. Kane, dealing with our present problem, gives no explanation.

The problem is simply this : why are penances to be undergone for mishaps and misadventures for which the performer is in no way responsible? The voluminous literature gives several examples. The theory of penance is that it removes sin (along with repentance), purifies the offender, and makes him fit once again for social intercourse. The size and degree of penance, rationally, differs according as the offence was light or heavy, intentional or unintentional, isolated, or a repetition. The Sanskrit literature on *prāyaścitta* is very vast, much vaster than that on *vyavahāra*. The best summary of the information is given by Kane,[1] and we can quote him in connection with our question, how it is that penance must be performed when not only is the sin *unintentional*, but the event does not proceed from the person concerned at all?

"The Śat. Br. XII. 4 and Ait. Br. 32.2-11 provide some interesting and amusing examples of the mishaps for which prāyaścittas are provided, e.g., when a vicious boar, ram or dog runs between the scrificial fires, or if agnihotra milk gets spilled while the cow is being milked or if the milk pot is turned upside down or if it were to break or if the cow were to lie down while being milked, or if the fire were to go out after the first libation is offered, etc, Vide also Mānava-gṛhya. I. 3, Hir. gṛ. I. 5.1-16, Bhāradvāja gṛ. II. 32, Kauśika-sūtra 46. 14-55, Āśv. Śr. III. 10 and Āśv. gṛ III. 6-7 for similar occurrences and prāyaścittas."[2]

"It is remarkable that in case a man was bitten by a harlot or a monkey or an ass or by a dog or jackal or a camel or a crow he had to perform (in addition to the pain of the bite)[3] *prāṇāyāma* while standing in water and to drink ghee for purification (Manu. XI. 199, Yāj. III. 277, Vas. 23.31). Parāśara V. 1-9 prescribe elaborate rules of purification for bites by wolves, dogs and jackals (such as a bath and japa of Gāyatri, etc.)."[4]

Now for the first type of penance Kane himself indicates the way in which the solution should be found. These are *kratvartha* penances, and, just as the sacrifice is itself a magical rite, so magical means are needed to reestablish the supersensory harmony and correct mistakes or mishaps which threaten the correctness of an elaborate ritual. I do not intend to speak more about that

For the second class, which is indeed noticeable to anyone who studies *dharmaśāstra*, Kane's expression "remarkable" just will not do. A very good example of a penance which may be performed even today is where a second son marries before the eldest son, the latter not having entered *saṁnyāsa*. The ritual specialists who perform the ceremony will certainly require the appropriate *prāyaścitta* to be performed for breach of the very ancient taboo against such marriages[5], for otherwise the ceremony of marriage will be defective. The penance, which has been in the books for centuries, is one which has to be undergone even though the bridegroom has no responsibility whatsoever for the predicament in which he is. It is simply a sin to supersede one's elder brother, *but it is equally a sin to be superseded by one's younger brother* (even if one knows nothing about it).

The true solution is anthropological. It has been brought out, some time ago, by C. von Fürer-Haimendorf in his interesting *Morals and Merit*.[6] By his observations of tribal peoples he was able to observe that one may 'sin' through mishaps which are by no means one's own fault. It is the case—and here I revert to caste Hindus, this time of the Mysore and Andhra regions—that if a chappal is thrown over a person, or he is actually beaten with a chappal he (not necessarily the one who did it !) must undergo a penance.[7] It is a sin, in that region, to be affected by the throwing or using of a chappal against or over one's person ! To revert to Haimendorf's book : he makes it clear[8] that penances must be performed not because of any cosmopolitan concept of *sin*, but because of the disturbance of the equilibrium, the breach of the wholeness of society. This superstitious outlook is, in a sense, magical, and therefore in the same order of primitive experience with the sacrificial rules testified so eloquently in the *śrauta* and *gṛhya sūtras* alluded to above. If this is a correct analysis it ought to throw light on the conception of *prāyaścitta* as it developed in its early days, the puzzling variety of penances, and their apparent lack of relation to the offences, and the equally interesting requirement that the state must supervise readmission to caste, even when a certificate is produced that the penance prescribed by the *pariṣad* has been performed. But before we attempt to solve the many problems about *prāyaścitta* which have gone so long without a solution, we must take account of the attempt on the part of jurists to deal with our question.

To the comprehensive mind, the chaos of discordant and incoherent penances to be found in the texts, together with the challenge created by the rule that the *pariṣad* is responsible for actually determining the appropriate penance in each individual case, meant a major test of juridical ability. It is known that Vijñāneśvara's *Mitākṣarā* was appreciated not so much for its property law as for the deft skill with which the author manipulated (in contrast to Aparārka's massive conglomeration) the learning needed to make sense of Yājñavalkya's third book. By the time of the commentators, religious theories, and general theories of responsibility, had come on the scene. Let us see how they cope with our question. Would it be appropriate to say that they enabled research to be pursued fruitfully, or have they made the problem more obscure ?

The answer to our problem given by the commentators is not complicated, and is frank. The victim of the mishap is not a sinner, in the sense that his experience is not a sin : but the mishap itself is the result of misconduct on his part in a previous life, and therefore certain social consequences follow from his situation, which require to be removed in the same manner as if the experience were incurred, intentionally or unintentionally by him personally. As we shall see Manu actually foresees this possibility, though he does not explain it himself. I give below the passages in question, which explain themselves ;

(1) Viśvarūpa, Bālakrīḍā on Yājñavalkya III. 281 cd-282ab :

(The subject is the requirement of the victim of false accusation to perform half the penance of the false accuser, etc.) idaṃ cābhiśastasya gehadāhādiṣviva[9] naimittikaṃ, na tu doṣa-nirghātārthaṃ, doṣe pramāṇābhāvāt. janmāntarīya-doṣānumāna-kalpanā tu śarīropādānād evāgnihotrādiṣv apy aviśiṣṭā.

(2) Aparārka on Yājñ. III. 286cd-287ab :

(The subject is the same.) abhiśastasya cānaparādhino'pi parivitter iva[10] vacanāt prāyaścittam.

(3) Two passages in Vijñāneśvara's *Mitākṣarā* handle the matter a little more learnedly ; this time the topic is handled more broadly :

(i) On Yājñ. III. 219-220 : nanu puṃścalī-vānara-khara-(śva-)daṣṭa-mithyābhiśastādau vihitākaraṇādi-nimittānām anyatamasyāpy abhāvāt[11] kathaṃ pratyavāyitā, kathaṃ ca tad-abhāve prāyaścitta-vidhānam ? ucyate. asmād eva pāpa-kṣayārtha-prāyaścitta-vidhānāj janmāntarācarita-niṣiddha-sevādi-janya-pāpāpūrvaṃ samākṣiptamityabhiśāpādikaṃ tannimitta-prāyaścittāpanodyam anenānuṣṭhitam iti kalpyate, puruṣa-prayatna-nairapekṣyeṇa kārya-rūpa-pāpotpattyanupapatteḥ. na ca puṃścalyādigata-prayatnena puruṣāntare pāpotpattiḥ, kartṛ-samavāyitva-niyamād dharmādharmayoḥ, tasmād yuktaiva prāyaścitte nimitta-traya-parigaṇanā.[12]

(ii) On Yājñ. III. 286 : apāṅktānāṃ madhye abhiśastādayaḥ paṭhitāḥ.[13] yady apy atrābhiśastasya niṣiddhācaraṇaṃ nopalabhyate tathāpi mithyābhiśastatvaliṅgānumita-prāgbhavīya-niṣiddhācaraṇāpūrva-nibandhanam idaṃ prāyaścittaṃ kṛmi-daṣṭānām iveti na virodhaḥ.

One may ask whether this explanation, which did not interest Kane, and which was ignored by scholars of the earlier part of this century who pretended that the penance for being bitten by a dog, etc., had a medicinal vulue (!), is inconsistent with the discovery of the anthropologist ? At any rate it is a question peculiarly adapted to the anthropologist's further consideration. By the light of my own reflection, however, it appears to me that it is not. Manu himself (at XI. 47) summarises the position :[14]

prāyaścittīyatāṃ prāpya daivāt pūrva-kṛtena vā /
na saṃsargaṃ vrajet sadbhiḥ prāyaścitte'kṛte dvijaḥ //

The disturbances and mishaps that interfere with the flow of life or the normal expectations of men require symbolic adjustments, to reestablish the supersensory order. It is extremely likely that in the most primitive times even apparently intentional misdeeds were seen as the eruption of unseen forces accumulated in some quarter beyond the offender, who could never account entirely for his own behaviour. This is a primitive psychology, a recognition of the power of the unconscious, which might even interest some of our modern criminologists.

NOTES

1. In Book IV (Poona, 1953) of his *History of Dharmaśāstra.*
2. Ibid., p. 58.
3. Note the humorous interjection. The texts, e.g., Viṣṇu-smṛti with the commentary of Nanda-paṇḍita, LIV. 12 (Adyar edn., II, 623), make no suggestion that the pain contributes towards the penance.
4. Kane, ubi cit, 110.
5. See the Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya III. 265 (Nirṇayasāgara edn., pp. 426f.).
6. *Morals and Merit. A Study of Values and Social Controls in South Asian Societies* (London, 1967).
7. This appears from K. Gnanambal, *Religious Institutions and Caste Panchayats in South India* (Calcutta, 1973).
8. Ubi cit., p. 48ff, and elsewhere. Also 'The sense of sin in cross-cultural perspective', *Man* 9 (1974), 539-556, at p. 549.
9. Where a sacrificer's house catches fire during the sacrifice a penance must be performed, as provided in the *śrauta-sūtras.*
10. As in the case of the person whose younger brother had married before him (see above).
11. Referring to the criteria for liability to perform penance as set out in Yājña. III. 219, Manu. XI. 44.
12. Ibid.
13. Manu. II. 185, III. 159, IV. 211. It seems unfair, but that was the attitude. The misfortune of being unjustly accused cannot arise without unexpiated sins in a previous life, if not in this life.
14. The verse should be read with the commentaries of Bhāruci and Medhātithi.

RĀJAŚEKHARA ON ETHNIC AND LINGUISTIC GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA*

MADHAV DESHPANDE

1. Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, written around 900 A. D., besides being an important text on Sanskrit poetics, contains a great deal of information on other topics which a good poet was supposed to be familiar with. This work contains information on ethnic and linguistic geography of India which has proved to be useful to students of India's cultural history. In this paper, I shall discuss some of the passages in this text which deal with ethnic and linguistic geography, and I shall briefly compare and contrast Rājaśekhara's concepts with information available from other sources and with modern conceptions about India's linguistic and ethnic history.

2. While modern historians of India have made use of all the available sources of information in constructing India's past, linguists in the last two hundred years have advocated various theories about migrations of Aryans and non-Aryans into India. Theories about "inner" and "outer" Aryans, early and late migrations, more or less contact with various ethnic groups, Emeneau's "India as a Linguistic Area" and Southworth's emerging "linguistic archeology" are some of the examples of the contribution of modern linguists to the reconstruction of Indian linguistic and ethnic history. While most of this work has been quite exciting, a time has come to compare and contrast these theories with what the occupants of the Indian subcontinent themselves thought about their own linguistic and ethnic composition. I have recently attempted to reconstruct a history of socio-linguistic attitudes in India[1], which is an investigation into what Indians themselves thought, and think, about their own socio-

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linguistic identity and that of others. In the course of this investigation, I made substantial use of the material provided by Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*. The present paper takes a closer look at some of Rājaśekhara's concepts.

3. For whatever reason, ancient India was not interested in maintaining a strict record of its "matter of fact" history.[2] What her literature presents are more often than not synchronic flashes of information. If on the basis of independent evidence, we could date, or at least sequentially order, these flashes of information, we can reconstruct a skeletal history. In what follows, I shall briefly present a series of such flashes of information, and then locate Rājaśekhara's information within this series. The newly published *A Historical Atlas of South Asia* also adopts a similar approach and maintains that a comparison of various sequential flashes yields a valuable amount of information about migration of peoples, changing political and cultural boundaries etc.[3]

4. The *Ṛgveda*, composed primarily in Punjab around 1500-1000 B.C., refers to non-Aryans not only as *Dāsa-varṇa*, but the armies of the Dāsas, claimed to have been destroyed by Indra, are called *kṛṣṇa-yoniḥ* "of dark origin".[4] The Vedic Aryans seem to have perceived the non-Aryans, even in Punjab, as being of darker complexion. As Aryans moved into the interior of India, there was a gradual process of naturalization or indigenization of Aryans and Aryanization of non-Aryans.[5] This process was by no means smooth and uniform. It involved many violent social, religious, political and other conflicts, impositions and adjustments, and resulted in various different groups holding different opinions on questions of identity, Aryanhood, *mleccha*-hood, and structural and functional social hierarchies. By the time the Buddhist and the Jaina canonical texts and Hindu Dharmaśāstras were formulated, there were several competing conceptions of Aryanhood and Aryan lands. The Brahmanical conception of Āryāvartta was different from the Jaina conception of Aryan lands. I have discussed these two conceptions in detail elsewhere[6]. While the Brahmanical Āryāvartta was a region to the north of the Vindhyas, to the south of the Himālayas, to the east of Punjab and to the west of Allahabad, the Jainas considered the whole of north India, from the Indus river in the west to Bengal in the east to be the Aryan region. Suffice it to say that the Jaina conception of Aryan lands includes those regions which were considered by the Brahmins of the Midland to have been inhabited by impure "mixed" populations.[7] There was tension between indigenized Aryans and Aryanized indigenous populations in different parts of India. The Brahmanical conception of Aryan region was not a monolithic conception either. Manu says:[8]

> The region which lies between the two divine rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī, that which has been created by gods, they (the sages) call Brahmāvartta. The Kurukṣetra, the Matsyas, as also the Pañcālas, and the Śūrasenas—this is the region of the Brahmarṣis, immediately after Brahmāvartta. That which lies between the Himālayas and the

> Vindhyas, and which is also to the east of Vinaśana and to the west of Prayāga, that country is called the Madhyadeśa ("Midland"). The tract between those two mountains which extends as far as the eastern and the western oceans, the wise call Āryāvartta.

The conception of Madhyadeśa in Manu corresponds to the notion of Āryāvartta mentioned earlier, while Manu's Āryāvartta is identical with India north of the Vindhyas. Manu's conception not only gives us concentric circles, it is a hierarchical conception. The Lawbook of Sumantu makes this very clear:[9]

> Brahmāvartta is the best region ; the region of the Brahmarṣis is next to it ; the Madhyadeśa is lower than that ; the Āryāvartta is inferior still.

Outside this region is the region of Mlecchas, non-Aryans or foreigners. In fact, the farther one goes from the Brahmāvartta, the mixture with Mlecchas increases, and it is this increasing loss of purity which makes these regions increasingly non-Aryan. The Lawbook of Viṣṇu states :[10]

> The country where the adjustment of the four Varṇas does not exist, such region should be known as the Mlecchadeśa ; and the other has been stated as Āryāvartta.

One of the implications of this statement is that a Mleccha region could be turned into an Aryan region if the Aryan social system could be established in that region. This explains the increasing scope of Āryāvartta, and yet a distinction between more Aryan and less Aryan seems to have remained, and this has been reflected in the hierarchical concentric circles in Manu's conception.

5. While the center of gravity in Manu's conception of Aryan lands lies more to the northwest, in line with the statements in the Brāhmaṇa literature confirming the linguistic superiority of the northwest,[11] this gradually shifts more and more to the east. The center of gravity of the Śuṅga empire, which led the renaissance of Hinduism after the Mauryan rule, lies in the northeastern parts of India.[12] The older Brahmāvartta is dominated by the Indo-Greeks who are considered to be Mlecchas by the Brahmanical tradition.[13] The great Sanskrit grammarian Patañjali lived during this period. Patañjali's Āryāvartta is identical with Manu's Madhyadeśa. It lies to the east of Punjab and to the West of Allahabad.[14] Patañjali does not seem to espouse the conception of Āryāvartta as the whole of north India. The western boundary of Patañjali's Āryāvartta is practically the western boundary of the Brahmanical Śuṅga empire. Beyond this are the Indo-Greeks, the Yavanas. Patañjali has not extended the eastern boundary of his Āryāvartta beyond Allahabad. It seems that Brahmanical influence in the regions to the east of Allahabad was much weaker.[15] Patañjali says that a Brahmin is *gaura* "fair", and that no dark person can normally be identified as a Brahmin.[16] It may be noted that he is not referring

to Aryans as such being fair, but to Brahmins alone. As I have discussed elsewhere, the Kṣatriyas and other ranks of the Aryan society were by this time relatively more indigenized. Brahmins in the late classical period considered themselves to be the only survivors of the old Vedic society and believed that there were no true Kṣatriyas any longer.[17] There are indications in Kātyāyana's *Vārttikas* on Pāṇini's grammar that the relations between Brahmins and Kṣatriyas were deteriorating.[18] By the time of Patañjali, only the learned Brahmins of Āryāvartta were viewed as being the speakers of the ideal form of Sanskrit, and others were simply viewed as being non-standard, This is an indication of a widening gap between the Brahmins and the rest, and this eventually leads the Brahmins to consider all the non-Brahmins to be Śūdras. This is evident particularly in Bengal and parts of south India.[19]

6. Having glanced at these older conceptions, let us now turn to Rājaśekhara's work, which shows the broad divisions of India into Uttarāpatha Paścāddeśa, Madhyadeśa, Pūrvadeśa and Dakṣiṇāpatha.[20] If we look at the detailed lists of "countries" or peoples in these different divisions as provided by Rājaśekhara, some important facts are highlighted. The list of peoples in the Uttarāpatha shows the maximum concentration of "foreign" peoples such as Śakas, Hūṇas, Kulūtas, Kiras etc. In fact it is hard to find even one name in this list which can be identified with the older Aryan tribes known from the Vedic and epic literature. Therefore it is no wonder that the Dharmaśāstras viewed this region to be an "impure" region inhabited by mixed populations. The descendants of the Vedic Aryans were evidently pushed further east by these post-Aryan invaders.Languages, peoples and cultures in Sindh, Punjab, Rajasthan, Kashmir and many other parts of India have been affected by these post-Aryan invasions and settlements.

7. Previously I have referred to certain attitudes concerning complexion in India. Vedic Aryans in Punjab refer to their non-Aryan enemies as being of dark complexion. Later on Patañjali says that Brahmins are fair while non-Brahmins are dark. Obviously, in the region where Patañjali lived, the fair Brahmins must have been greatly outnumbered by the darker non-Brahmins. While these are stray statements about complexions of certain groups, a detailed complexion-geography does not emerge until the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata does say that Śakas, Yavanas, Pallavas and Bālhikas in the northern direction should be shown as having a fair complexion,[21] but this text does not offer a detailed complexion-geography.

8. Rājaśekhara has conception of regional distribution of complexions. This is a significant picture, and it helps remove some of the commonly held beliefs based on a person's complexion. It is to be noted that some difference was felt between the fair complexions of the upper and lower north-western regions, as well as between the darker shades found in the eastern and southern

regions. It is to be particularly noted that despite the fact that a great deal of mixture took place in the northwestern regions, the complexions in Uttarāpatha somehow remained by and large fair. The word *gaura* which is used by Patañjali to describe the fair complexion of Brahmins in the eastern region is used by Rājaśekhara here to describe the complexion of a population which included Śakas, Yavanas, Hūṇas and other foreign elements. This agrees with the statement of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* mentioned earlier. It is clear from Patañjali's statement that only the minority community of Brahmins in the eastern region was fair in contrast with the larger non-Brahmin masses ; the situation in the northwestern region seems to have been quite different. Here the majority of the population was relatively fair in its complexion. This makes us aware that the fair complexion of a person in India is no compelling evidence of his historical Aryan origin. D. R. Bhandarkar also makes the same point in his fascinating discussion of the foreign elements in the Hindu population.[22]

9. According to Rājaśekhara, the complexion of people in the southern regions was *kṛṣṇa* "dark", while the complexion in the eastern regions is said to be *śyāma* "light dark". The Kirātas or Tibeto-Burmans in the upper northeastern regions are often described as having golden or yellow complexion[23], and the lower northeastern region can be viewed as an area representing a mixture between the northeastern yellow Kirātas and darker Dravidians and Muṇḍas.[24] This conception is very similar to Herbert Risley's ethnic classification of this region. Risley holds that the population of Bengal and parts of Bihar and Orissa is Mongolo-Dravidian. The term Mongoloid in Risley's classification refers to Tibeto-Burman stocks, while the term Dravidian includes Muṇḍas.

10. The Madhyadeśa, according to Rājaśekhara, was inhabited by peoples of all complexions. This is a region of considerable overlap between north and south, east and west. The idea that there is an overlap of various systems, primarily north and south, in this region gets added support from other descriptions in Rājaśekhara's work. The region of Avanti, which fairly corresponds to Rājaśekhara's notion of lower Madhyadeśa, has both styles of dress, the northern Pāñcāla-madhyamā as well as the southern Dākṣiṇātyā.[25] The same region of Avanti has an overlap in respect of styles of amorous expression. It has the northern Sātvatī style as well as the southern Kaiśikī.[26] His discussion also suggests that there was an overlap of the northern and southern literary styles in this region.

11. It may be pointed out that the complexion-geography and other cultural regionalities presented by Rājaśekhara help us chart outlines of some major ethno-cultural grids in India. In terms of complexion, there appears to be a significant isogloss dividing the north and the west from the south and the east. There are sub-isoglosses dividing the north from the west, and the east from the south. The major isogloss in Rājaśekhara's complexion-geography

dividing the north and the west from the south and the east may be compared with the dialect-division in Ashokan inscriptions.[27] Rājaśekhara's picture must also be contrasted with what we know from the *Ṛgveda*. At the time of the Ṛgvedic compositions, the enemies of Aryans in the northwestern regions were described as *kṛṣṇa* "dark", while in later times the darker complexions are mainly confined to the east and to the south and extend up to central India. This is perhaps an indication of ethnic displacement of darker complexions from the northwestern part of India. That there was a major displacement of non-Aryan elements from this region is supported by various kinds of evidence. The boundary of the Aryan homeland gradually moved eastward from eastern Punjab at the time of the *Ṛgveda* to Allahabad in the days of Patañjali. The *Mahābhārata* records various efforts made by the Pāṇḍavas to burn and clear forests and exterminate Nāgas and other tribes.[28] As a result of these Aryan efforts the region of Uttarāpatha and parts of Madhyadeśa were cleared of non-Aryan tribes. Joseph Schwartzberg's *A Historical Atlas of South Asia* shows that non-Aryan peoples survived on the fringes of this cleared area.[29] Thus this region, the homeland of Aryans, shows a predominant fair complexion. However, the post-Aryan invasions of Uttarāpatha and western regions resulted in many overlays of non-Aryan elements. But it seems that these elements were also fairer in complexion. Hence, the northwestern region did become more and more impure and mixed from a Brahmanical religious point of view, despite remaining fair in complexion. Thus over a period of centuries, the association of complexion with Aryanness and religious purity seems to have vanished completely.[30]

12. Rājaśekhara's description of the overlap of northern and southern cultural patterns and complexions in the region of Avanti or lower Madhyadeśa may be compared with some of the recent conclusions supporting this overlap. A study of patterns of kinship in India also shows that the regions of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Orissa represent the region of overlap between the Indo-Aryan kinship system and the Dravidian kinship system. While cross-cousin marriage is not found in the north, and while it is the preferred form of marriage in the south, both types survive in the above-mentioned frontier belt.[31] To this we may add recent ideas advanced by S. B. Joshi and Franklin Southworth that Marathi probably developed from a pidginized form of Prakrit spoken by a predominantly Dravidian population.[32] It must be said that Southworth's conception, though quite plausible, is at this point a hypothesis and not a proven thesis ; however, the origin of Marathi definitely lies in the phenomenon of overlap of the northern and southern social and linguistic systems in the region of Maharashtra. Rājaśekhara's description places this overlap in a region which is immediately to the north of Maharashtra. It is very likely that this region of overlap has shifted southwards since the time of Rājaśekhara. Since some of Rājaśekhara's notions are derived from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, this overlap

may be pushed back to about the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier.

13. We may briefly compare Rājaśekhara's complexion-geography of India with Herbert Risley's ethnological geography of India. Though Risley's conceptions and terminology are now largely outdated, they represent a stage in the evolution of concepts about Indian ethnography and as such will always remain a matter of historical interest. Risley worked side by side with Sir George Grierson to whom we owe the magnificent *Linguistic Survey of India.* Sir Herbert Risley was entrusted with a no less significant and demanding task, i.e., preparation of the Census of India. Like most western scholars of his time, Risley was indeed convinced of the notion of Aryan migrations into India as postulated by Indo-Europeanists and of the existence of the separate Dravidian linguistic family advocated by Caldwell. Risley groups Dravidians and Muṇḍas under the same category of Dravidians and calls the Tibeto-Burmans by the term Mongoloid. He takes into account the Scythian (*śaka*) rule in Maharashtra, Gujarat and Sindh and proposes that the population of this region is Scytho-Dravidian. In the northwestern part of the subcontinent, he places the Turko-Iranian population. Here he takes into account the Muslim invasions, which took place after the time of Rājaśekhara. It is interesting to note that this area was heavily influenced by foreign elements even prior to Rājaśekhara's time, and the only thing that changed was the fact that previous invaders were not Islamic, but the new ones were.

14. Risley's classifications show significant ethnic overlaps. According to him, the Dravidians extend far to the north and east where they merge respectively with Aryans and Mongoloids. This implies that at one time the Dravidians had occupied all these extensive northern regions, though now they are mainly confined to the south. This agrees fairly well with the conclusions of modern research into India's linguistic history[33], and is further supported by Rājaśekhara's complexion-geography and by his geography of cultural patterns. Risley's Indo-Aryan area largely corresponds to Rājaśekhara's Uttarāpatha. Risley found certain common anthropometric features in this region and hence he lumped the people of this region into a single category of Indo-Aryans. This is quite similar to what Rājaśekhara does with respect to this region. Despite the fact that a great deal of ethnic intermixture took place in this region, Rājaśekhara finds a pervasive *gaura* "fair" complexion here, and he is aware that there is, by now, no necessary connection between historical Aryanhood and fair complexion.[34] The isoglosses in Rājaśekhara's complexion-geography have certain close parallels in Risley's conceptions.

15. There are many other conceptions about the Indian linguistic geography found in Rājaśekhara's work. I have dealt with them in detail elsewhere[35], but I shall briefly present some of the important conceptions here. While commenting on Pāṇini's grammar, Kātyāyana uses the words *laukika* "worldly" and *vaidika* "Vedic", instead of simply using the words *loka* "world"

and *veda* "Vedic texts".[36] Patañjali, in his remarks on Kātyāyana's statements, says that Kātyāyana is a southerner and southerners prefer to use *taddhita*-derivatives.[37] Here Patañjali does point out a particular regional preference, and yet does not provide a complete picture of such preferences. This task is completed by Rājaśekhara.[38] According to Rājaśekhara's observation, the people of Vidarbha prefer more nominal constructions but avoid long compounds. The people of the Gauḍa country (= Bengal) prefer long compounds. The southerners prefer *taddhita*-derivatives, a notion already seen in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*. The northerners prefer *kṛt*-derivatives. Then he says that all good writers prefer using verbs. Since Rājaśekhara himself belonged to Madhyadeśa, this may perhaps refer to the preference in that part of India. Though we have no full confirmation of these preferences from other sources, many details can be supported on the basis of discussions of regional preferences in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, Yāska's *Nirukta* and texts on Sanskrit poetics.[39]

16. Rājaśekhara's work also tells us about particular regions showing preference for particular literary languages.[40] He says that the Gauḍas are more interested in Sanskrit, while the Lāṭas are more interested in Prakrit. The poets of Rajasthan, upper Punjab and Bhādānaka (?) are more fluent in Apabhraṁśa. The poets of Avanti, Vindhya and Daśapura prefer Paiśāci. Finally he says that a poet who lives in the Madhyadeśa is fluent in all languages. While some elements in this linguistic geography are not very clear, some are justified on the basis of modern knowledge about India's linguistic history. It is not clear why the preference for Sanskrit should have been viewed as being limited to Gauḍas. The reference to the region of Paiśāci in the vicinity of the Vindhyas finds support in the story of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*.[41] The close link between the dialects of Rajasthan and Apabhraṁśa can also be supported on the basis of modern conceptions.[42] The claim that the Lāṭas (= Gujarat) show a marked preference for Prakrit may be viewed in the light of the strength of Jainism in this region, and its use of Prakrit (e.g., Ardhamāgadhī, Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī). While we know that historically Prakrits were not necessarily limited to the region of Lāṭa, Rājaśekhara's text shows that the literary use of Prakrits during the late classical period was more common in these regions.

17. Rājaśekhara also informs us that various kings had peculiar linguistic inclinations.[43] According to him, the king Śiśunāga of Magadha made a rule that no one in his harem should utter any retroflex sounds. This is an interesting reference, and is historically related to instability of retroflexion in certain dialects of Indo-Aryan.[44] The king Kuvinda of Śūrasena (= Mathurā region) is said to have banned harsh consonant-clusters in his harem. This could be a reference to a kind of Prakrit where simplification of Sanskritic clusters was a dominant tendency. The king Sātavāhana of Kuntala made his entire harem a Prakrit-speaking place. This reference is quite interesting The story of the origin of the Kātantra grammar as narrated in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* states that

the Sātavāhanas were more proficient in Prakrit than in Sanskrit.[45] The rise of the Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit as the most dominant literary Prakrit may be related to the rise of the Sātavāhana power, when the center of political gravity in India shifted to the south-central region. Rājaśekhara says that the king Sāhasāṅka of Ujjayini enforced Sanskrit in his harem. This may be contrasted with Rājaśekhara's own statement that the poets in the region of Avanti, Vindhya, etc., preferred the Paiśācī language. It may be that the kings who established themselves in a particular region brought with themselves certain socio-linguistic preferences which were contrary to the preferences of the people of that region Another fact must be noted. Rājaśekhara's orientation is not terribly historical either. His work is more of a traditional encyclopedia, rather than a cultural history. The kings whose preferences are noted by Rājaśekhara are seperated by hundreds of years from each other. This affects the mutual comparability of his own statements. His perspective of Indian cultural history is perfectly atemporal, and this is quite in keeping with the general trend of the classical Indian mind.[46]

18. Rājaśekhara also gives us information about the regional modes of speech and recital. His comments are often based on stereotypical ideas prevalent in India. Such ideas are found in other works, such as the *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotanasūri.[47] Here are Rājaśekhara's opinions :[48]

(a) Māgadhas and others to the east of Banaras speak Sanskrit very well, but they do not do well in Prakrit. (This agrees with Rājaśekhara's opinion that the Gauḍa poets prefer to use Sanskrit.)

(b) A Gauḍa reciter is neither clear nor yet confused, neither harsh nor yet soft, and neither with a low pitch nor with a high pitch. His recitation is like that of a horse.

(c) A Gauḍa speaks Prakrit so bad, that either he should give up Prakrit or Prakrit should change his nature. (This may be compared with the low status given to Māgadhī in Sanskrit dramas.[49] Rājaśekhara himself gives Māgadhī the status of a maid-servant.[50])

(d) Whatever be the sentiment, style or qualities, all the Karṇāṭas proudly emphasize their retroflexes (*ṭaṅkāravādinaḥ*). All Dravidian poets recite prose, verse or a mixed text in a musical way.

(e) The Lāṭas hate Sanskrit, but recite beautiful Prakrit poetry with their tongue rambling with the pleasure of uttering soft sounds. (I have discussed elsewhere the hateful attitude of some of the Jaina writers toward Sanskrit.[51])

(f) The poets of Surāṣṭra, Travaṇa etc. recite even Sanskrit by mixing it with bits of Apabhraṁśa, thus making it more beautiful.

(g) By the grace of Sarasvatī, the Kashmirians are good poets, and yet their recitation sounds like *gaḍūci-gaṇḍūṣa* ("noises of puffing a hukka"?) to the ear.

(h) The poets of the northern region recite with a nasal twang, despite their great refinement. (There are indications in Pāṇini's grammar of this preferred nasality in his region.[52] Pāṇini's birth-place, Śālātura, was in the upper-Indus region and was situated in what was known as Uttarāpatha or Udīcya "northern" country).

(i) Possessed of good qualities, with voice corresponding to the style, with the perfect arrangement of words and properly divided by caesuras, the beautiful recitation of the poets of the Pañcāla region flows into the ears like honey. [In the discussions in Sanskrit poetics, the Pāñcālī style of poetry is particularly viewed as being sweet and delicate (*mādhurya-saukumāryopapannā*), though perhaps to the extreme. Therefore the Vaidarbhī style which has all the qualities without any one of them dominating over others is considered to be the best of the poetic styles[53]].

19. What is the value of Rājaśekhara's information? It cannot be denied that Rājaśekhara had no conception of "history" in the modern sense of the term. His conception of India is that of a time-less storehouse, and his treatment of the subject is like an encyclopedia. However, he was not unique in holding such a perception of history. Pāṇini, Patañjali, Manu and others show the same pan-synchronic perception of Indian culture.[54] However, Rājaśekhara's perception of India is significantly different from that of Patañjali or Manu. To a certain extent it is somewhat similar to Pāṇini's perception of the Sanskrit language. Pāṇini does not present a particular regional variety of Sanskrit as being the standard Sanskrit. He looks at every available kind of Sanskrit and takes care of this totality by making a distinction between the commonly shared core and the specific usages of particular historical or regional domains.[55] In contrast with this universality of approach, Patañjali concentrates on the region of Āryāvartta and its learned Brahmins for his standard of Sanskrit, and the implication of this clearly seems to be that other regions should emulate the *é*lite behaviour of this region.[56] This is also true of Manu's Law-book which explicitly says[57]: "From a Brahmin, born in this country (=Āryāvartta), let all men on earth learn their ways of behaviour".

The perception of cultural variation in Rājaśekhara's work is of an entirely different order. There has been a great deal of change since the time of Patañjali and Manu upto the time of Rājaśekhara. While for Patañjali and Manu, the Āryāvartta alone was the holy land, and all the "outer" regions were inhabited by fallen, impure and mixed populations, this view is no longer held by the time of Rājaśekhara. Rājaśekhara appreciates Sanskrit of the Gauḍas, poetry of the Kashmirians, Apabhraṁśa of Punjab, Prakrit of the Lāṭas and the recitation of the poets of Saurāṣṭra. All of these regions are impure, fallen and mixed regions in the lists of the earlier Dharmaśāstras.[58] The best literary Prakrit, Mahārāṣṭrī, and the best poetic style, Vaidarbhī, developed in regions far away from the holy Āryāvartta. Thus in Rājaśekhara's work, and in other works of the late classical period, we find a very different awareness and perception of India. Here every region of India has a share in the glory of the land and hence the cultural geography in Rājaśekhara is more even-handed and generous in comparison with the heavy-handed treatment of non-Āryāvartta regions, non-Brahmanical peoples and non-Sanskrit languages in the works of Patañjali and Manu.[59] For this reason, Rājaśekhara's cultural geography becomes very significant for its approach and for its contents. Though Rājaśekhara lived in a pre-modern age, as we have seen, his conceptions compare fairly well with those of a modern anthropologist like Risley. Therefore, in any historical reconstruction of India's cultural, anthropological and linguistic history, the value of Rājaśekhara's work remains undeniable.

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NOTES

1. Deshpande (1979A).
2. Deshpande (1979B).
3. J. E. Schwartzberg (1978), pp. 162-165. For a similar approach concerning various north Indian rivers marking various stages of Aryan advancement, see Saloman (1978). Also Deshpande (1978) and D.R. Bhandarkar (1931).
4. *Ṛgveda* (2.20.7).
5. Southworth (1974), Deshpande (1979A) and (1979C).
6. Deshpande (1979A), pp. 43-54.
7. Deshpande (1979A), pp. 47-49.
8. *Manusmṛti* (2.21-22).
9. J. R. Gharpure (1946), p. 13.
10. J. R. Gharpure (1946), p. 14.
11. Deshpande (1977-78), pp. 121 ff.
12. Schwartzberg (1978), pp. 20, 145 ; Deshpande (1979A), p. 107, fn. 24.
13. Deshpande (1979A), p. 44, shows that even Jainas considered Yavanas, śakas etc. to be Mlecchas "barbarians". For their fallen status acoording to the Brahmanical traditions, see *Manusmṛti* (10.43 ff). Also see : Deshpande (1979A), p. 117, fn. 155, and (1979B), p. 18.
14. Bhandarkar, D.R. (1931), p. 110, and Deshpande (1978), p. 100-103.
15. Bhandarkar, D. R. (1931), p. 107 ff.
16. *gauraḥ śucy-ācāraḥ piṅgalaḥ kapila-keśaḥ ity etān apy abhyantarān brāhmaṇye guṇān kurvanti /...na hy ayaṁ kālaṁ māṣa-rāśi-varṇam āpaṇa āsīnaṁ dṛṣṭvādhyavasyati brāhmaṇo'yam iti /*, *Mahābhāṣya*, on p. 2.2.6, Vol. I, pp. 411-2. This passage clearly shows that Brahmins were viewed as being *gaura* "white, fair", in contrast with the darker non-Brahmins. The color-prejudice is also seen from texts like the *Vāsiṣṭha-Dharma-Śāstra* (18.18) : *kṛṣṇa-varṇā yā rāmā ramaṇāyaiva na dharmāya na dharmāyeti /*, "The woman who is of dark color, she may be used only for pleasure, but never for righteous activities, never for righteous activities."
17. *brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyāḥ vaiśyāḥ śūdrā varṇās trayo dvijāḥ / yuge yuge sthitāḥ sarve kalāv ādyantayoḥ sthitiḥ//*, from *Śūdrakamalākara*, quoted by D. R. Bhandarkar (1911), p. 7.
18. Deshpande (1979A), p. 110, fn. 48.
19. In Bengal, for instance, the Brahmins considered the rest of the people to be Śūdras, who were subdivided into good and bad Śūdras.
20. *KM*, pp. 93 ff. Also see S.B. Chaudhury (1948).
21. *śakāś ca yavanāś caiva pallavā bāhlīkādayaḥ / prāyeṇa gaurāḥ kartavyā uttarāṁ ye śritā diśam/ /*, *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Nirṇayasāgara Press edition), XXX, 89-90. For the significance of this reference for the date of the text, see M. Ghosh (1934), p. 46.
22. Bhandarkar, D. R. (1911), p. 37, and Bhandarkar, R. G. (1928), pp. 624 ff. On p. 637, R. G. Bhandarkar says: "The foreigners who came here before the Mahomedans were absorbed so quickly and on such a large scale in the Hindu social organisation,

that in the modern society of India any attempt to decide who is an Aryan and who is a non-Aryan would be quite futile."

23. S.K. Chatterji (1950), p. 165.
24. For the anthropological complexities, see : D.N. Majumdar, C. Radhakrishna Rao and P.C. Mahalnobis (1960), pp. 106 ff ; P.C. Mahalnobis (1927) and S.K. Chatterji (1950), pp. 190 ff.
25. *KM*, p. 9.
26. *KM*, p. 10.
27. F.C. Southworth (1974), p. 210.
28. For the burning of the Khāṇḍava forest by the Pāṇḍavas and the destruction of its inhabitants, see Critical Text of the Mahābhārata, 4 Volume Edition, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1971, Vol. I, pp. 274 ff. Particularly see pp. 283 ff.
29. Schwartzberg (1978), pp. 13, 97 and 108.
30. A commentator such as Nāgeśabhaṭṭa on the Mahābhāṣya could not take Patañjali's description of Brahmins as being *gaura* "fair" seriously. He says that these are not invariable qualities, and gives a Dharmaśāstra interpretation of the word *gaura* : *aṣṭa-varṣā tu yā dattā śruta-śīla-samanvite/sā gaurī tat-suto yas tu sa gauraḥ parikīrtitaḥ//*, See *Uddyota* on *Mahābhāṣya,* Nirṇayasāgara edition, Vol. II, edited by Shivadatta Kuddala, Bombay, 1912, p. 428. It is clear that Patañjali is contrasting *gaura* with *kāla* "dark, black", and has no ritual meaning in his mind.
31. Irawati Karve (1953), pp. 17 ff ; Trautmann (1979).
32. S.B. Joshi (1951) and (1952) ; Southworth (1971).
33. Emeneau (1954) and (1956) ; Kamil Zvelebil (1972) ; Southworth (1974) and (1979), and David McAlpin (1979).
34. Rājaśekhara (*KM*, pp. 96-7) refers to *pāṇḍu* "fair" cheeks of the Yavana women and points out that in poetry there is not much difference between *gaura* and *pāṇḍu.*
35. Deshpande (1979A), pp, 28-33.
36. *siddhe śabdārtha-sambandhe lokato'rtha -prayukte śāstreṇa dharma-niyamo yathā laukika vaidikeṣu*, Vārttika 1 on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. I, pp.6 ff.
37. *priya-taddhitā dākṣiṇātyā yathā loke vede ceti prayoktavye laukika-vaidikeṣv iti prayañjate/*,*Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. I, p. 8.
38. *KM*, p. 22.
39. *dātir lavanārthe prācyeṣu dātram udīcyeṣu*, *Mahābhāṣya,* Vol. I, p. 9. Also *Nirukta*, Vol. I, pp. 127-8. The *Nirukta* also points out that people in some provinces use certain roots in finite verbs, while others use them only in derivatives (*athāpi prakṛtaya evaikeṣu bhāṣyante vikṛtaya ekeṣu*), Vol. I, p. 127.
40. *KM*, p. 51.
41. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, pp. 15 ff.
42. Chatterji (1960), pp. 104, 118, 182, and 194.
43. *KM*, p. 50.
44. Deshpande (1979C), p. 252.
45. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, pp. 18 ff.

46. Deshpande (1979B), pp. 12-13 and 17 ff.
47. *Kuvalayamālā*, pp. 152-3 ; Deshpande (1979A), pp. 36 ff.
48. *KM*, pp. 33-4 ; Deshpande (1979A), pp. 30-1.
49. For instance, the fisherman in the *Śākuntala* speaks Māgadhī and in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* the characters of Ṣakāra and the monk speak that dialect. These characters are made fun of in these dramas.
50. *KM*, p. 50 ; Deshpande (1979A), p. 31.
51. Deshpande (1979A), pp. 35-6, 55-6 and 59-60.
52. Deshpande (1979A) pp. 114, fn. 110.
53. Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtras* 2.13 (*mādhurya-saukumāryopapannā pāñcālī*), and 2.11 (*samagra-guṇopetā vaidarbhī*). For details, see V. Raghavan (1973), pp. 147 ff.
54. Deshpande (1979B) and (1978).
55. Deshpande (1978), pp. 71-84.
56. Deshpande (1978), pp. 99 ff.
57. *Manusmṛti* (2.20).
58. Gharpure (1946), pp. 16 ff.
59. Deshpande (1979A), pp 7-10, 47 ff.

WESTERN RESPONSE TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

K. KRISHNAMOORTHY

I

It is well-known how the history of education in modern India begins with Macaulay's *Minutes* (1835). T. B. Macaulay, who had been appointed by Warren Hastings as the Chairman of the Committee of Public Instruction in 1823, had all the pride and prejudice of a born imperialist, which made him blind to the merits of Sanskrit literature produced by the 'natives'. With characteristic hauteur he states :

> A single shelf of a good European library is worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia.

Even English-educated and progressive Indian leaders like Raja Ramamohan Roy shared this view that what India needed for its betterment was modern education through English and not Sanskrit education. It was indeed a momentous policy-decision which shaped our history and we have nothing to say against the sincerity of Macaulay as an educational adviser. But at the same time, his appalling ignorance of Sanskrit literature cannot be excused.

The first notice I have been able to trace of Sanskrit literature in English is that of Dean Milman in his article 'Sanskrit Poetry' published in the *Quarterly Review* of 1831 (pp. 1-57). He alludes there to "the numerous Latin and German translations that are before us of Indian poets". He may be having in mind George Forster's German translation (1791) of Sir William Jones's English version of "*Śakuntalā*" by Kālidāsa (1789), the German translation of *Manusmṛti* (Weimar, 1797) from the English version of it by Sir William Jones, Wilhelm Von Schlegel's Latin translation of the *Bhagavadgitā* (1823), Franz Bopp's Latin translation of the episode of Nala and Damayanṭi in the *Mahābhārata* (London, 1819), etc.

If we expect to find in Dean Milman a replica of Macaulay's attitude, we will be soon disenchanted. For he observes :

> From their poetry, which however encumbered with monstrous and extravagant fiction, and a wild and incoherent mythology, not only excites our interest as characteristic of the people of whose imagination and feelings it is the living expression, but even to European ears may be found to abound in passages rarely perhaps of striking grandeur or energy, but often of the most exquisite delicacy, of the softest tenderness, of infinite variety and gracefulness of fancy, and what may not least surprise our readers, of the purest simplicity.

Then he goes on to summarise the popular view of Indian literature at the time in these words :

> Oriental poetry is generally prescribed in the mass, as offering little more than a brilliant confusion of florid diction, of turgid and fantastic metaphor, not merely false to European nature, but to those primary and universal principles of taste which demand that the language should be in harmony with the thought, the imagery in keeping with the sentiment.

This is indeed the view immortalised by Macaulay. But what made Dean Milman take a more sober and balanced view ?

The answer lies in the thundering applause and endless encomiums bestowed upon Indian poetic excellences by German romanticists like Herder and Goethe, only a few years before. "The discovery of Sanskrit" by Europe at the end of the 18th century was something comparable to the Renaissance. Sir William Jones wrote with the enthusiasm of a Columbus :

> The Sanskrit language is of a wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either. (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I, p. 422).

With that we may say the "Digvijaya" or triumphant march of Sanskrit begins on the European mainland. Heinrich Zimmer penetratingly observes :

> As with a magic wand Schopenhauer broke the barrier which separated Europe from the landscape of India's spirits ; with his perception life looked at itself as though with Indian eyes ['Schopenhauer and India', *New Indian Antiquary*, Poona, Vol. I, p. 61].

Schopenhauer's admiration for the *Upaniṣads* knew no bounds. He could go into ecstasies while talking of them :

> It is the most satisfying and elevating reading which is possible in the world ; it has been the solace of my life and will be the solace of my death. (Quoted by M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1927, p. 267).

No less personal and enthusiastic is the elaborated response of the German poet Göethe to the Indian play, *Śakuntalā :*

Will ich die Blumen des fruhen, die fruchte
des spateren Jahres,
Will ich, was reizt und entzuckt, will ich
was sattigt und nahrt,
Will ich den Himmel, die Erde mit Einem
Namen begriefen,
Nenn ich, Sakontala, dich, und so ist allest gesagt.

"Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms and
the fruits of its decline,
And all by which the soul is charmed,
enraptured, feasted, fed ?
Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself in
one sole name combine ?
I name thee, O Sakontala ! and all at once is said".

Translated by E. B. Eastwick.

This praise was seriously taken up for explication by Rabindranath Tagore in one of his essays on our ancient literature. How the young year's blossoms and the fruits of its decline, how heaven and earth meet and unite in the play is the theme of his illuminating essay.

Be that as it may, it is true that *Śakuntalā* left an indelible impression on the literary activity of Goethe, the pioneer of romanticism. It is the story of a woman with child deserted by her lover. Some scholars have thought that the Gretchen episode in *Faüst* may have been inspired by this.[7] Even if it may not be the whole truth, German critics regard unanimously that the conversation between the poet, the manager and the jester in the prelude to *Faüst* is modelled upon that in *Kālidāsa's* play.

Similarly, Herder and Humboldt spoke in the highest terms of the *Gitā* and made it popular in Germany. The latter said in a letter written in 1827 :

> The Gitā is perhaps the deepest and loftiest thing the world has to show.

II

This initial wave of enthusiastic praise and admiration of the East by a few men of letters, soon died down as we might notice in the critical review of Dean Milman who wants to steer clear of both the extremes of praise and dispraise. The enthusiasts he dismisses with the following observation :

> As to the first navigators of the ocean every island was a Paradise, every rock a realm of gold and an abode of bliss ; partly from the mere excitement of novelty ; partly from the intoxication of success so long despaired of, and the sense of toil and peril undergone......from illusions such as these men of the coolest minds cannot sometimes altogether emancipate themselves.

This is indeed a typically English understatement as we shall see presently from the turn of the tide from blind adulation to downright condemnation from the specialists or Orientalists as they were called.

III

The Boden Chair for Sanskrit, was instituted by Colonel Boden in the Oxford University (1811) with the condition that the bequest was "to promote the translation of Scriptures into Sanskrit so as to enable his countrymen to proceed in the coversion of the natives of India to the Christian Religion". Monier-Williams, Macdonell, Keith—have written so much on our Vedic religion that no educated man today can have any high opinion about it. Even Max Müller who settled in Oxford in another chair, having failed to secure the Boden Professorship speaks with two voices as it were, one for public consumption and one for personally intimate members. In the former runs a vein of warm praise which contrasts with the cold condemnation underlying the latter. Thus in his lecture, *India what can it teach us*, he rhetorically asks :

> Why should a study of Greek and Latin—of the poetry, the philosophy, the laws and the art of Greece and Italy—seem congenial to us ? Why should it excite even a certain enthusiasm and command general respect, while a study of Sanskrit and the ancient poetry, the philosophy, the laws and the art of India is

> looked upon, in the best case as curious, but is considered by most people as useless and tedious, if not absurd.
>
> And strange to say, this feeling exists in England more than in any other country. In France, Germany and Italy, even in Denmark, Sweden and Russia, there is a vague charm connected with the name of India (2nd edn., Delhi, 1961, pp. 3-4).

But one wonders whether it is the same Max Müller who writes in his personal letters such things as the following :

> This edition of mine and the translation of the Veda will hereafter tell to a great extent the fate of India. It is the root of their religion and to show them what the root is, I feel sure, is the only way of uprooting all that has sprung from it during the last three thousand years. (*Life and letters* of F. Max Müller, Vol. I, Ch. XV, p. 34).

This is in a letter to his beloved wife in the year 1923. What are we to make of this man? Was he a Christian fanatic behind his facade of a professor? Even in one of his public lectures, he states :

> I do not claim for the ancient Indian literature any more than I should willingly concede to the fables and traditions and songs of savage nations. I simply say that in the Veda we have a nearer approach to a beginning, and an intelligent beginning, than in the wild invocations of the Hottentots and the Bushmen. (Quoted by Benjamin Walker, *Hindu World*, Vol. II, Allen and Unwin, London, 1968, p. 355).

IV

From such half-hearted appreciation to positive condemnation is but an easy step and we see it in the works of Indologists in Europe as well as America till the dawn of Indian independence. They are too many to be covered in any paper like this. I should content myself by giving specimens of Western literary judgement of select Sanskrit classics.

1. *Sāyaṇa's Commentary on the Vedas*

> (a) "ein gewissenhafter europaischer Erklarer desa Veda weit richteger sei and besser verstehen konne als Sayana"
> 'An intelligent European interpreter of the Veda can understand it more correctly and better than Sāyaṇa.'
> (R. Roth, Foreword to St. Petersburg Worterbuch, p. 5).

(b) It is a well-established principle that a habitual liar is not to be believed even when he speaks the truth. It is equally clear that a habitual blunderer is not to be praised when he chances to say the right thing. The commentators must be judged by their worst work because this is also their prevailing and characteristic work...... There are, in fact, in my opinion few figures more absurd than that of Sāyaṇa posing as one who comprehends, and can teach others to comprehend a difficult Vedic passage.

(W.D. Whitney, Festgruss on Rudolf von Roth, Stuttgart, 1893, p. 96)

2. *Upaniṣads*

(a) 'Brahma' is "Zauberfluidum" or magic essence, a religious belief beginning somewhere in the lowest bathos of savage folk-belief.

(H. Oldenberg, as quoted by M. Bloomfield, 'The Religion of the Veda', New York, 1908, p. 273)

(b) The *Summum bonum* of the Hindu is a state of impassive quasi-somnambulism which, but for its acknowledged holiness, might run the risk of being confounded with idiocy.
(Prof. Huxley, quoted by Bloomfield, Ibid., p. 283)

3. *The Gītā*

(a) The Gītā distinctly bears Christian influence.
(Garbe, Indien und das christentum, Tubingen, 1914, p.244 f.)

(b) The elements of Krishna's later life are quite un-Indian in their tragic character.

(A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, London, 1954, p. 305)

4. *The Rāmāyaṇa*

The *Rāmāyaṇa* is no more than a Buddhist saga dovetailed to the Homeric story of the Trojan War. (A. Weber, quoted by K. T. Telang, '*Was the Rāmāyaṇa copied from Homer*?', Bombay, 1973)

5. *The Mahābhārata*

The *Mahābhārata* as a whole is a literary monster. Never has the hand of an artist attempted the well-nigh impossible task of combining the conflicting elements into one unified poem.
(M. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, p. 326)

6. *Kālidāsa*

(a) There is strong reason to believe that Kālidāsa was of foreign origin. His name is unusual. The stigma attaching to the suffix '*dāsa*' (slave) was very strong, and orthodox Hindus avoided its use…… His devotion to the Brahmanical creed of his time may betray a zeal of a convert. His knowledge of scientific astronomy was manifestly gleaned from Greek sources.
(Benjamin Walker, *Hindu World*, Vol. I, London, 1978, p.509)

(b) It has been observed that Kālidāsa had his literary weaknesses. He showed no interest in the social problems of his day; his plays do not reflect the tumultuous times in which he lived; he felt no sympathy for the lot of the common man; his work is overburdened with description, and is sentimental, wordy and at times course. Max Muller declares—'Kālidāsa's plays are not superior to many plays that have been allowed to rest in dust and peace on the shelves of our libraries'.
(*Ibid.*, p. 510)

(c) Nothing in the *Śakuntalā* is explained by the natural course of things. The curse is pronounced by a 'sage' who cannot control himself, and therefore lacks the first qualification of a sage……
(H. Oldenberg, 'Die Literature des alten Indien,' Berlin, 1903. p. 261)

7. *Sanskrit Literature in general*

Descriptions of rampant lust are followed by passages of pious moralizing. Often there are vivid accounts of the emotions of panting maidens and exhausted swains, with more than frank physical descriptions of both. Ravishing women bend under the weight of their ample breasts and are only held upright by the counterpoise of their massive hips……
(Benjamin Walker, Op. Cit., p. 544)

For a refutation of such views, see K. Krishnamoorthy, *Kālidāsa*, Twayne Publishers, New York, 1972.

This survey of Western response to Sanskrit literature, ranging from the sublime to the ridiculous would not be complete unless some of the latest attempts at a more sympathetic reappraisal are indicated. Prof. D.H.H. Ingalls of Harvard makes bold to say :

> In the twentieth century the Victorian prejudices were summed up and refined by A.B. Keith......Of Keith's reading, it seems to me, no word ever passed beyond his head to his heart. It is obvious from Keith's works that for the most part he disliked Sanskrit literature.
>
> (An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 44, 1965, p. 50)

Prof. John Brough of Cambridge speaks of 'the highly civilized and artistic aspect of ancient Indian literature' (*Poems from the Sanskrit*, Penguin Books, 1978, p. 11). Prof. A.K. Warder of Toronto abserves :

> A new evaluation of Indian literature is long overdue. We may leave any anticolonialist counterblast, and the criticism of prejudiced secondary sources, to those who are fond of polemic and political analysis. We shall regard it axiomatic that the literature studied should be presented on its own terms..
>
> The systematic disparagement of Indian culture during the 19th and 20th centuries became a mighty industry with countless ramifications. It produced an impressive array of antitext-books, scholarly in outward manner and bearing the imprints of academic publishers.
>
> (*Indian Kāvya Literature*, Vol. I, Delhi, 1972, Preface)

That is indeed an objective and unbiased summing up of the Western response to Sanskrit literature. But what can be more alarming than the fact that our Oriental publishers in India today are making a business of reprinting these very out-dated antitext-books by the off-set process and dumping them in our libraries ? Is it at least partly due to the lethargy of Indian professors of Sanskrit who are content to use the age-old reference books and who are loth to produce their own books ? There is need for some self-searching on the part of publishers and professors alike. But there is a greater need of trained literary critics to take up the task of interpreting and evaluating Sanskrit classics, instead of leaving them to untrained 'specialists' in Sanskrit grammar and philosophy. Pride and prejudice may be shed with some difficulty; but it is still more difficult to acquire sense and sensibility. Let me hope that this challenge will find a ready response from the Indian scholars. Swami Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo, Rabindranath Tagore and a few other Indians have pioneered to prepare a pathway. But many more are needed to undo the accumulated prejudices of two centuries of Sanskrit studies (for further details, see K. Krishnamoorthy, A new Approach to Sanskrit Literature, *The Āryan Path*, Dec. 1965).

THE UNIQUENESS OF SANSKRIT

ADYA PRASAD MISHRA

It will not be an exaggeration to observe that Sanskrit and its literature is the most valuable treasure that India has got in her possession from times immemorial, It is so because of its uniqueness in more than one way.

In the very first place it may be stated that even though as old as hills, Sanskrit is perennially young too, as it still gives to India its distinctive soul and being. That is the reason for the different designations given to it, i.e., Devavāṇi Amaravāṇi, Daivī vāk.[1], Gīrvāṇī or Gīrvāṇavāṇī. The word Vāṇi or Vāk means 'speech' and all the words used before 'Vāṇī' or 'Vāk' are synonymous and mean 'immortals' or 'gods'. Thus the whole word means 'the speech of gods'. As the gods are called 'Amara' in Sanskrit, which means that they are immortal, all the words used before 'Vāṇi' or 'Vāk' signify the immortality, the undying character of Sanskrit, its quality of being a perennial source of true life and whatever it stands for. Many other classical languages which came on the world-map at subsequent times of history, perished or fell out of use. At best, their use is now limited to some ceremonial purposes. No literature is now being written in them. But the fate of Sanskrit is different from them. It is not merely one among the many languages more or less current in India or elsewhere. Most emphatically, it is not a dead language like some of the other classical languages with which it is often bracketed. It is a living language still used by millions of people for some of the most important functions for which language is employed; it is still a living vehicle for the expression of thought and it is the symbol of a culture, as old as the hills, but perennially young. Hundreds of works on art and architecture, drama, poetry, culture and philosophy, religion and metaphysics, astronomy and astrology, and a host of other subjects are being written in Sanskrit even to-day. It is spoken by lacs of Indian people even now. It is almost invariably used in the performance of sacred religious ceremonies such as initiation, marriage and even the last rites. This fact speaks of perennially youthful existence of

Sanskrit. So this immortality of Sanskrit is its first and foremost unique character uncommon to other classical languages of the world.

Extreme brevity of experession is another unique character of Sanskrit. 'Brevity is the soul of wit' is the Shakespearean adage. It stands fully illustrated by the essential nature of Sanskrit in which brevity is ingrained to the utmost. This brevity has been effected or accomplished by developing a particular style known as 'Samāsa' in Sanskrit. The word 'Samāsa' means brevity also. So the amazing brevity of expression in Sanskrit is the direct result of the 'Samāsa' style. The word 'compound' of English which is generally taken as the synonym of the Sanskrit word 'Samāsa', hardly bears any real parallelism or comparison with it. A Samāsa unlike 'compound' is formed by clustering together words intimately connected with each other in conveying one complete idea or meaning. This specific characteristic of the Sanskrit language has amazingly added to its precision and exactitude in expression so that lovely adages, short and effective sayings and brief melodious couplets all pregnant with deep meaning can be easily retained in mind to stand in good stead when need be.

The point of deep meaning or signification contained in amazingly brief couplets, sould be scanned and analysed in some detail in order of find out another unique characteristic or feature of Sanskrit. It may be observed here that not only Sanskrit but almost all other classical languages of the world have served in the hoary past as vehicle of expression of art, culture, religion and philosophy of the countries in which they flourished. What one wonders, may be the distinctiveness of the content of Sanskrit, which has sustained it as a very important living institution of human history even in the modern age. It may be stated that India's art, its religion and culture, and philosophy including metaphysics for which Sanskrit became an effective means of expression have made India what it has really and prominently been in the hoary past and what it is even today. Leave aside the religious and the non-secular literature written in Sanskrit, even the works of Aśvaghoṣa Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and a host of other representative writers have given powerful expression to India's ever vital and undying culture and philosophy to the wide vision of life and reality. Thus Sanskrit has served as the treasure-house or the repository of India's glorious civilization, culture and philosophy which gave India a sound system of education in the past to make the individual not only more efficient from a wealth-producing point of view, but also and much more importantly to humanize him. Due to the ennobling effect of this glorious culture and religious tradition embedded in Sanskrit, its study made the mind of its recipient highly disciplined so that he could be able to discriminiate between good and bad, or noble and ignoble ('sat' and 'asat'). It not only made the intellect of its votary powerful backed by learning and knowledge, not only developed his critical faculty but also his imagination, vision and sense of sacrifice, all very very necessary for bringing charm, dignity and restraint which make human life rich and worth-living. Thus this rich cultural and philosophical content and humanizing literary tradition of Sanskrit language is almost unparalleled in the history of the world. This, then, is another point of its uniqueness.

What has been said about the content of Sanskrit so far may not create the wrong impression in the mind of the readers that there is a lot of matter on religion, culture and philosophy in Sanskrit, but probably very little or no matter on sciences, viz., physics, chemistry, mathematics, astronomy, engineering or medicine. For this reason I hasten to add that there is a lot of treasure hidden in Sanskrit on these branches of human knowledge, waiting to be fully explored and utilized in the best interest and to the benefit of the humanity at large. The study of Sanskrit would surely help the countries in the development of science and technology, as the ancient Sanskrit literature contained rich material on the subject. Take only one instance of our ancient system of Āyurvedic medical science which remained static during the foreign rule for quite a number of centuries. Only in recent times, subsequent to our achievement of independence, our government has started paying attention to the development of this indigenous system by carrying researches in its past findings. It is yet to be made upto date in the light of modern medical science of the west. Still who does not know the great efficacy in successful treatment of some of the deadly diseases even to-day. Āyurvedic treatment succeeds in cases where other modern systems fail.[2] So on this score also, to put it moderately, Sanskrit is not very poor. What is imperatively needed to-day is to explore and investigate the valuable treasure hidden in Sanskrit on the sciences and supplement the world-knowledge with it for the benefit of the humanity. This, then, is the third point of uniqueness of Sanskrit. It combines the spiritual and religious knowledge with that on the physical sciences and is for that reason a valuable legacy for the human race. This legacy is valuable since it propagates balance between the two aspects of man, lays stress and emphasis on the development of both, the spirit and the body, this world and the yonder, and thus shows the right path to the humanity for its full and integrated growth.

Another unique feature of the Sanskrit language is that on account of its richness, Sanskrit would tie all the nations of the world to-gether with common bondage of friendship. The great value of Shanskrit in inspiring and assisting the philological and linguistic studies first in the western countries and subsequently all over the world is a well-known fact. Highest credit goes to Sir William Jones for attracting attention of the European scholars to the study of Sanskrit and through it to the realization of literary and intellectual affinity between the East and the West. By his deep comparative studies of Sanskrit, Greek and Latin etc. Sir William Jones found out points of close affinity among them which later on paved the way for studies not only in the field of Comarative Philology and grammar but also comparative religion and mythology. It would not be out of point to quote here Sir William Jones himself who observed on Feb. 2, 1786 as the following :

"The Sankrit language,whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect then the Greek, more copious then the Latin and more exquisitely refined than either; yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong, indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which perhaps, no longer exists". This quotation leaves little doubt about the fact that the Sanskrit language, more than any language of the world, made the scholars in the east and the west realize that Sanskrit was the most important common bond amongst all the nations of the world. It can thus serve as a link language on the international plane. Thus it is the study of Sanskrit which has led the world community to appreciate and foster the heritage which mankind had received from its ancestors. The admiration of the German poet Goethe for K*ā*lid*ā*sa's immortal drama, viz., *Ś*akuntal*ā* on reading only its German translation done by George Forster from the English translation of Sir William Jones, brings home to the mind the fact that Sanskrit has an element of universality in all its writings of consequence. Schaupenhaur's great appeciation of the Upaniṣads to the effect that the Upaniṣads have been the source of solace in my life, and they will be the source of solace in my death, also bears out the point. Who does not know that eight-fold Yoga prescribed by Patañjali for accomplishing purification of the body, mind and the self has a unique universality about it. These steps can and should be practised by the people of any faith, living in any country or age for acquiringca sound physique, a strong unwavering mind and a devoted soul. This is the minimum and also the maximum requirement for a successful and meaningful human life. The great writes of Sanskrit had declared at the top of their voice :

अयं निजः परो वेति गणना लघुचेतसाम् ।
उदारचरितानां तु वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् ।।

"The thought that this is our own and that of the other is the thought of the petty-minded people; for the lofty- minded, the whole world is the family." This universality of Sanskairt language and its literature is, in my opinion, its greatest point of uniqueness. The catholic outlook for the good and welfare of the humanity at large is found expressed in so many couplets as can not be enumerated or counted here. One very common of these runs thus :

सर्वे भवन्तु सुखिनः सर्वे सन्तु निरामयाः ।
सर्वे भद्राणि पश्यन्तु मा कश्चिद् दुःखभाग् भवेत् ।।

"May all be happy, may all be free from disease and ailment and enjoy perfect health, may all see nothing but good, may none suffer." Let then this paper end on this noble note, with prayers to the gods to the following effect :

भद्रं कर्णेभि शृणुयाम देवा भद्रं पश्येमाक्षिभिर्यजत्राः (ऋग्वेद १.८९.८) ।

"Gods, may we hear the good of all with our ears and see the good of all with our eyes"; and also

असतो ता सद्गमय तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय मृत्योर्मा अमृतं गमय (उपनिषद्)।

"Lead us, O Lord, from the evil to the good from the darkness to light, from the mortality to importality".

NOTES

१. संस्कृत नाम दैवी वागन्वाख्याता महर्षिभिः । काव्यादर्श ।

2. A recent example of the great efficay of Āyurvedic treatment has been reported from New Delhi, in the Hindustan Times, dated September 29, 1981. A part of the news item runs thus :

"Medical experts here are baffled by the reported cure of a terminal cancer patient with the help of a herbal drug prepared and administered by an Ayurvedic practitioner of Raipur in Madhya Pradesh.

Mr. Mahavir Prasad Tiwari who has been practising Ayurveda for 30 years in Raipur told PTI that a drug he prepared from certain herbs in the forests of Chhattisgarh region has successfully cured terminal cancer in 60-year-old Radhabai whom he had treated for just one week.

Mr. Tiwari.,..........said the drug was prepared under the ancient Indian tradition 'Rasa Tantra'. He said he started collecting the herbs from Sarjuja forests after he came across a book on 'Rasa Dhatu'."

A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE KAUṬILĪYA ARTHAŚĀSTRA III.14.29 & 34.

S. G. MOGHE

It is well-known that Professor R. P. Kangle of Bombay has brought out a critical edition of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra along with English translation, notes and introduction. This text of Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra is also translated by various scholars. My revered Guruji, the late Professor H. D. Velankar, has also written scholarly notes on the same. In this paper, therefore, an attempt is made to offer a newer interpretation of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra III.14.29 and 34 in the light of the authorities from the Dharma-Śāstra literature which is not at all consulted by the accredited scholars of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra.

The passage from the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra III.14.29 and 34 may be quoted here in full as below :

अग्निष्टोमादिषु च क्रतुषु दीक्षणादूर्ध्वं याजकः सन्नः पञ्चममंशं लभेत, सोमविक्रयादूर्ध्वं चतुर्थमंशम् मध्यमोपसदः प्रवर्ग्योद्वासनादूर्ध्वं तृतीयमंशम्, मध्यमोपसद ऊर्ध्वमर्धमंशम्, सुत्ये प्रातःसवनादूर्ध्वं पादोनमंशम् (29)

and

सन्नानाम् आ दशाहोरात्राच्छेषभृताः कर्म कुर्युः अन्ये वा स्वप्रत्ययाः (34).

This passage is translated by Professor Kangle as follows :

'And in the Agniṣṭoma and other sacrifices, a priest falling ill after the consecration ceremony shall receive one-fifth (of his share), after the sale of the Soma one-fourth, after the heating of the Pravargya-vessel on the middle of the Upasad day one-third, after the middle upasad day half the share, after the morning pressing on the day of soma-pressing three quarters of the share' (29);

(And) 'The remaining hired (priests) should do the work of those who have fallen ill, up to ten days and nights, or others trusted by themselves (should do it)'(34) (Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, Part II, p. 241).

Prof. Sham Shastri, however, translates the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra III. 14.29 slightly differently :

'If a priest employed in such sacrifice as Agniṣṭoma etc. dies after the ceremony of consecration (his claimant) shall get one-fifth of the promised present, after the ceremony consecrating the purchase of soma, one-fourth of the present, etc.' (Kauṭilīya Artha-Śāstra, pp. 210-211).

From this translation, it is evident that Professor Sham Shastri understands the word 'his claimant', which has no room in the text of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, and which is absolutely necessary according to him for the proper understanding of the passage.

Here actually the question arises as regards the proper spirit of the passage under discussion.

(1) According to Prof. Kangle, this passage has a bearing on the duty and the fees of a priest who has dropped himself for reasons of health etc., after the sacrificial activities are commenced.

(2) Prof. Sham Shastri, however, holds that this passage refers to the fees or the share of the fees to be received by the claimants (possibly the heirs and legal representatives in our modern legal terminology) of a priest who is supposed to have died after the commencement of the sacrificial activities.

For the interpretation of the above passage from the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra III. 14.29, the difficulty is created by the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra III. 14.34, which states that the remaining hired priests should do the work of those who have fallen ill, upto ten days and nights etc.

Prof. Meyer thinks that the expression 'upto ten days and nights' refers to the days of impurity. Prof. R. P. Kangle turns down this suggestion by pointing out that 'this is possible if *sanna* implies actual death.' (Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, Part II, p. 241). My revered Guruji, the late Prof. Velankar, treats the remark in the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra III.14.34 as ridiculous and agrees completely with Prof. R. P. Kangle in interpreting the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra III. 14.29 and 34.

With due deference to the above-mentioned accepted authorities on the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, the present author completely disagrees with them on the strength of the authorities of the Sarasvati-Vilāsa (SV) of Pratāparudradeva and

Vyavahāra-Nirṇaya of Varadarāja, who have also quoted the above passage from the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra under discussion and these two authorities from the Dharma-Śāstra literature are completely ignored by the above-mentioned learned scholars.

MM. Dr. P. V. Kane in his *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 874, has placed the literary activity of Pratāparudradeva between 1497 to 1539 A. D. Dr. Kane has also fixed the probable date of Varadarāja between 1450 and 1495 A. D. in his *History of Dharma-Śāstra* Vol. I, Part II, p. 823. It is unfortunate that the scholars of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra have failed to consult these two important authorities from the Dharma-Śāstra literature so as to solve the above complicated question.

I take this opportunity to quote in full the passage from the Vyavahāra-Nirṇaya of Varadarāja :

अग्निष्टोमादिषु च क्रतुषु दीक्षणीयाया ऊर्ध्वं याजकोऽवसन्नः पञ्चममंशं लभते। सोमक्रयादूर्ध्वं चतुर्थं, मध्यमोपसदः प्रवर्ग्योद्वासनादूर्ध्वं तृतीयं, अग्निष्टोमीयादूर्ध्वं द्वितीयम्, प्रातस्सवनादूर्ध्वं पादोनं, माध्यन्दिनादूर्ध्वं समग्रं, नीतासु दक्षिणासु भवतीति । (Vyavahāra-Nirṇaya, pp. 284-285).

It will also be pertinent to quote the passage from the Sarasvatī-Vilāsa of Pratāparudradeva only to help the readers to properly appreciate the spirit of the passage.

अग्निष्टोमादिषु दीक्षणीयाया ऊर्ध्वं याजकोऽवसन्नः ; पञ्चममंशमन्य आहूतो लभेत। सोमविक्रयादूर्ध्वं चतुर्थं। प्रवर्ग्योद्वासनादूर्ध्वं तृतीयं । अग्निष्टोमीयादूर्ध्वं अर्धं प्रातस्सवनादूर्ध्वं पादोनं । माध्यन्दिनसवनादूर्ध्वं समग्रं नीतासु दक्षिणासु भवतीति वरदराजः । (Sarasvatī-Vilāsa, pp. 275-276).

From the above-quoted passages, it is quite evident that the reading 'अवसन्नः' noted by the Sarasvatī-Vilāsa and Vyavahāra-Nirṇaya for the reading 'सन्नः' of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra is quite different and it has no place in the critical edition of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra. Besides, the reading 'अन्य आहूतः' supplied by the Sarasvatī-Vilāsa after the expression पञ्चममंशम् and before the wording 'लभेत' also is conspicuous by its absence in the critical edition of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra. Though the other new readings are furnished by the above-mentioned authorities from the Dharma-Śāstra in respect of the remaining portion of the passage from the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, the present author does not think it fit to attach more importance to the same particularly from the point of view of interpreting the text and appreciating the proper spirit of the passage under discussion. Incidentally, however, it may be remarked that the help rendered by the Dharma-Śāstra texts for the critical edition of the

Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra can hardly be denied by any critical student of Dharma-Śāstra and Arthaśāstra.

Here it is necessary to consider the spirit of the above passage from the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra at issue in the light of the discussion in the Sarasvatī-Vilāsa of Pratāparudradeva.

The reading 'avasannaḥ' recorded by the SV clearly indicates that the priest is dead. Here the arrangement is suggested that if such a priest after the commencement of the sacrificial activities dies, then another priest is to be invited. The present passage under discussion, therefore, indicates the ratio of the fees to be given to a priest who is recently appointed after the death of the priest.

Here it may be significantly pointed out that if the reading 'अवसन्नः' is accepted in the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra III. 14.29 and the words 'अन्य आहूतः' from the text of Sarasvatī-Vilāsa are substituted, then the meaning would be much more clear to the readers of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra. Besides, the acceptance of the reading 'अवसन्नः' in the sense of dead, particularly in place of the reading 'सन्नः' in the sense of 'fallen ill', would be in complete agreement with the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra III. 14.34 in which the other priests are advised to do the work of those who have died upto ten days and nights.

Here one is almost tempted to say that the suggestion of Dr. Meyer in respect of the expression 'upto ten days and nights' as having a reference to the period of impurity sounds better in view of the reading recorded in the above-mentioned texts of Dharma-Śāstra. On a careful consideration of the above passage quoted in the Dharma-Śāstra literature, one is inclined to agree with Dr. Meyer, who could not find [out or locate an authority from the Dharma-śāstra literature.

Incidentally, however, it would be proper on our part to refer to and examine the context in which the passage from the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra III. 14.29 is quoted in the Sarasvatī-Vilāsa of Pratāparudradeva. In his discussion on the topic of the 'Saṁbhūyasamutthānam', Pratāparudradeva quotes the text of Bṛhaspati, which runs as below :

एवं क्रियाप्रवृत्तानां यदि कश्चिद्विपद्यते ।
तद्वन्धुना क्रिया कार्या सर्वैर्वा सहकारिभिः ॥

This text of Bṛhaspati clearly indicates that if any priest dies after the commencement of any activity, then that sacrificial activity is to be performed or rather completed by his colleagues or by anybody related to him.

Here it is also important to quote the text of Śaṅkha, which has an important part to play in the present context :

तत्र चेदनुप्रवृत्ते सवने ऋत्विक् म्रियेत तस्य सगोत्रशिशष्यो वा तत्कार्यमनुपूरयेत् । अथ चेदबान्धवस्ततोऽन्यमृत्विजं वृणुयात्, इति ।

Pratāparudradeva further quotes the text of Viṣṇu to support the idea already expressed by the text of Bṛhaspati and Śaṅkha :

अथर्त्विजि मृते पश्चादन्यं वृणुयात् । पूर्ववृतस्यैव दक्षिणा । पश्चादाहूतः किंचिल्लभते चेति ।

It is interesting to note here that this text of Viṣṇu-Smṛti is ascribed to Śaṅkhalikhita and is also quoted by Nandapaṇḍita (1580-1630 A. D. according to MM. Dr. P. V. Kane) in his commentary 'Keśava-vaijayanti' on the Viṣṇu-Smṛti V. 126, which deserves to be quoted in the present context :

अथ ऋत्विजि वृते यदि पश्चादन्यं वृणुयात् पूर्ववृतस्यैव दक्षिणा । यः पश्चात् वृतः, स किंचिल्लभते । (Keśava-Vaijayanti on Viṣṇu-Smṛti, p. 118).

This textual authority from the Keśava-Vaijayanti prefers the reading 'वृते' for 'मृते', which, however, does not make any substantial change in the meaning that is suggested above.

It is necessary to emphasise here that in his comments on the word 'किचित्' in the text of Viṣṇu-Smṛti, Pratāparudradeva has quoted the passage from the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra III. 14.29 in his Sarasvatī-Vilāsa, pp. 275-276.

In interpreting the above passage from the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra III. 14.34 it is necessary to apply the principle of 'Anuṣaṅga' well-known in the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā system. Anuṣaṅga suggests the extension of a word, phrase or clause from a sentence to another sentence. Here this syntactical connection of the word 'avasannaḥ' from the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra III. 14.29 to the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra III. 14.34 is also supported by the textual authorities from the Dharma-Śāstra literature.

From the foregoing discussion, it would be proper to draw the following legitimate inferences :—

(1) The interpretation of the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra III. 14.29 and 34 adopted by Professor Kangle has to be rejected for the reason that he has not consulted the above authorities from the Dharma-Śāstra literature recording new readings and also explaining the significance of the passage.

(2) The interpretation adopted by Sham Shastri is partly correct ; but his insertion of the word 'claimant' into the bracket, is not supported by any

textual authority and hence this also can not be accepted for the grounds clarified above.

In conclusion, the present author makes bold to suggest that the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra III. 14.29 refers to the case of the fees of a priest who is recently appointed after the death of the priest who has commenced some sacrificial activities and the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra III. 14.34 naturally refers to the ten days and nights of impurity in respect of a priest who is dead and the suggestion of Dr. Meyer deserves to be accepted on the strength of the authorities from the Dharma-Śāstra literature and also by making the syntactical connection of the word '*Avasannaḥ*' recorded in the Sarasvatī-Vilāsa and Vyavahāra-Nirṇaya and substituted in place of the reading '*sannaḥ*' in the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra III. 14.29.

YOGA-THERAPY AND KUNDALINĪ-YOGA

NARESH KUMAR

In the last two decades, Yoga has undergone a world-wide awakening. It has no longer remained a legacy of certain experts which is practised by them in remote mountains and caves to attain super-human powers and perfections, and is carried over to generations through preceptor pupil tradition. It is more and more realised not only by the common public but also by the medical scientists, educationists, and experts of other allied areas of today that Yoga, besides having a great sociological, ethical and spiritual value, possesses a great disease-preventive and health-promotive efficacy. Some educationists with thorough study of Aurobindo thought believe that Yoga is an ancient system of education which aims at the development of human personality in a balanced and integral way. Others hold that introduction of Yoga in educational curricula can make its contribution in the form of fostering self-discipline, imparting proficiency in psycho-physical processes of neuromuscular co-ordination, inculcating moral and spiritual values, and cultivating high ideals of self-less service to humanity and harmonious fraternity.

Considering the multifarious potential of Yoga-practices, a seminar was organized by the Ministry of Health and F.W., Govt. of India, in March, 1975 to bring the experts of Yoga and different allied areas on a common platform for healthy interaction and mutual collaboration. While inaugurating the seminar, Dr. Karan Singh, the then Union Minister for Health and F.W., observed: "I do not want Yoga to be something which is kept away in one corner locked up as a private preserve of some experts. Yoga has to irrigate, as it were the entire field of our consciousness and it must be accepted and integrated into our educational system and our health-care system."

Although Yoga has multifarious aspects, yet in this brief article a venture is made to highlight exoteric and esoteric aspects of Yoga in a nut-shell which are gaining more and more popularity on world-wide level.

A. The system of Yoga-therapy.

B. Kuṇḍalinī-yoga.

(*A*) THE SYSTEM OF YOGA-THERAPY

Yoga is a highly valuable treasure of Indian culture which was discovered and developed by the ancient metaphysicians through millennia of continuous investigation and research. As a result of prolonged experimentational research, those savants propounded the doctrine that a physically and mentally weak man cannot attain self-realization (Nāyamātmā balahīnena labhyaḥ—Muṇḍaka Up. III.2.4).

Hence, to make the body and mind sound, healthy and strong is verily the preface to the highest spiritual attainments. Maharṣi Śvetāśvatara has established this universal principle as under :—

Laghutvamārogyamalolupatvṁ
varṇaprasādaṁ svarasausṭhavaṁ ca/
Gandhaḥ śubho mūtrapurīṣamalpaṁ
yogapravṛttiṁ prathamāṁ vadanti//
(Śvetāśvatara Up. III.2.13)

i.e., lightness of body, soundness of health, steadiness, brightness of complexion, sweetness of voice, pleasantness of bodily odour, and decrease in bodily excretions are the first results of Yogic practice. It is evident from the enumeration of various ailments which are difficult to cure and their Yogic therapy in Yoga-literature, that these practices offer health-promotive and curative measures not only to those who are highly accomplished in Yoga but also to any ordinary individual irrespective of nationality, age, community, sex or profession.

Yoga does not attempt to eradicate the ailments of body and mind separately, but rather lays down psychosomatic procedures in such a beautiful manner that during the entire course of practice no-where any imbalance is generated in the inter-relation of body and mind ; just as healthy, strong and forbearing body is necessary for the health and strength of mind, so also for the bodily health it is essential to have a mind free from attributes like attachment, aversion, infatuation, avarice, fear, grief, egotism and jealousy. This interaction between the mind and the body is evident from our day-to-day activities. The hunger, thirst, fatigue and illness of the body affect the mental state of the individual directly developing a morbidity in the network of nerves, various glands and muscles, whose intensive study is extremely important for the diagnosis and treatment of diseases. Hence, in order to maintain a balanced body-function, the Yogins have viewed the body jointly with the mind and the self in their far-reaching and comprehensive vision. This Yogic vision apart from explaining the proper functioning of fundamental organic principles and organs of the body takes into account functional qualities of mind also. In accordance with this concept, the body is comprised of 5 sheaths (kośas) in order of subtlety as under:

1. Food Sheath (Annamaya-kośa),
2. Vital Sheath (Prāṇamaya-kośa),
3. Mental Sheath (Manomaya-kośa),
4. Intellectual Sheath (Vijñānamaya-kośa),
5. Blissful Sheath (Ānandamaya-kośa).

For the realization of the complete health, it is necessary to render all the sheaths free from their respective impurities (doṣas) referred above. Yoga prescribes balanced diet, celibacy, cleansing processes, and different āsanas for the health and vitality of food sheath ; prāṇāyāmas, mūdras and svaravijñāna for the soundness of vital sheath ; yama-niyamas and withdrawals of senses for the purity and concentration of mind; self-study, surrender to God, concentration, meditation and samādhi for the sharpness and clarity of intellectual sheath ; and supreme detachment (para-vairāgya) and discriminative samādhi for the up-keep of blissful sheath. The proper observance of these practices results in homeostasis of the fundamental organic principles and the functions of the body. The mind also becomes so much purified that the dualities of passion-aversion, honour-insult, pleasure-pain and gain-loss are not able to disturb its equilibrium. This state of equanimity is Yoga (samatvaṃ yoga ucyate).

The purification and vitalization of the five sheaths brought out by following Yogic practices results not only in physical and mental health but also in the perfect health of the spirit itself. As a matter of fact, the bondage of birth and death is verily the long-lasting malady of spirit, the relief from which is obtained only by the purification of the five sheaths through Yoga-practices, as has been rightly observed by Ācārya Śaṅkara :

'Ko dīrgharogo `bhava eva sādho, kimauṣadhaṁ tasya vicāra eva', *i.e.*, "What is the long-lasting disease ? Verily to be born in this world. What is its remedy ? Verily the discriminative knowledge."

By acquiring perfection in the science of sheath-purification through the practice of Yoga, the soul becomes free from bondage. This natural and healthy state of Ātman is known as salvation or liberation or the self abiding in its pure nature. Self-purification through Yoga is achieved chiefly through two systems. The first, which prevents the dysfunction of gross and vital sheaths and also leads to their balanced functioning and is known as Haṭhayoga. The second system which prevents the effect of the Rajas and Tamas on the mental and intellectual sheaths and generates the capacity of maintaining these sheaths normal and pure by removing the effects of earlier influences is known as Rāja-yoga. Now, we shall give a brief thought to the therapeutic utility of both these practices.

(a) Ṣaṭkarma (Yogic Cleansing Processes)

Although each of the Haṭhayoga-practices has a specific utility to enhance the prophylactic power against the ailments of body and mind yet the six-fold acts are of unique significance.

The practice of these six-fold acts results in gradual elimination of the foreign materials which might have accumulated earlier, and leads to excellent health. This practice resembles the five-fold therapeutic system (Pañcakarma-cikitsā-praṇālī) of Āyurveda with the difference that unlike the latter, the former does not make use of any medicine, and does not require the help of a therapist. *Dhauti, vasti, neti, nauli, trāṭaka and kapālabhāti* constitute the *ṣaṭkarma. Dhauti* eliminates dyspepsia, biliousness, constipation, hyperacidity, flatulence, pyorrhea, stomatitis and glossitis (ulcers of mouth and tongue), cough, coryza and many ailments of the respiratory organs. *Vasti* and *Śaṅkhaprakṣālana* purify the entire alimentary tract from the mouth to the anus, and prevent constipation, indigestion, haemorrhoids, gastroenteritis, blotches on the face, hepatic disorders, ascites and seminal ailments. The pancreas is reinvigorated. The *Sūtra-neti* and *Jala-neti* remove coryza and catarrh, headaches, hemicrania, premature greying of hair, alopecia etc., and improve eye-sight. *Nauli* (rectus-pull) destroys the ailments of the womb and those arising from diminished appetite. It prevents enlargement of liver and intestines (hernia). The *Trāṭaka* (fixed gaze) relieves occular ailments and grants capacity to concentrate. The *Kapālabhāti* (brisk-breathing) destroys the diseases arising from *kapha* and nervous debility.

(b) Āsanas (*Postures*)

The *ā*sanas are extremely significant for rendering all the limbs and vital organs of the body smooth-working, active and vigorous, especially the head, neck, upper extremities, mouth, eyes, teeth, nose, tongue etc., chest, lungs, heart, abdomen, stomach, duodenum, liver, spleen, pancreas, kidney, sex-glands, large and small intestines, excretory organs and all the connected joints, endocrine glands, muscular and nervous centres. Although the total number of āsanas is said to be as many as 84 lakhs (8.4 million), yet the practice of only śīrṣāsana, ūrdhva-sarvāṅgāsana, ardhamatsyendrāsana, paścimottānāsana, cakrāsana, bhujaṅgāsana, pavanamukt*ā*sana, garbhāsana, matsyāsana, kukkuṭāsana, and uṣṭrāsana can maintain the health and strength of all the aforesaid organs. The body becomes agile and bright. Śavāsana is designed to relieve the fatigue produced by other Āsanas. Fatigue is removed and a new energy is produced. *Ś*avāsana has proved to be an excellent therapy for the patients suffering from high blood-pressure and ailments of heart.

(c) *Prāṇāyāma*

The practice of *Prāṇāyāma* leads to freedom from disease, health, longevity, control of mind and many other supernormal perfections. The normal ratio of inhalation (Pūraka), holding the breath (Kumbhaka), and exhalation (Recaka) in Prāṇāyāma is 1 : 4 : 2. Should the time given for exhalation (Recaka) be less than half of that for holding the breath (Kumbhaka), it is feared that many neurological ailments] would result. Sūryabhedī, Ujjāyī Sītkārī, Bhastrikā, Bhrāmarī, etc. are the important types of Prāṇāyāma. *Sūryabhedī* destroys asthma, catarrh, cough, obesity, disorders of blood and wind, leprosy and leucoderma, diseases of the skin and helminthic disorders. The *Ujjāyī* does away with dyspepsia, indigestion, acidosis, nervous disorders, coryza, cough, asthma and other disorders of kapha. The *Sītkārī* is remedial for hunger, thirst, sleep, languidity, spleen, dysentery, inflammation, biliary diarrhea, enraged pitta and the diseases of the fundamental organic principles of the body.

Similarly, in the Yoga, Upaniṣads and other classics like Śivasvarodaya, 14 chief nāḍis (nerves) and 10 vāyus (winds) are described with reference to their localizations and functions. The practice of *Bhastrikā* augments appetite. All the three doṣas are quietened. It is unparalleled for normalizing the circulation of blood, purification of blood and nerves, and for the eradication of the neurological ailments. The *Bhrāmarī* is effective in destroying the neurological morbidities produced as a result of the practice of the other types of Prāṇāyāma.

(d) *Mudrās* (*Poses*)

The mudrās also are of great importance in Yoga for the control of Prāṇa and awakening of Kuṇḍalinī and promotion of health. Mahāmudrā, Mahābandha, Mahāvedha, Śāmbhavī, Unmanī and Jñānamudrā are used for the arousal of Kuṇḍalinī power and for steadiness of mind. Mūlabandha, Taḍāgīmudrā, Aśvinīmudrā etc. have proved useful in abdominal disorders, spermatorrhoea, piles, diabetes, polyuria, fistula, dropsy, ascites, hernia and for the ailments of womb and urinary system. There is conviction amongst the Yogins that the practice of drinking the ambrosial fluid flowing out of the Brahmagranthi during the practice of Khecarī mudrā makes the other endocrine glands of the body healthy and vigorous which in turn keeps the body flexible, free from diseases and long-lived.

(c) *Svaravjñāna* (*The science of breath-currents*)

According to the breath-specialist Yogins, it is the *Candrasvara* (lunar breath), which flows in the first hour after sunrise on the Ist, 2nd, 3rd, 7th, 8th, 9th, 13th, 14th and 15th days of the brightmoon fortnight, while the *Sūryasvara* (solar breath) in the first hour after sunrise on the 4th, 5th, 6th, 10th, 11th and

12th dates. Thereafter it goes on alternating its course after every one hour. In the dark fortnight the sequence of the svara (breath currents) is just the opposite. According to Śivasvarodaya, if an individual has left-sided breath-current flowing in the night and the lunar breath-current (left-sided) flowing in the day, he shall die within sixmonths. On the contrary, if a person has the solar breath-current (right-sided) in the night and the lunar breath in the day, he shall be strong and long-lived. The change of breath-current leads to an immediate relief in fevers, catarrh, burning sensation and thirst. It is held that the Yogin versed in this science, can enjoy an excellent health unattainable even by the best of medicine (which are supposed to promote health and prevent old age). The change of breath-current leads to the difference in the effect of the varieties of Prāṇāyāma.

(f) *Dhāraṇā, Dhyāna and Samādhi*

Although the practice of Samādhi is undertaken for self-realization, it certainly provides mental and physical advantages as well. In the second chapter of Yoga-darśana, after describing the five afflictions, viz., ignorance (avidyā), egotism (asmitā), attachment (rāga), aversion (dveṣa), and fear of death (abhiniveśa), it has been indicated that their impression could be got rid of through meditation. These afflictions are known as infatuation (moha), egotism (ahaṅkāra), attachment (rāga), aversion (dveṣa) and fear (bhaya) in Āyurvedic terminology. These doṣas alone are the progenitors and nourishers of all the mental ailments. Hence, when through the practice of meditation mind is constantly absorbed in the fixity of attention and the reiteration of the desired Mantra and contemplation over the divine attributes contained in the Mantra, the individual begins to experience a change in his qualities, actions and nature as the concentration matures. Subsequently, as the pathogenic morbidities attenuate and the diseases disappear, a vigorous mental and physical health is attained. That is how the individuals who are devoid of passions and aversions maintain steady health. In Yoga, it is inclined that the wholesome idea of friendliness, compassion, happiness be cultivated simultaneously with the elimination of evils like violence, passions, aversion, delusion and the like, so that mind acquires an abiding, high degree of cheerfulness (Śraddhā cetasaḥ saṁprasādaḥ—Vyāsabhāṣya I.20). The prophylactic and therapeutic value of this abiding happiness of mind is indescribable. The foundation of the practice of Samādhi (contemplation) is complete surrender to the Divine will and the reiteration of the mantra. Submission to God thus gets relieved from severe mental anguish and vagaries.

Just as a traveller weighed down by heavy luggage feels indescribable pleasure of repose and relief from troubles of weary journey and tiring burden on suddenly getting a carriage, even so, the individual suffering form the diseases, pains and pangs, strains and stresses of modern life when adopts detached from of action resulting from surrender to the will of God-head (*Īśvara*). this practice spontaneously and definitely brings forth the physical and mental health. Researches have proved that high blood-pressure, heart diseases, insomnia, indigestion, and diseases like diabetes mellitus etc., are to a very large extent caused by mental worry and sustained tension.

It is thus clear that the practice of each and every branch of Yoga is highly useful for the maintenance of health and for prophylaxis against diseases. For its accomplishment, it is absolutely essential that these be thoroughly investigated for making them part and parcel of everybody's life-pattern not only in India but in the whole world, and for the furtherance of this cause the therapeutists and the medical scientists shall be required to undertake untiring studies and experimental researches through mutual collaboration and healthy interaction.

(*B*) *KUṆḌALINĪ-YOGA*

The awakening of Kuṇḍalinī has been generally accepted as one of the great achievements in the practice of Yoga. Maharṣi Gheraṇḍa describes the importance of awakening of Kuṇḍalinī as follows :—

Mūlādhāre ātmaśaktiḥ kuṇḍalī paradevatā
śayitā bhujagākārā sārdhatrivalayānvitā /
Yāvat sā nidritā dehe tāvajjīvaḥ paśuryathā
jñānaṁ na jāyate tāvat koṭiyogṁ samabhyaset //
(Gheraṇḍa-saṁhitā III. 44-45)

"The individual consciousness, the best of the gods, called Kuṇḍalinī, slumbers in the base in the shape of a serpent entwined into three and a half spirals. So long as this powerful coil remains dormant, man remains ignorant like an animal and any number of Yogic excercises cannot lead him to enlightenment."

Ācārya Svātmārāma corroborating the view of Gheraṇḍa says; "Kuṇḍalinī is the basis of all the Yogic practices as the Lord of serpents is the basis of the earth with all its mountains and forests".

Saśailavanadhātrīṇāṁ yathādhāro'hināyakaḥ /
Sarveṣāṁ yogatantrāṇāṁ tathādhāro hi kuṇḍalī //
(Haṭhayogapradīpikā III. 1)

It is very difficult to describe the most abstract and occult experiences involved in the awakening of Kuṇḍalinī and the changes occuring therefrom in the terminology of modern neurophysiology, since in Yoga-sūtras of Patañjali nothing has been said about the somatic aspect of Kuṇḍalinī and Cakras. He presents the concept of Kuṇḍalinī in purely psychic language as under :—

Viśokā vā jyotiṣmatī. Yogasūtra I. 36.
Pravṛttyālokanyāsātsūkṣmavyavahitaviprakṛṣṭajñānam. Yoga-sūtra III.25.

"Or by the perception of effulgent light which is free from sorrow, fixity of mind can be produced. "By applying this effulgent light of higher sense-perception, knowledge of subtle objects is achieved or things obstructed from view or placed at a great distance can be perceived." But it does not mean that the discovery of the concept of Kuṇḍalinī and Cakras has got a later origin, for in Atharvaveda, we find this beautiful reference of Cakras :—

Aṣṭācakrā navadvārā devānāṁ pūrayodhyā/
Tasyāṁ hiraṇyayaḥ kośaḥ svargo jyotiṣāvṛtaḥ// Atharva. X. 2.31.

"There is a divine city named Ayodhyā with eight Cakras and nine gates. In that city there is a golden treasure named as heaven which is environed by celestial effulgence all around."

This mantra clearly reveals that the belief in the existence of eight Cakras which serves as the basis of Kuṇḍalinī-yoga has not started from the time of later writers of Haṭhayoga like Matsyendra and Gorakṣa, but was equally recognised in the Vedic age also, for in actuality the awakening of Kuṇḍalinī is nothing but the ascent of Prāṇa to cerebrum through the gradual piercing of seven or eight Cakras indicated in the mantra. In the ancient Upaniṣads we come across various references regarding the control of breath as well as the ascent of individual consciousness through the Nāḍis. For example :

Śataṁ caikā ca hṛdayasya nāḍyastāsāṁ mūrdhānamabhiniḥsṛtaikā.
Tayordhvamāyannamṛtatvameti viṣvaṅṅanyā utkramaṇe bhavanti,
Kaṭhopaniṣad II.3.16.

There are hundred and one Nāḍis in cardiac region, amongst them one staightaway goes to cerebral plexus, ascending through which soul becomes liberated. All other Nāḍis simply help in that act of ascent. The Ācāryas of Haṭhayoga also believe in the liberation of soul through the medium of Prāṇic ascent. There is a great difference of opinion about the results achieved by the awakening of Kuṇḍalinī, but this much is universally agreed that the moment the awakening takes place, Prāṇic current from all the limbs of the body starts flowing towards the cerebrum through the spinal cord. The fibrous structures which obstruct the way of Prāṇa are named as Cakras. The opening of the Cakras needs a regular, spirited and prolonged practice. At the opening of the spinal path, the inner lights become manifest and the modifications of the mind cease to flow.

THE STATE OF AWAKENING

Imagine a dark room furnished with various electric fans, filaments of electric lamps and other decorations. But nothing can be perceived unless the electricity flows. As soon as the electricity starts flowing, the fans start moving, the light begins shining and other decorations can be seen as and where they are. Similarly, a Sādhaka is devoid of the experiences of all the interior functions and structures of the body unless his physical and astral bodies are illumined by the flow of this psychic electricity through the awakening of Kuṇḍalini. With the gradual increase in the awakening, all the functions of the body with all their subtleties become more and more irradiated. At this stage, the Yogins experience such a wonderfully radiant, vibrant and blissful state of Samādhi which is beyond the limits of description or imagination.

METHODS OF AWAKENING THE KUṆḌALINĪ

Describing the practices for awakening Kuṇḍalinī Ācārya Svātmārāma has stressed the observance of celibacy, the regulation of diet, Āsanas, control of breath and a strong mental concentration. He clearly admits that concentration of mind is the most vital factor without which even a variety of Āsanas, Prāṇāyāmas and Mudrās may become useless (Haṭhayogapradīpikā III. 122, 124, 127). Though the suitability of the practices may differ from individual to individual yet on the basis of experience it can be said that Brahmacarya and diet-regulation in Yamas, "OM" japa in Niyamas, Siddhāsana in Prāṇāyāmas, Mūla and Uḍḍīyāna Bandhas in Mudrās, and in concentration on Cakras the fixity on Ājñā Cakra are the most useful means to awakening. In fact, the full awakening of Kuṇḍalinī cannot take place without genuine devotion to God accompanied by vigorous and incessant practice.

The place for practice should be clean, calm, lonely, sacred and closed. It should be free from noise, dust and moisture. Although the sites like the bank of a river, garden, park etc. are also natural and health-giving, but from the point of keeping secrecy of the mystic experiences of Kuṇḍalinī closed and green place preferably an orchard-house is very much suitable. In the beginning, the diet, should have a profuse quantity of milk, butter and fruits to counteract the excessive heat generated by Prāṇāyāmic and other practices. So keeping in view the austerity of Prāṇāyāma, the Haṭhayogapradīpikā also prescribes food mixed with milk and ghee (Abhyāsakāle prathame śastaṁ kṣirājyabhojanam- II.14).

In case, the body is flabby and phlegmatic, one should first practise the six cleansing processes, namely, Dhauti, Vasti, Neti, Trāṭaka, Nauli and Kapālabhāti to purify it. Though, Prāṇāyāma itself has got the potentiality of removing all the impurities by and by but by the use of cleansing processes the earliest and the best results can be achieved. So, the peculiarity of these six acts is beyond a shadow of doubt. Besides this, the more vigilant observance of Yama-niyamas, especially Mauna, Japa, living in loneliness, renunciation of company and Brahmacarya is badly necessitated. In this way after establishing the predominance of Sattvaguṇa in body and mind by the respective practices of Yama-niyamas and cleansing processes, if one starts Kuṇḍalinī-sādhanā, he can easily attain full suceess in it for which the Prāṇāyāma and Dhyāna are the most quintessential practices.

By practising Bhastrikā, Bhrāmarī and Sūrya-bhedana Prāṇāyāma with proper use of Bandhas, a Sādhaka experiences perspiration, tremor and levitation in his first, second and highest stages. In the first stage, body undergoes an excessive perspiration. This perspiration resulting from Prāṇāyāmic fatigue should be rubbed on the body, for body is believed to derive firmness and lightness by it. o, it should never be removed. In the middle stage, a tremor in the limbs of body is felt. During this vigorous practice of Prāṇāyāma, the arms or feet of a Sādhaka are often lifted up by a sudden violent jerk. At this stage, if he is lacking in salubrious diet or Brahmacarya, there is every possibility of his being assaulted by nervous diseases. Some Sādhakas with specially purified body experience levitation or jumping up of their bodies like a frog. Whether the body is actually lifted up into the air or not, and in case it is lifted up, whether it levitates steadily or not, is some thing debatable. Even then, it can decidedly be said that when a Yogin is well-grounded in the third stage of Prāṇāyāma and his Prāṇa starts flowing towards the cerebrum, then he inevitably experiences the lifting up of his body into the air, whether it may be real or unreal. When a Yogin acquires the power to hold his breath for two minutes and twenty-four seconds or more, then his held up Prāṇa starts rising up from the navel region and moves up towards the cerebrum. This Prāṇic stroke repeats itself after every four seconds. When the Prāṇa-holding capacity of a Yogin increases upto thirty-six strokes or two minutes and twenty-four seconds, then the mouth of Suṣumnā, which is closed up by the spirals of Kuṇḍalinī, is gradually opened up by the incessant and violent strokes of Prāṇa, and the Prāṇa starts moving upwards. By the constant Practice of prāṇāyāma, Mudrās, cleansing processes, Japa and Dhyāna, this Prāṇic current passes freely and ceaselessly through the Suṣumnā and enters the cerebral region surpassing all the obstructions of the way. In this stage, Sādhakas experience inner mystic "Anahada" sounds like chirping of birds, humming of bees, tinkling of bells, the sounds like those of kettle, drums, ocean, clouds, lutes, flutes or lyres. In the beginning these sounds are prominent and aloud but gradually they become more and more subtle and melodious. The Yogins commonly accept that the subtler the sound is the better result does it produce. To some, these sounds after once becoming manifest constantly continue for years together. At any time, while sitting, standing, walking, lying or attending to multifarious daily deeds they can hear them quite effortlessly. With the increase in the time of breath-control or mental concentration these sounds become more and more distinctly audible. When the time for holding up the breath extends upto five minutes and twenty-four seconds or above then a S*ā*dhaka gradually experiences the states of half-wakefulness, slumber and unconsciousness-like inert trance. All these states are generally devoid of light but full of mental bliss and tranquility. But with the increase in practice, the Yogin experiences the luminous awakening of Kuṇ*ḍ*alinī and visualises the various inner lights on Cakras. The Āc*ā*ryas of N*ā*da-yoga regard these innner mystic sounds as the definite precursors of the manifestation of light. Any how, if a S*ā*dhaka does not find light even after the awakening of Kuṇ*ḍ*alinī, he should not be frustrated, since advanced Yogins prescribe the following easy practice for them. Sitting peacefully in Āsana, the mind is fixed up on the tip within the eyebrows. The imaginative faculty is engaged in visualising the inner light and perceiving inner Pr*ā*ṇic sensations. No excessive stress should be poured on the brain otherwise the brain tires and develops disinterest in the whole meditative affair. According to the degree of faith, mental appetite and perseverance, a Yogin visualises light arising in the middle of the eyebrows sooner or later. A man with strong concentration and purity of heart can get it within a day, a week or at the most within a fortnight while others may take months together. In the beginning this light may appear in the form of a point assuming different radiant colours or it may be dim, smoky and very small in size, but gradually as the mental fixity is developed it gathers clarity, effulgence and steadiness. In *Ś*vetā*ś*vataropani*ṣ*ad (II.11) this light is described in its various forms and stages:

Nihāradhūmārkānilānalalānā*ṁ* khadyotavidyutsphaṭika śaśinām/
Etāni rūpāṇi purassarā*ṇ*i brahmaṇyabhivyaktikarāṇi yoge//

In the preliminary forms, this light is seen resembling fog, smoke, sun, wind, fire, fireflies, lightening, crystal or moon. These forms are the forerunners of the manifestation of Divine light in Yoga. Once this light pullulates, it acquires more and more steadiness, lustre and bliss in its manifestation and may take the form of electric light and finally that of day-light. At moments of practice, if the Prāṇa is flowing through right nostril, this light resembles the mid-day-light and is accompanied by hot sensation in the whole vertebral region creating almost a sense of perspiration or suffocation, and in case the left nostril is comparatively active, this light assumes a cold form like moon-light, sometimes generating a thrilling cold sensation in the spine. Patañjali holds that once this light is fully mastered, a Yogin can apply it within any region of his body and can perceive everything howsoever subtle, obstructed and distant it may be (Yogasūtra III.25). Though it is difficult to make any comment on this view yet this much is certain that in the state of deep concentration when this light becomes fully manifest, it illumines the entire skeleton of bones, and nervous system of the whole organism alongwith all the vital functions of the body. If this effulgent light disappears immediately after its appearance it is considered as the full awakening has not yet taken place. In the full awakening all the seven principal Cakras start emanating the fluent streams of light and steadily irradiate the whole body from outside and inside like a glass vessel. Somtimes, this flood of light emerges out through the Ājñā Cakra and lights up the surroundings nearby. At such moments, a Sādhaka is alarmed up by perceiving the objects of the room in which he is meditating, and generally taking it as the opening up of his eyes gets distracted. For attaining and maintaining this higher plane of Samādhi, the Sādhaka has to carefully preserve his bodily and mental purity with great precaution, since this practice of Kuṇḍalinī imparts supersensitivity to his psychosomatic constitution through the suffusion of Sattvaguṇa. So in this higher state of Yogic practice, the strict observance of Yama-Niyamas is even more important. If this superb purity is somehow preserved for sometime it is very easy for a Sādhaka to attain direct knowledge of all the five sheaths of his body culminating into self-realisation. When the Prāṇic current from all the vital organs of body flows towards the cerebrum, some Sādhakas are distracted by the sudden fear of strangulation or the sudden bursting up of their skull. These obstructions do not come on the way of a man with strong will-power. Any way, even if they crop up, they immediately vanish away by the mental reiteration of "OM" or Gāyatrī-mantra. Persons with too much libidinous habits experience a sudden urinary or seminal discharge created by the morbid sensations of Prāṇa as it starts ascending upwards with repeated titillations in the genito-urinary region and get distracted again and again, thus finally accepting their failure to climb up the ivory tower of Samādhi, and that is why Brahmacarya is regarded as the very foundation of Yogic attainments.

In this issue, one more thing deserves serious attention that the higher experiences of the awakening of Kuṇḍalinī should not be revealed to the public in general. Here, it will not be incompatible to quote the bitter experiences of a Sādhaka which resulted from the exposition of experiences. He told that after a strenuous practice for years together, when he was somehow firmly grounded in the practice of Prāṇāyāma and Dhyāna on the Ājñā Cakra, one night at about 3 a.m. when he was sitting in meditation, he experienced the awakening of Kuṇḍalinī in the form of ascent of Prāṇic current towards the cerebrum with a wonderous rustling sound and manifestation of inner mystic light. From that moment onwards every time, whether he may be sleeping, studying, walking, sitting or meditating, he ceaselessly felt the distinct sensations of Prāṇa like the the movement of ants over the whole body and particularly in the spinal region. In this state, he used to start having experiences of astral world getting disengaged from his physical body. This process continued for three months. Everyday in his Samādhi he was having direct visualisation of the inner world as well as the objects placed in his own room and in the other rooms of the Ashrama like an Āmalaka fruit placed on the palm of his hand. This suffusion of Sattvaguṇa increased to such an extent that while in Samādhi he used to find himself as if completely submerged into an ocean of bliss. Eventually it became very difficult for him to hide these ecstatic experiences from others. Consequently, he started demonstrating his power of superperception to his friends and relatives by visualising certain particular articles placed in closed rooms. These demonstrations brought him widely increasing fame in no time. But at the same time there was a bolt from the blue. All of a sudden his elder brother who was the sole support of the family passed away and the whole load of responsibility came to his head rendering him so awfully busy and worried all the while that he could not find any time to meditate. The adverse circumstances continued for many years compelling him to let off meditation. Simultaneously, he was constantly confronted by various psychological problematic tensions. At last he came to realise the mistake he had committed by making a show of his Yogic achievements and the ill consequences resulted therefrom. He repented a lot over all the undesirable happening and strongly resolved to resume his previous state. After struggling incessantly for years together, the domestic problems met their solution, the circumstances became once again favourable to him, and he returned back to his meditative life. This time his previous experience served as a firmer background; and within a few months, he not only regained that prior Samādhi state but could get at the higher perfections of visualising the liberated beings alongwith other mystic attainments. Looking to the bitter and grievous experiences which he had to face in consequence of making a show of his advanced Yogic achievements, he does not want to repeat the same mistake again. The purport remains that the spiritual experiences acquired from the awakening of Kuṇḍalinī should not be exploited for earning cheap reputation or heaping up money.

KĀLIDĀSA'S KNOWLEDGE OF ASTRONOMY

M.D. PARADKAR

It is unanimously accepted that Kālidāsa, the prince of Indian poets, wore his learning lightly like a flower. He seldom parades his knowledge of various branches of learning with which he was conversant. Hence it becomes necessary to bring together many references to them that appear casual but turn out to be apt on second thought. Science of astronomy is no exception to this. Here is an attempt to dive into such references with a view to arrive at some workable conclusion regarding his acquaintance with it.

It will be proper to start with Kālidāsa's description of earth which also is a planet. It is now accepted by all that earth is round and it revolves round the sun. Kālidāsa, however, has not referred to the roundness of the earth nor he distinctly states that the earth is flat or spread out like a mat. Often he calls earth as one of the eight corporeal forms of Śaṅkara, his favourite deity. The Abhijñānaśākuntala starts with an obeisance to the great lord wherein the earth is considered to be 'the source of all germs.'[1] It is significant to note that in this deservedly famous stanza, the global extent is covered by the earth, the sun and the moon; other planets and stars find no place in it. This earth, at that time, was not measured as can be understood from the words uttered by gods that were persecuted by Rāvaṇa and went in deputation to Viṣṇu. They styled earth etc. as 'the glory of Viṣṇu,' although visible and yet beyond measure.[2] The measuring of the earth appears to be a post-Kālidāsa idea. The roundness of the earth was accepted by Varāhamihira in his Pañcasiddhāntikā and became current later.

If, however, the earth is not accepted as being round in size, a difficulty can be experienced in explaining the rise and setting of luminaries like the sun and the moon. With a view to solve this difficulty, the authors in pre-Kālidāsa days postulated the existence of a mountain called Lokāloka.

Varāhamihira has clearly stated that the round earth is within the cage of planets and stars and on all its sides it has the quality of attraction as is that of iron in the ayaskānta.[3]

Like the authors of the Purāṇas, Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṁśa refers to this mythical mountain, circular in shape having light on one side and darkness on the other. Thus Lokāloka becomes a befitting standard of comparison for Dilīpa whose soul though purified by sacrifices remained enveloped by the darkness in the form of absence of progeny[4]. According to the idea current in Kālidāsa's days, it appears that the earth used to end near this mountain having the sun and the moon within, giving rise to what are called Udayācala and Astācala. It is pertinent here to note that ancient Greeks also postulated the existence of a mountain like Lokāloka. The sun in the evening was said to go beyond this mountain and rise in the morning from the eastern quarter. This explains the verse in the 4th act of the Abhijñāna-śākuntala describing the lord of the herbs, on one side, reaching the summit of the setting hill, and on the other sun being exposed with Aruṇa as the fore-runner[5]. References to the rising hill and setting hill along with the Lokāloka mountain in Kālidāsa's works indicate that along with the authors of the purāṇas, he believed the earth to be flat and not round in size.

With this idea regarding the size of the earth it becomes necessary to offer some solid support to it. This was done by Śeṣa with his hoods. It is true that the eight quarter-elephants used to hold it evenly; but it appears that at times these quarter-elephants used to throw off this burden and enjoy water-sports in the stream of Gaṅgā of the aerial region[6]. In such hours of peril, Śeṣa the dutiful stood in good stead. Allusions to this dutifulness of Śeṣa are strewn in all the works of Kālidāsa. 'Śeṣa indeed has the burden of the world ever placed on him', from the Śākuntala[7], or 'Śeṣa is ordered by Kṛṣṇa to support the earth with his body', from the Kumārasambhava[8], easily spring to memory. Between the quarter-elephants and Śeṣa, the latter, according to Kālidāsa, is certainly more reliable; but his body certainly was not made of stone or steel, and if he were to wink, mainly due to the strain, what will happen ? Kālidāsa had thought of this also and has stated that firm and deep-rooted mountains of the type of Himālaya allowed not the earth to move uncillate. This is the reason why Kālidāsa sings of the glory of Himālaya whose roots have reached right upto the weightier region. If mountains like Himālaya were not to take this care, how can Śeṣa be expected to continually support the earth with its hoods tender like the lotus-stalk[9]. Allusions to the four ends of the earth (caturantamahī) somewhere beyond the bounds of the ocean (udadhiśyāmasīmā) also stand to reason, obviously in case of the earth which is flat and not round. If this kind of earth is divided in a perpendicular way, it contained seven worlds like Nāgaloka etc. in its lower layers with pātāla in its lowest layer. This explains how Sītā placed on her lap by the mother Earth disappeared in the pātāla, while the eyes of her husband were tearfully revetted on her[10]. Mālavikā and Bakulāvalikā with their feet in chains placed in a dungeon beyond the reach of the rays of the sun are significantly compared with Nāga-girls living in pātāla deep down under the earth[11].

It has been already indicated above that along with the earth, the sun and the moon figure prominently in the works of Kālidāsa. As is expected in the case of a poet, the moon is his favourite luminary. He is not, however, definite about the source of the moon. At times he is said to be born of the milk-ocean[12] or having the eye of the sage Atri as its source[13]. Nevertheless, he categorically asserts that both the moon and the sun are the two forms of Śaṅkara who is aṣṭamūrti. The expression 'ye dve kālaṁ vidhattaḥ' in the benedictory verse of the Śākuntala easily springs to memory. Darśa and Parva, i.e., Amāvāsyā and Paurṇimā are the two important conditions of the moon, indicating the extent of waning and waxing, and no wonder that these are often referred to by the poet. In his opinion, the moon as well as the sun follow their own courses in the aerial region with the former remaining close to the latter during the last three days of the dark half of the month. After the amāvāsyā-day, the moon moves away from the sun[14]. At this time the rays of the sun according to the authors of the Purāṇas (these rays are known as Suṣumnas) enter the moon as a result of which the moon begins to wax[15]. After the amāvāsyā, the moon is seen towards the west in the evening sky. If the clouds in the rainy season come together in the sky and the planets Mercury (Budha) and Jupiter (Guru) happen to be close to the digit of the moon on the second or third day (of course during the bright half of the month) Kālidāsa considers this to be a very attractive and auspicious sign[16]. The moon, thus, goes on waxing digit by digit, reaching its zenith on the full-moon day, which is naturally followed by the waning process. The reason that Kālidāsa gives for this waning is the ambrosial quality of its digits (रसात्मका: उडुपतेश्च रश्मय:) utilised by the manes one by one. On the amāvāsyā-day, the sixteenth digit of the moon is used by the herbs on the earth[17]. This explanation of the process of waxing and waning of the digits of the moon is more laudable than the gaining in size as the former is meant as food for the manes as well as gods[18]. This helps the poet to offer a telling illustration for Raghu who offered everything to supplicants in the Yajña and was seen by Kautsa with his form as the remnant of the great glory (Raghu. V. 15).

All this is undoubtedly poetic but not acceptable to Astronomy. Astronomically, the sun moves towards the east by one aṁśa each day through the cluster of stars, while the moon being more rapid moves upto 13 aṁśas (or degrees) during the period. Thus the distance between the two is 12 aṁśas from the point of view of the observer on the terra firma. Both the luminaries revolve round the earth. During the revolution of the moon, the rays of the sun always fall on half of the size of the moon. Thus the observer on the earth actually sees only the half of the orb of the moon although its location in the cluster of stars is ever-changing. The digit of the moon, therefore, is the common denominator of the part of the moon looked at by the earth (i.e., from on the earth) as well as by the sun. It has been proved now with the help of the telescope that like the moon, the planets Mercury as well as Venus have their digits.

Varāhamihira of the 6th century A.D. was aware of this astronomical fact. He rightly mentions that the moon is always under the sun, i.e., nearer to the earth; the whiteness or the brightness of the moon increases in proportion to its distance from the sun whose rays falling upon the moon make it look white, rather pale. The moon is appropriately compared with a jar placed in the sun[19]. Varāhamihira, like other astronomers of yore, thought the moon to be full of water (salilamaya śaśin), although no astronomer now agrees with this. Varāhamihira held that the rays of the sun falling on the moon get refracted and having come back to earth destroyed the darkness on it, just as the rays falling on a mirror placed in the interior of a temple get refracted and become useful in enlightening the part of the temple[20]. Kālidāsa uses the simile of the mirror in a different context. According to him 'the image appears not on the surface of a mirror with its polish marred by dirt, but finds room easily when it is clear.'[21]

The spot in the orb of the moon is considered by the poet as the shadow of the earth on its surface[22]. But the connotation of the word chāyā is not very clear, as it does not always connote shadow in Kālidāsa. If 'chāyā' is said to mean reflection or glimmer quite permissible in Kālidāsa,[23] then the spot on the moon can be understood as the reflection of the earth; but then the reflection will have to be said to be smaller in size as compared to the original.

The expression 'ye dve kālaṁ vidhattaḥ' quoted before indicates that the sun and the moon measure time or rather help the people in measuring time. The days, the months and the years are evidently measures of time. Among these days like Sunday, Monday are not mentioned by Kālidāsa. An inscription of a Gupta king in the year 484 A.D. does mention the date as well as day; but Kālidāsa possibly never felt the necessity of referring to them. Nor has Kālidāsa referred to any other date excepting the Paurṇimā and Amāvāsyā. In fact the date or tithi is completed when the moon moves upto 12 aṁśas from the sun, and another tithi states when this distance reaches upto 24 aṁśas. The word tithi in this technical sense is not used by Kālidāsa. The expression pauṣya tithi does occur but it indicates pauṣya-paurṇimā. On one occasion, he speaks of the date of Pārvatī's marriage with Śiva. It was Śukla Pakṣa (oṣadhīnāmadhipasya vṛddhau) and the tithi was jāmitraguṇānvitā[24]. Jāmitra is explained as seventh place from the Janmalagna which was free from blemish in Pārvatī's case. Jāmitra is identified with 'Diametron' of the weeks. But this day is in all probability Paurṇimā. The word tithi appears to be used in the general sense of a 'day.' In the case of months, Kālidāsa does use expressions like 'āṣāḍhasya prathama-divase' indicating āṣāḍha or caitra for that matter, but has given importance to madhu or mādhava etc., and that is natural in case of the atmosphere of his dramas or poems. But it can not go unnoticed that all such expressions do not clearly speak of months being either solar or lunar. As the Saṅkrānti day is nowhere referred to, possibly he has lunar months in view; but it is again difficult to say whether these months ended with Paurṇimā or Amāvāsyā. One can only say that in northern India, months ending in Paurṇimā have been current from early times and Kālidāsa possibly agrees with it. The idea that the rise of the moon causes the high tide in the ocean has been a favourite one with Kālidāsa. This occurs five times in the Raghuvaṁśa and once in the Kumārasaṁbhava[25]. The association of Rohiṇī with the moon[26] after the eclipse has been drawn upon by Prof. Sengupta for fixing the date of Kālidāsa; although it is not possible do so on the basis of this solitary reference.

References to the sun are comparatively few. He rises on the Udayācala and purifies the quarters with light during the day[27] and deposits its lusture in fire in the evening[28]. He looses his lustre while going towards the south in the dakṣiṇāyana[29] and his rays become severe during his march in the northern direction[30]. At this time the rays parch up the juices on the earth only to shower them thousandfold during the rainy season[31]. Evidently this thousandfold return is poetical and has little to do with astronomy.

The fact that the moon suffers from eclipses on the full-moon day and that this never happens on any other day except the parva-day is known to Kālidāsa.[32] The planet full of darkness (tamomaya graha), i.e., Rāhu is, according to him, the cause of this eclipse[33]. Here Varāhamihira and other astronomers differ from him. They attribute the eclipse to the entry of the moon in the shadow of the earth which is really scientific. Kālidāsa has not referred to the eclipse of the sun, the real cause of which was known to astronomers like Varāhamihira who belong to post-Kālidāsa era. References to Rāhu eclipsing the moon occurring in Kālidāsa's works speak of the fact that during his days, the distance between the sun and the moon was not known. This came to be known in the days of Varāhamihira. It appears that Kālidāsa along with the authors of the Purāṇas believed the sun to be closer to the earth than the later astronomers. In his Kumārasaṁbhava, he speaks of some lotuses in the tank on the peak of Himālaya plucked by the seven sages, and says that the remaining (lotuses) were opened by the rays of the sun that moved in the region below the peak of the mountain[34].

Among planets other than the sun, Kālidāsa has referred to Mars, i.e., Maṅgala[35], Mercury, *i.e.*, Budha, Jupiter, i.e., Guru[36], and Venus, i.e., Śukra.[37] He is also aware of their retrograde motion. As a poet it is natural that he refers to the auspicious or inauspicious aspects of these planets and lands himself into astronomy. Allusion to the planet Saturn or Śani is not clearly found in Kālidāsa; possibly he found no suitable occasion for it.

There is yet another astronomical detail where Kālidāsa seems to have agreed with the view of authors of ancient Purāṇas as well as astronomers. This is regarding the orbits of different winds. In the seventh act of the Abhijñāna-śākuntala, Mātali describing the atmosphere while coming down to Mārica's hermitage observes : 'This is the region sanctified by the second foot-step of Hari, free from the operation of Rajas, the region of the wind Pravaha which bears the three-streamed river that is in heaven and causes the luminaries to revolve with their rays duly apportioned.[38] This reference can be appreciated only on knowing that ancient astronomers enumerated seven courses of the wind, namely, आवह, प्रवह, उद्वह, संवह, सुवह, परिवह and परावह in the order of the distance from the earth. It was believed that Saptarṣis lived in the orbit of Parivaha wind, while the planets and stars that men see from the earth revolve in the orbit of *Pravaha* wind. This is also free from the quality of Rajas or dust because it is above Ā*vaha*. The stanza poetically brings out the speed with which Mātali has traversed the distance from the orbit of the Parivaha wind to that of the Pravaha and the expression व्यपेतरजसः astronomically correct but very significant, as it augurs well for the reunion of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā. It may also be mentioned here that *Dhruva* was taken to be high above all other planets, i.e., in the orbit of *Parāvaha*.

In conclusion, it can be safely asserted that Kālidāsa has dexterously utilised the astronomical ideas that were current in his days. Along with the Purāṇakāras, he believed that the earth is flat in size making it necessary to presuppose the existence of the mythical mountain Lokāloka. In maintaining Rāhu, the 'tamomaya graha' as the cause of the lunar eclipse, he is also on par with the authors of the Purāṇas. In describing the orbits of the winds he appears to have agreed with the ancient astronomers. Astronomers like Varāhamihira belonging to the later days were able to arrive at scientific conclusions regarding the size of the earth as well as the eclipses of the moon and the sun. It cannot, however, be gainsaid that Kālidāsa's knowledge of astronomy has helped him in choosing apt illustrations thereby adding to the poetic quality of his writing. In fact, Kālidāsa scores over most of Sanskrit poets in bringing out a happy fusion of knowledge and poetry making former more palatable and the latter more ornate and yet elegant,

NOTES

1. यामाहुः सर्वबीजप्रकृतिरिति । Śāk. I. 1.
2. प्रत्यक्षोऽप्यपरिच्छेद्यो मह्यादिर्महिमा तव । Raghu. X. 28.
3. पञ्चमहाभूतमयः तारागणपिञ्जरे महीगोलः
   खेऽयस्कान्तान्तस्थो लोह इवावस्थितो वृत्तः ॥ Pañcasiddhāntikā 13.1.
4. सोऽहमिज्याविशुद्धात्मा प्रजालोपनिमीलितः ।
   प्रकाशश्चाप्रकाशश्च लोकालोक इवाचलः ॥ Raghu. I. 68.
5. यात्येकतोऽस्तशिखरं पतिरोषधीना-
   माविष्कृतोऽरुणपुरःसर एकतोऽर्कः ॥ Śāk. IV. 2.
6. नदत्याकाशगङ्गायाः स्रोतस्युद्दामदिग्गजे । Raghu. I. 78.
7. शेषः सदैवाहितभूमिभारः । Śāk. V. 4.
8. व्यादिश्यते भूधरतामवेक्ष्य कृष्णेन देहोद्वहनाय शेषः ॥ Kum. III. 13.
9. गामधास्यत् कथं नागो मृणालमृदुभिः फणैः ।
   आरसातलमूलात्त्वमवालम्बिष्यथा न चेत् ॥ Kum. VI. 68.
10. सा सीतामङ्कमारोप्य भर्तृप्रणिहितेक्षणाम् ।
    मा मेति व्याहरत्येव तस्मिन्पातालमभ्यगात् ॥ Raghu. XV. 84.
11. मालविका बकुलावलिका च पातालवासं निगलपद्यावदृष्टसूर्यपादं नागकन्यके इव अनुभवतः । Mālav. IV.
12. तदन्वये शुद्धिमति प्रसूतः शुद्धिमत्तरः ।
    दिलीप इति राजेन्दुरिन्दुः क्षीरनिधाविव ॥ Raghu. I. 12.
13. अथ नयनसमुत्थं ज्योतिरत्रेरिव द्यौः । Raghu. II. 75.
14. तस्मादपावर्तत कुंडिनेशः पर्वात्यये सोम इवोष्णरश्मेः ॥ Raghu. VII. 33.
15. पुपोष वृद्धिं हरिदश्वदीधितेरनुप्रवेशादिव बालचन्द्रमाः ॥ Raghu. III. 22.
16. दोषातनं बुधबृहस्पतियोगदृश्यस्तारापतिस्तरलविद्युदिवाभ्रवृन्दम् ॥ Raghu. XIII. 76.
17. निर्विष्टसारां पितृभिर्हिमांशोरन्त्यां कलां दर्श इवौषधीषु ॥ Raghu. XIV. 80.
18. पर्यायपीतस्य सुरैर्हिमांशोः कलाक्षयः श्लाघ्यतरो हि वृद्धेः ॥ Raghu. V. 16.
19. नित्यमधःस्थस्येन्दोर्भाभिर्भानोः सितं भवत्यर्धम् ।
    स्वच्छायायाऽन्यदसितं कुम्भस्येवातपस्थस्य ॥ Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira.
20. सलिलमये शशिनि रवेर्दीधितयो मूर्च्छितास्तमो नैशं ।
    क्षपयन्ति दर्पणोदरनिहितो इव मन्दिरस्यान्तः ॥ Ibid.
21. छाया न मूर्च्छति मलोपहतप्रसादे शुद्धे तु दर्पणतले सुलभावकाशा ॥ Śāk. VII. 32.
22. छाया हि भूमेः शशिनो मलत्वेनारोपिता शुद्धिमतः प्रजाभिः ॥ Raghu. XIV. 40.
23. रत्नच्छायाव्यतिकर इव प्रेक्ष्यमेतत् पुरस्तात् । Megh. 15.
    केवलं लावण्यमयी छाया त्वां न मुञ्चति । Śāk. III.
24. अथौषधीनामधिपस्य वृद्धौ तिथौ च जामित्रगुणान्वितायाम् । Kum. VII. 1
25. हरस्तु किञ्चित्परिलुप्तधैर्यश्चन्द्रोदयारम्भ इवाम्बुराशिः । Kum. III. 67.
26. उपरागान्ते शशिनः समुपगता रोहिणी योगम् । Śāk. VII. 22.
27. संचारपूतानि दिगन्तराणि कृत्वा दिनान्ते निलयाय गन्तुम् ।
    प्रचक्रमे पल्लवरागताम्रा प्रभा पतङ्गस्य मुनेश्च धेनुः ॥ Raghu. II. 15.
28. दिनान्ते निहितं तेजः सवित्रेव हुताशनः । Raghu. IV. 1.
29. दिशि मन्दायते तेजो दक्षिणस्यां रवेरपि । Raghu. IV. 49.
30. ततः प्रतस्थे कौबेरीं भास्वानिव रघुर्दिशम् ।
    शरैरुस्रैरिवोदीच्यानुद्धरिष्यन् रसानिव ॥ Raghu. IV. 66.

31. सहस्रगुणमुत्स्रष्टुमादत्ते हि रसं रविः। Raghu. I. 18.
32. अपर्वणि ग्रहकलुषेन्दुमण्डला विभावरी कथय कथं भविष्यति ॥ Mālav. IV. 16.
33. संध्याभ्रकपिशस्तस्य विराधो नाम राक्षसः।
अतिष्ठन्मार्गमावृत्य रामस्येन्दोरिव ग्रहः ॥ Raghu. XII. 28.
34. सप्तर्षिहस्तावचितावशेषाण्यधो विवस्वान्परिवर्तमानः।
पद्मानि यस्याग्रसरोरुहाणि प्रबोधयत्यूर्ध्वमुखैर्मयूखैः ॥ Kum. I. 16
35. यावदङ्गारको राशिमिवानुवक्रं प्रतिगमनं न करोति। Mālav. III.
36. दोषातनं बुधबृहस्पतियोगदृश्यस्तारापतिस्तरलविद्युदिवाभ्रवृन्दम् ॥ Raghu. XIII. 76.
37. कामः पुरः शुक्रमिव प्रयाणे ॥ Kum. III. 43.
38. त्रिस्रोतसं वहति यो गगनप्रतिष्ठां
ज्योतींषि वर्तयति च प्रविभक्तरश्मिः। Śāk. VII. 6.

AN ANCIENT INDIAN LAW OF PARTNERSHIP AND ITS APPLICATION TO THE PRIESTS OFFICIATING AT A VEDIC SACRIFICE

GOPAL CHANDRA SINHA

The present-day law defines Partnership as 'the relation which subsists between persons who have agreed to combine their property, labour or skill in some business and to share the profits thereof between them'.[1] Under the law of the Smṛtis, though not of the Dharmasūtras, in as much as the institution of Partnership was a later development, Partnership of what the Smṛtis call "*Sambhūyasamutthāna*' was one of the main topics of litigation.

Nārada defines '*Sambhūyasamutthāna*' as follows :—

"Where traders and others join together and enter into an enterprise, the enterprise so entered into, is the topic of litigation known as *Sambhūyasamutthāna*".[2]

Other important smṛtis too define the topic in question more or less in the same way. It will be seen that the definition mentioned above is not limited to traders alone nor does it say anything about the nature of the contributions to be the partners for carrying on the enterprise and so it can apply to all those persons who unite together for carrying on a profession by pooling together their wealth, labour or skill or any one or more of them. Consequently, almost all the principal smṛti-writers have extended the law of Partnership even to those persons whose contributions consist of only labour or skill or both without the question of any monetary contribution coming in. Thus, Yājñavalkya after stating the entire law on the subject goes on to say : "By this has also been stated the law regarding the officiating priests at sacrifices, husbandsmen and artisans".[3] Similarly, Bṛhaspati deals under this topic of litigation not only the cases of sacrificial priests and peasants but also those of goldsmiths (हेमकाराः),

craftsmen (शिल्पिनः), architects or masons, dancing parties (नर्तकाः), and even thieves (चौराः) combining together to commit a theft or robbery.[4]

Where the contributions of all the partners are only in the nature of wealth or other property having a definite money-value the distribution of profits or losses is not at all difficult; for in the absence of a contract to the contrary the profits or losses are to be divided in proportion to the amount of money or other property contributed by each partner to the common stock. Thus, Yājñavalkya says :—

"Among traders carrying on a business in partnership with a view to make a gain, the profit and loss shall be according to the contribution made by the particular partner to the common stock or according to the special agreement, if any, that might have been entered into by them".[5] Similarly, Nārada lays down : 'Where persons join together and enter into an enterprise by adopting certain means with the object of earning a profit, there the basis for determining the share of each particular partner (in the profits or losses) is his share in the total investment. Where the investment made by a particular partner to the common stock is equal to, greater than, or less than that made by the other o others, his share in the losses, the overhead expenses and the gains will be in accordance thereto".[6]

But the question is as to what is to be done where the contributions made by the partners consist not only of money or other property but only of labour or skill or both, and if there is at the same time no special agreement regarding the sharing of profits and losses. For such a contingency the smṛtis lay down particular rules in respect of each one of such partnerships, as were, in those times, in vogue.

Thus, dealing with joint enterprises carried on by goldsmiths, different grades of artisans of a particular trade, architects and dancing parties, Bṛhaspati states as follows :

"Where goldsmiths and others combine together and turn out a work of art, they are entitled to share the earnings in proportion to the work (i.e., labour and skill) put in by each. If artisans (of four grades of skill), viz., apprentices (शिक्षकाः), more advanced students (अभिज्ञाः), experts in the craft (कुशलाः) and teachers (आचार्याः), are employed together in one undertaking, they shall respectively receive one, two, three and four shares (of the earnings jointly made). If several persons combine together and jointly build a palace, temple or any utensils of worship, their head shall get two shares and the remaining ones one share each. This very rule has been declared (to be the law) also in the case of dancers of whom, one who keeps the time (तालज्ञः) takes a share and a half and the singers (गायनाः) share equally the remainder".[7]

Of the above-mentioned verses ascribed to Bṛhaspati, those dealing with artisans and dancers are ascribed also to Kātyāyana with this difference that according to him the one who keeps the time gets a half share and the singers take equal share[8]. Kātyāyana further adds the following to the rule relating to a troupe of dancers and musicians : "(subject to the exception that) the principal ones amongst them are entitled to two shares each."[9]

It will be seen that in none of the cases mentioned above was the rule about the division of earnings among the several partners or joint workers an arbitrary one, but was on the other hand supported by sound reason based on the relative importance of the different partners from the point of view of their different ranks or grades, which themselves were based to a great extent on the amount of labour or the quality of skill or both contributed separately by each.

Another problem which often cropped up in cases of partnership or joint enterprises related to the treatment to be meted out or the remuneration to be paid to a partner who fell ill or became otherwise incapacitated to work in the midst of the business or was found guilty of having played a fraud on the other partners or of having done some mischief detrimental to the latters' cause. The gist of the law laid down on this point in several smṛtis is that a partner who is found to have adopted crooked means should be expelled without being paid anything but that one who is found to be innocent but on account of sudden illness or other valid cause becomes unable to continue the work assigned to him should either be allowed to get the work done by another competent person or also to leave and go away after being paid a remuneration proportionate to the amount of the work already done. Thus, according to Yājñavalkya "a man of crooked means let the other partners expell without paying him any profit; but one who has become incapacitated to work may have it done by another."[10]

There was a time, probably extending over several centuries, when Vedic sacrifices were in great vogue in this country. The performance of Yajña was no doubt a costly affair, but it seems that probably every person of means vied with another in their performances. One of the main items of expenditure in such sacrifices was the payment of *dakṣiṇā* to the Ṛtviks or the priests officiating at the sacrifice. The *dakṣiṇā* was mostly in the form of a gift of cows. Thus, the *dakṣiṇā* prescribed for a *Jyotiṣṭoma* sacrifice, which was the basic Vedic sacrifice (the others being merely its variants) was one hundred cows, As the *dakṣiṇā* given to the priests was a very good source of income, sacrificial priesthood, in course of time, grew up into a lucrative profession.

Jyotiṣṭoma, which was, as mentioned above, the basic sacrifice, required as many as 16 priests of varying grades and donominations. The *dakṣiṇā* or the remuneration for officiating at the sacrifice was paid jointly to all of them for the work jointly performed by them all. It may be that this sometimes, if not very often, gave rise to disputes amongst the priests *inter se* about the distribution of the earnings and consequently also to litigation. This is clear from the fact that almost all the smṛtis dealing with Vyavahāra or litigation, for instance, those of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Bṛhaspati, Nārada and Kātyāyana, as well as all the digests dealing with the same, treat this matter as one of the topics of litigation coming under the main heading of '*Sambhūyasamutthāna*' or partnership.

As mentioned above, in ordinary trading partnerships the division of profits and losses was, in the absence of a contract to the contrary, according to the relative extent of the contribution made by each individual partner to the common stock. But the case of priests, who were of different grades and of varying assignments, was obviously different. It, however, appears that the people and the law-givers had evolved a rule relating to this matter also.

The sixteen priests officiating at a *Jyotiṣṭoma* sacrifice were divided into four grades or classes, and each class was, as given below, further divided into four members :—

1. होता,अध्वर्यु, ब्रह्मा, and उद्गाता, who were considered to be the chief priests and were called अर्धिनः.
2, मैत्रावरुण, प्रतिप्रस्थाता, ब्राह्मणाच्छंसि and प्रस्तोता, taken together called तदर्धिनः .
3, अच्छावाक, नेष्टा, आग्नीध्र and प्रतिहर्ता, taken together called तृतीयिनः .
4, ग्रावस्तुद्, उन्नेता, पोता and सुब्रह्मण्य, taken together called पादिनः .

It goes without saying that because of the difference in their grades all the sixteen priests mentioned above could not be made to share the *dakṣiṇā* equally. Besides this, the very nomenclature given to the various groups mentioned above, which according to the Mitākṣarā are given in the Veda itself, are in themselves indicative of the shares that each group has been declared to be entitled to.[11] The matter has been further made clear by a smṛti-text ascribed to both Manu and Bṛhaspati and meaning that out of all the priests, the *Ardhins*, who are the chief ones, are entitled to one-half, the next ones to one-half of what the former are entitled to, and the *Tṛtiyin*-s and the *Pādin*-s respectively to a one-third and to one-fourth of the same, i.e., of the number of cows taken by the first group.[12]

This means that the priests of the first class, i.e., the *Hotā*, *Adhvaryu*, *Brahmā* and *Udgātā*, who were regarded as Chief or Head Priests, were entitled to one-half of the entire *dakṣiṇā*, and those of the second, third and fourth classes respectively to one-half, one-third and one-fourth of what the Head Priests, taken together, got.

The *dakṣiṇā* payable in respect of a *Jyotiṣṭoma* sacrifice having been of one hundred cows, the problem was to make the actual division in such a way as to maintain the prescribed ratio and at the same time to see that the number of cows obtained by each group was in round figures and was also divisible by two, three and four. This problem was solved by allotting to the priests of class I not exactly one-half of the entire number of cows, i.e., 50, but only 48, leaving one-half of the same, i.e., 24 to be taken by those of class II, one-third, i.e., 16 by those of class III, and one-fourth, i.e., 12 by those of class IV.[13]

It seems that all the four priests belonging to each particular class were considered to be of equal status and there was no question of any gradation coming in between them. Consequently priests of each particular class *inter se* shared equally the share falling to the class to which they belonged. This has been made amply clear in *Pārāśaramādhava*, which says :—

"The division *inter se* between the four Head Priests is to be in equal shares. Likewise, the division *inter se* between the four members of each one of the other groups that are enumerated after the group of Head Priests, is also to be in equal shares".[14]

In support of this view the same authority refers to a passage occuring in the *Kātyāyana-Sūtra*, which means that the priests of the first class are to get twelve cows each, those of the second class six cows each, those of the third class four cows each, and those of the fourth class three cows each".[15]

The priests were divided into three categories : the family-priests coming down from the times of the *Yajamāna's* ancestors (पूर्वंजुष्टाः of Nārada and क्रमायाताः of both Nārada and Bṛhaspati), those appointed by the Yajamāna himself after selecting or inviting them (स्वयंवृताः of Nārada and स्वयंकृताः of Bṛhaspati), and those roaming about in search of priestly employment, by chance themselves appointed as priests subject to the pleasure of the Yajamāna (यादृच्छिकाः of Nārada and आगन्तुकाः of Bṛhaspati).[16]

According to Bṛhaspati, priests of these different categories are to be dealt with accordingly (वर्तितव्यं तथैव तैः), i.e., according to their respective status. Nārada elaborates the rule still further. First of all, he says that if a priest leaves a *Yajamāna*, who is faultless and has done him no harm, or if a *Yajamāna* dismisses a priest, who on his part has committed no fault, then both of them are liable to be punished;[17] and then after enumerating the ancestral priests and the priests that are self-chosen, Nārada states that it would be no crime if a Yajamāna dispenses with the services of a priest belonging to the last category.[18] From this Bhavasvāmī, the commentator on *Nāradīya-Manu-Saṁhitā*, deduces that if a *Yajamāna* dismisses any priest of the first two categories then he would be liable to punishment but that there would be no such liability if he dismisses a priest of the third category.[19]

Now, another question arises as to what is to be done if a priest leaves or has to leave the work out of his own accord in the midst of the sacrifice. According to Manu, in such a contingency the retiring priest should be paid his share of the *dakṣiṇā quantum meruit*, i.e., in proportion to the work already done by him,[20] but if he has already received his share of the *dakṣiṇā* (in whole or in part) he should be allowed his entire share, but made to get the rest of the work done by another (qualified) person.[21] Kullūka, while commenting on these verses from Manu, says that the law laid down therein applies only if a priest has to leave the work on account of illness or any other calamity befalling on him and not voluntarily out of wickedness.[22] The same is also the view of Nārada, who says that if a priest falls into any calamity then another person may complete his work and get the disabled priest's share in the *dakṣiṇā* in proportion to the work that he has had to do.[23]

Thus, although the priests jointly officiating at a sacrifice performed by another were in a way governed by the general law of partnership, yet that law had to be suitably modified having regard to the special nature of the work, the quality of skill and the amount of labour put in by each participating priest and the conventions which by long usage had acquired the force of law.

NOTES

1. *Indian Partnership Act, Sec. 4.*
2. वणिक्प्रभृतयो यत्र कर्म सम्भूय कुर्वते ।
   तत्सम्भूयसमुत्थानं व्यवहारपदं स्मृतम् ॥ नारदीयमनुसंहिता, सम्भूय० १, पृ. ८४ (No. XCVII of Trivandrum Sanskrit Series).
3. अनेन विधिराख्यात ऋत्विक्कर्षककर्मिणाम् । याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति २.२६५.
4. बृहस्पतिस्मृति, व्यवहारकाण्ड १३.३४.३९.
5. समवायेन वणिजां लाभार्थं कर्म कुर्वताम् ।
   लाभालाभौ यथाद्रव्यं यथा वा संविदा कृतौ ॥ या० २.२५९.

६. फलहेतोरुपायेन कर्म सम्भूय कुर्वताम् ।
आधारभूतः प्रक्षेपस्तेनोत्तिष्ठेयुरंशतः ॥
समोऽतिरिक्तो हीनो वा यत्रांशो यत्र यादृशः ।
क्षयव्ययौ तथा वृद्धिस्तस्य तत्र तथाविधा ॥ ना० सम्भूय० २,३, पृ०८४.

७. हेमकारादयो यत्र शिल्पं सम्भूय कुर्वते ।
कर्मानुरूपं निर्वेषं लभेरंस्ते यथांशतः ॥
शिक्षकाभिज्ञकुशला आचार्याश्चेति शिल्पिनः ।
एकद्वित्रिचतुर्भागान् लभेयुस्ते यथोत्तरम् ॥
हर्म्यं देवगृहं वापि धार्मिकोपस्कराणि च ।
सम्भूय कुर्वतां चैषां प्रमुखो द्व्यंशमर्हति ॥
नर्तकानामेष एव धर्मः सद्भिरुदाहृतः ।
तालज्ञो लभतेऽध्यर्धं गायनास्तु समांशतः ॥ बृ० व्यव० १३.३४-३७.

८. का० (कात्यायनस्मृतिसारोद्धार) ६३२, ६३६.

९. प्रमुखा द्व्यंशमर्हन्ति सोऽयं सम्भूय कुर्वताम् । का० ६३६.

१०. जिह्मं त्यजेयुर्निर्लाभमशक्तोऽन्येन कारयेत् । या० २.२६५.

११ अतो वैदिकर्द्धिप्रभृतिसमाख्याबलात्प्रागुक्तोंऽशनियमोऽवकल्प्यत इति निरवद्यम् । या० मि० २.२६५.

१२. सर्वेषामर्धिनो मुख्यास्तदर्धेनार्धिनोऽपरे ।
तृतीयिनस्तृतीयांशाश्चतुर्थांशाश्च पादिनः ॥ मनु० ८.२१०; बृ० व्यव० १३.२०.

१३. ज्योतिष्टोमेन शतेन दीक्षयन्तीति वचनेन गवां शतमृत्विगानतिरूपे दक्षिणाकार्ये विनियुक्तम् । ऋत्विजश्च होत्रादयः षोडश । तत्र कस्य कियानंश इत्यपेक्षायामिदमुच्यते । सर्वेषां होत्रादीनां षोडशर्त्विजां मध्ये ये मुख्याश्चत्वारो होत्रध्वर्युब्रह्मोद्गातारः ते गोशतस्यार्धिनः सर्वेषां भागपूरणोपपत्तिवशादष्टाचत्वारिंशद्रूपार्धेनार्धभाजः अपरे मैत्रावरुणप्रतिप्रस्थातृब्राह्मणाच्छंसिप्रस्तोतारस्तदर्धेन तस्य मुख्यांशस्यार्धेन चतुर्विंशतिरूपेणार्धभाजः । ये पुनस्तृतीयिनः अच्छावाकनेष्ट्राग्नीध्रप्रतिहर्तारस्ते तृतीयिनो मुख्यस्यांशस्य षोडशगोरूपेण तृतीयांशभाजः । ये तु पादिनः ग्रावस्तुदुन्नेतृपोतृसुब्रह्मण्यास्ते मुख्यभागस्य यश्चतुर्थांशो द्वादशगोरूपस्तद्भाजः ॥ या० मि० २.२६५.

१४. मुख्यानां चतुर्णां मिथो विभागः समत्वेनैव । एवं तदन्तरादीनामपि मिथो विभागः । पाराशरमाधव, व्यव०, पृष्ठ २२२.

१५. द्वादश द्वादशाद्येभ्यः षट् षट् द्वितीयेभ्यः चतस्रश्चतस्रस्तृतीयेभ्यः तिस्रस्तिस्रः इतरेभ्यः इति । पाराशरमाधव, व्यव०, पृ० २२२.

१६. ऋत्विक् तु त्रिविधः प्रोक्तः पूर्वैर्जुष्टः स्वयंवृतः ।
यदृच्छया च यः कुर्यादार्त्विज्यं प्रीतिपूर्वकम् ॥ ना० सम्भूय० १०, पृष्ठ ८७; त्रिविधास्ते समाख्याता वर्तितव्यं तथैव तैः ॥ बृ० १३.२१.

१७. ऋत्विग् याज्यमदुष्टं यस्त्यजेदनपकारिणम् ।
अदुष्टमृत्विजं याज्यो विनेयौ तावुभावपि ॥ ना० सम्भूय० ९, पृष्ठ ८३.

१८. क्रमायातेष्वेव धर्मो वृतेष्वृत्विक्षु च स्वयम् ।
यादृच्छिके तु सांयाज्ये तत्त्यागे नास्ति किल्बिषम् ॥ ना० सम्भूय० ११, पृ० ८७.

१९. त्यागे दण्ड उक्तोऽतिदिश्यते 'विनेयावि'ति पूर्वजुष्टस्वयंवृतेषु । इतरत्यागे नास्ति किल्बिषं दण्डः । ना० सम्भूय० ११, पृ० ८७.

२०. ऋत्विग्यदि वृतो यज्ञे स्वकर्म परिहापयेत् ।
तस्य कर्मानुरूपेण देयोंऽशः सह कर्तृभिः ॥ मनु० ८.२०६.

२१. दक्षिणासु च दत्तासु स्वकर्म परिहापयन् ।
कृत्स्नमेव लभेतांशमन्येनैव च कारयेत् ॥ मनु० ८.२०७.

२२. यज्ञे कृतवरण ऋत्विक् यदि किञ्चित्कर्म कृत्वा व्याध्यादिना कर्म त्यजति तदा तस्येतरर्त्विग्भिः पर्यालोच्य कृतानुसारेण दक्षिणांशो देयः । कुल्लूक, मनु० ८.२०६.
माध्यन्दिनसवनादौ दक्षिणाकाले दक्षिणासु दत्तासु व्याध्यादिना कर्म परित्यजन्न तु शाठ्यात्———। कुल्लूक, मनु० ८.२०७.

२३. ऋत्विजां व्यसनेऽप्येवमन्यस्तत्कर्म निस्तरेत् ।
लभेत दक्षिणाभागं स तस्मात्सम्प्रकल्पितम् ॥ ना० सम्भूय० ८, पृष्ठ ८६.

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